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VOLUME III







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# VARIA AFRICANA III

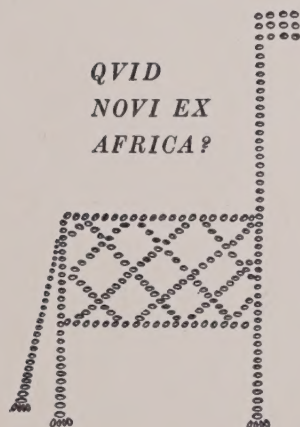
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## PREFACE

THE present volume of the Harvard African Studies follows its predecessor after a delay of several years. Since the death of the editor, Oric Bates, the series has been dependent upon such attention as can be given by the present editors, none of whom unfortunately can devote more than a part of the time to the work. While it is, therefore, impossible to follow the original plan of issuing an annual *Varia* volume, the editors have several special volumes in preparation for early publication.

The editors wish to add their word of regret to that of all anthropologists for the loss of Professor Giuffrida-Ruggeri, and to express their sorrow that this is the last opportunity that the Harvard African Studies can present the work of this distinguished scholar who was always its cordial and inspiring friend.

THE EDITORS

PEABODY MUSEUM, April, 1922





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# VARIA AFRICANA III



# THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE QUESTION OF THE MOST ANCIENT EGYPTIAN POPULATIONS

V. GIUFFRIDA-RUGGERI

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WITH the end of the great war and the departure of the Germans from Belgium, scientific life, which was suspended in that nation, at once began to flow again and during the first days of April 1919, the corresponding members of the Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles, among whom is the writer, were able to receive " fasc. 4 of T. XXXIII, 1914 " of the *Bulletin*. This number draws the attention by a very interesting article, richly illustrated, called " Les origines de la civilisation égyptienne," by that well known Egyptologist, Jean Capart.

A fundamental point is, that if we call the region between the point of the Delta and the first cataract " Upper Egypt," we can say on general lines that all which has been discovered of Egyptian prehistory belongs to Upper Egypt. To the south of the first cataract, before proceeding further to raise the Assouan Dam, the Egyptian government undertook large archaeological excavations, directed by Reisner and Firth: thus numerous prehistoric Nubian necropoleis could be studied. The result was that the identity of prehistoric civilization in Upper Egypt and in Nubia became evident, so that we may say that the same state of civilization extended as far as the regions of the Upper Nile. This state of things lasted until the advent of the First Dynasty, which is marked in Egypt by notable progress which did not reach Nubia so rapidly; this region appears clearly in arrears when the historical epoch of Egypt begins with King Menes. It was this king of Upper Egypt who conquered the Delta and transferred his capital to Memphis, a town of Lower Egypt, although it is geographically outside the Delta; but politically the frontier between Upper and Lower Egypt was near Dahshur. The conquest of Lower Egypt represents a fortunate military event but no predominance of civilization, which, on the contrary, bears very visible signs of its derivation from the Delta. Meyer <sup>1</sup> maintains this northern derivation from the fact that the most important religious episodes are placed in the Delta and from other arguments, among which is the fact that all the kings mentioned in the " Palermo Stone " before Menes, are kings of Lower Egypt. He therefore concludes: " The idea admitted by all and which I had adopted was that this civilization (the Pharaonic) drew its origins from Upper Egypt, which reposed till now on the fact that only the South has conserved its monuments and also on the other fact, that the crown of Upper Egypt held precedence over that of Lower Egypt. But this idea can no longer be supported. The superiority of

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Meyer, ' La chronologie égyptienne,' (Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris 1912, vol. 28, p. 293).



the title 'King of the South' and of the 'White Crown' must appear rather as the result of a purely historical fact, i.e. the conquest of the northern region by the kings of the Thinite dynasty and the reunion of the two regions under Menes." Probably, adds Capart,<sup>1</sup> Menes succeeded in organizing the negro troops with which the population of Upper Egypt provided him in abundance, and thus ruled over the Delta, but in preceding times, the contrary had taken place; known archaeological and historical facts accord in the hypothesis of a conquest of Upper Egypt by the kings of Lower Egypt, which Capart calls a phase of penetration by the Egyptians of the Delta, whose expeditions went up the Nile exploring new regions.

In conclusion Capart clearly states the thesis which he upholds, that "Egyptian Pharaonic civilization came from the Delta; it is there that the *true* Egyptian developed, as well as the African populations of Upper Egypt." The anthropological elements of this civilization are: on one hand, the Libyan element which belongs to the Caucasian race from Northern Africa; and on the other, a Semitic element from the East. This double origin explains the remarkable resemblance found by Eduard Meyer between Libyans and Egyptians,<sup>2</sup> from which he deduces that the predynastic Egyptians from Lower Egypt must have been a Libyan tribe which had penetrated into the Delta and was very slightly different from its western neighbours of the desert.

But probably the Delta was not uninhabited when the Leucoderm element penetrated it, as certainly the Upper Nile was not uninhabited: the natives, belonging to quite a different race, learned the language of their conquerors. That was established years ago by Erman,<sup>3</sup> who from his linguistic studies perceived by intuition that "the Egyptian language was not born in the valley of the Nile; it is a foreign language which the conquerors brought to the primitive populations." According to this linguist, the historical Egyptians were Semitized Nubians.

Capart concludes from this and other arguments that the Pharaonic Empire was no other than the manifestation of European genius, a true anticipation of later evolutions, and an attempted expansion towards Africa which ceased at its first contact with the African races.

The conclusion seems to us fully justified, all the more so because in examining the Egyptian anthropological problem, we came to a very similar conclusion, pointing out that the Egyptians themselves do not believe they are autochthonous.<sup>4</sup> "The Leucoderms," we said, "were not born in Egypt nor along the coasts of Africa minor: they belong to the cycle of human boreal species and their appearance in Africa is relatively late and on

<sup>1</sup> Jean Capart, 'Les origines de la civilisation égyptienne,' (Bull. Soc. Anth. Bruxelles, 1914, vol. 33, pt. 4, p. cliv).

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte des Altertums, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1909, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 46. Cf. James Henry Breasted, A history of Egypt, New York, 1912, p. 26-31.

<sup>3</sup> Adolf Erman, 'Die Flexion des ägyptischen Verbums,' (Sitzungsber. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch., Berlin, 1900, first half-year, p. 351).

<sup>4</sup> V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, 'Auctoetoni imigrati e ibridi nella etnologia africana,' (Arch. per l'Antrop. e Ethnol., Firenze, 1913, vol. 43, pt. 4, p. 303).

the edge of their expansion toward the south. But this contact at a tangent is the only one which has uplifted the spiritual dignity of that continent."

On the other hand, I do not think that what he transcribes from Elliot Smith<sup>1</sup> greatly helps Capart's theory; Elliot Smith certainly has seen and studied the largest number of Egyptian skeletons, but he has allowed himself to be impressed only by the skulls of an Armenoid type which he found among the first dynasties. All those which are not Armenoid, according to Elliot Smith, belong to a "brown race," which is a good way of confounding whatever discrimination may exist between Caucasians (he never uses this term) and Africans. Only those who, like Naville, uphold the African origin of the Pharaonic civilization<sup>2</sup> can applaud Elliot Smith's anthropological conclusions; it seems scarcely possible that the same conclusions can support Capart's contrary thesis which demands a distinction of origin, i.e. between the inhabitants of Southern Egypt who are the only Africans, and those of Northern Egypt who are not at all African. On the other hand we have in various works upheld this distinction — which Capart rightly maintains — on the basis of the skeletal characteristics, which show that the Predynastics of Upper Egypt were in a great part different from the Mediterranean type which predominated later, leaving aside the sporadic Armenoids who are only slightly represented.

Just at the time when we received Capart's article, the January 1919 number (published late) of T. XXIX of *L'Anthropologie* appeared with a review, by Professor Boule,<sup>3</sup> of our article which appeared in *Man*<sup>4</sup> in April, 1915. This article is in perfect accord with what we now read in the article by Capart: my distinction between the two populations, that of Upper and that of Lower Egypt, the first fed by currents which I call Ethiopic and the second by northern currents, is there expounded according to all the data I could gather. I had already come to this conclusion, the year before:<sup>5</sup> "It is possible that the Libyans were the same as the Predynastic Mediterraneans of Lower Egypt; but these Predynastics of Lower Egypt are still unknown." That is just what Capart asserts. I then added that the most ancient tombs of Lower Egypt, those of Saqqara, which belong to the II and III Dynasties, studied by Elliot Smith,<sup>6</sup> and also the tombs of Ghiza (IV, V and VII Dynasties) show together with Armenoid infiltrations, the existence of a leptorrhine Mediterranean type, akin to the Libyans, so that the hypothesis that also the predecessors, that is, the Predynastics of Lower Egypt, were akin to the Libyans is in a way justified. Both probably penetrated into Africa from the east, as all the Leucoderms came from the

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., vol. 9, p. 43a, 80d.

<sup>2</sup> Edouard Naville, 'Le passage de la pierre au métal en Egypte,' (Archives Suisses d'anthrop. générale, Geneva, 1914, vol. 1, p. 58).

<sup>3</sup> M. Boule, (*L'Anthropologie*; Paris, 1918-19, vol. 29, p. 127-128).

<sup>4</sup> V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, 'Were the Predynastic Egyptians Libyans or Ethiopians?' (*Man*, 1915, vol. 15, p. 51-56).

<sup>5</sup> V. Giuffrida Ruggeri, 'Alcuni dati retrospettivi e attuali sulla antropologia della Libia,' (*Archiv. per L'Antrop. e Ethnol.*, Firenze, 1914, vol. 44, pt. 4, p. 264).

<sup>6</sup> G. Elliott Smith, 'The ancient inhabitants of Egypt and the Sudan,' (Report of the Br. Assoc., Australia, 1914, trans. Section H: London, 1915, p. 534).



northeast; then the Libyans continued towards the west, at last settling west of Egypt where they are found in historic times.

In Upper Egypt at the same epoch we find peoples very different from the Libyans: indeed Randall MacIver and Wilkin have noted the platyrrhine and other non-Mediterranean characteristics of the Egyptian series before the IV Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The series from El-'Amrah studied by Fouquet<sup>2</sup> and that from Naqada studied by Miss Fawcett<sup>3</sup> present these same characteristics. In all these series is largely represented a type which I have called Ethiopic — because "Nubian" rather makes one think of a Negro type which it is not — or better perhaps Proto-Ethiopic, which I believe is an ancient type of Erythrean Africa of equatorial derivation, that is, belonging to the group of equatorial races. Amongst these races, besides the Negroes proper, are comprised the actual Ethiopians (those not crossed with Arabs), e.g. Baria, Cunama, Galla, etc., and in antiquity the predynastic natives south of the Delta, the so-called "Nubians Group A,"<sup>4</sup> the Yam, the Wawat and the so-called "Middle Nubians or Group C."<sup>5</sup> A profound physical difference between the most ancient populations of Lower and Upper Egypt must, therefore, be considered as a fact gained from anthropology: those from Lower Egypt have a northern origin, while those from Upper Egypt have an equatorial origin, contrary to that which was believed by those who affirmed unity of the race for all the Egyptians. It is true that these have not made their opinion heard lately, but one does not know whether their silence may be interpreted as acknowledging their error or as maintaining it.

Given this early dualism, it would not be exact to say with Erman<sup>6</sup> that the historical Egyptians were Nubians, or better, "Semitized" Ethiopians, as this can only be supported for Upper Egypt, not for the Delta. On the other hand, neither would it be exact to say that the Egyptians were Libyans or Mediterraneans, as this is only true of the Egyptians of the Delta, and not for those of predynastic Upper Egypt. To the question whether the most ancient Egyptians were Mediterraneans or Ethiopians, we must reply that those of Lower Egypt were Mediterraneans akin to Libyans, those of Upper Egypt were Ethiopians. In the political union of the two regions, there must naturally have taken place a certain anthropological fusion, through which historic Egyptians no longer appeared as pure Mediterraneans — they considered themselves darker than the *Tehenu* (Libyans) — and neither did they show evident affinity with the Ethiopian natives, *Anu Seti*, of Nubia. On the living, the double origin must not have been very difficult to discover, given the Mendelian bearing of some characteristics; in the skeletons, on the other hand, since

<sup>1</sup> David Randall-MacIver and Anthony Wilkin, *Libyan notes*, London, 1901, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1896, p. 241-270.

<sup>3</sup> Cicely D. Fawcett, 'A second study of the variation and correlation of the human skull with special reference to the Naqada crania', (*Biometrika*, Cambridge, 1902, vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 408-467).

<sup>4</sup> Grafton Elliott Smith, *The ancient Egyptians*, London, 1911, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, London, 1914, p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 352-353.

both Mediterraneans and Ethiopians have dolicho-mesaticephalic crania, the discrimination can only be made in exceptional cases by certain facial characteristics. This does not detract from the original fact, the importance of which for the population of Africa is very great.

The importance of this double origin can hardly be exaggerated for all that which concerns Egyptian prehistory, which has also, like the pretended physical unity, been too much simplified; and equally important it must appear to the students of linguistic origins.





# FOLK-LITERATURE OF THE GALLA OF SOUTHERN ABYSSINIA

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## THE FOLK-LITERATURE OF THE GALLA OF SOUTHERN ABYSSINIA

### INTRODUCTION

Almost all of the texts printed in this article are composed in the dialects of the Máččā Galla; and particularly in those of the northeastern Máččā groups: Liêqā, Límму, Gúmā. The Galla apply the name *Máččā* to their tribes living in the districts beyond the Gibê River; that is, the five independent Galla kingdoms of Gúmā, Gómmā, Ğímmā, Giêrā, and Límму; the Ilû, the Nónnō, and the five Liêqā tribes. In the present Galla language, the word *máččā* means both "company of soldiers" and "people." Thus, with a change in sense analogous to the Amharic *sāw*, "man," in the phrase *yä-sāw agār*, "land of men," i.e. "foreign country," and to the Arabic *bilādu 'nnāsi*, which has the same meaning, *máččā*, "people" also signifies "stranger," "enemy." Therefore the Galla living beyond the Gibê are called *Máččā Gamāti*, "the people of the other bank," by the Tulámā of Shoa.

I do not intend to give in the following notes a definite, scientific classification of the Galla dialects, but by coördinating and publishing the material collected from natives during my researches, and by a careful analysis of the work already accomplished by travelers and missionaries, I hope to lay a foundation for future attempts to classify, within each group of dialects, the sub-dialects today unknown. As a result of such classification, I think the philologists will distinguish two large groups of Galla dialects, the Northern Galla and the Southern Galla.

Northern Galla, that is, the Galla spoken in Abyssinia, is divided into three groups of dialects:

I. Máččā dialects, corresponding to the dialect called by Tutscheck, "the Galla of the Goğāb River." Among the Máččā dialects, I distinguish the northeastern group, — Límму, Gúmā, Liêqā, Nónnō, — and the southwestern group of which the principal dialect is spoken in Ğímmā Abbā Ğifār. The difference between these sub-groups consists principally in phonetic and lexicological peculiarities, e.g. the dialect of Ğímmā preserves the consonantal diphthongs, l', r'.<sup>1</sup>

II. Tulámā dialects spoken in Shoa, with dialectal peculiarities by the Abbiččú-Galān and Salāhē tribes. In addition to lexicological differences and the greater influence of Amharic vocabularies, the Tulámā dialects also differ grammatically from the Máččā, e.g. in Tulámā the pronominal suffix of the first person singular is *-kíyā*; in Máččā *-kô*. The Tulámā dialects have two sets of pronominal suffixes: masculine, *-kíyā*, *-kîê*; feminine, *-tíyā*, *-tîê*, etc. The Máččā dialects show no difference between the masculine and feminine gender of the pronominal suffix.

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 17.



III. Bōrānā or Eastern Galla dialects. (*Bōr-ānā* is derived from the root *bōr*, "east.") The dialects of the Galla living in the neighborhood of Harar, that of the Ittu, the Arussi, and other Galla groups as far as the great lakes, belong to the Bōrānā group. Loransiyos<sup>1</sup> tells me that the Amārā Burǧi living in the country near the southern bank of Lake Regina Margherita is a Galla group.<sup>2</sup> *Burǧi*, he says, is the Galla pronunciation of the Amharic word *bīrz*, "honeyed water," the favorite drink of these Galla. Other Bōrānā groups live by the streams of Canal Guddā, Canal Ǧiggō, Doria, and Dāwa, as far as the Somali countries near Lugh. A few miles from Dolo, at the frontier of Italian Somaliland, the maps bear Galla names, e.g. *Mālkā Rīē 'ē*, "the ford of the she-goat;"<sup>3</sup> *Matā namā fakkāte*, i.e. "the hill resembling the head of a man."<sup>4</sup> These dialects differ considerably from the

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> It appears to me that this information given me by Loransiyos is not exact. Dr. Conti Rossini has published from the unedited notes of Captain Bottego one hundred words of the language spoken in Amārā Burǧi (cf. Carlo Conti Rossini, *I Bambala di Amara Burǧi ed il loro linguaggio*; *Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia*, vol. 6). The natives of Amārā Burǧi call themselves Bambala. Dr. Conti Rossini examining this material and comparing it with allied languages, thus concludes his essay: "If the notes of Captain Bottego show us the real character of the language spoken by the Bambala of Amara Burǧi, my examination leads to these conclusions: 1. The Bambala grammar is Galla grammar, or, at least, largely influenced by the Galla grammar; 2. On the contrary, the Bambala vocabulary for the most part is Sidama; 3. The Sidama language spoken by the Bambala does not belong to the southern Sidama group, i.e. the Omēti dialects, Dāwrō, Wālmō, etc., but to the eastern Sidama, i.e. it is allied with Hādiyā, Tambārō, etc."

However, a recent examination of Captain Bottego's material in comparison with the result of my researches on the Galla dialects, shows other Galla *Lehnwörter* among the Bambala words published by Dr. Conti Rossini, e.g. Captain Bottego translates *marānā*, *mārra*, "to go" (I agree with the hypothesis of Conti Rossini that these words are not infinitives, but first persons plural of the imperfect). The word is certainly derived from the Galla root *mar* (in Māččā dialects as in southern Galla, "surround," "go round," "walk about"). Is the Somali, *mar*, "to pass," derived from the same Kushitic root, or is it the Arabic *mārra*? Moreover, the Bambala *dānsa*, "fine" = southern Galla *dansa*, "good"; *yera*, "ugly" is perhaps the Galla *yārā*, "lame" (cf. Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, vol. 3, p. 267). Bambala *mina*, "hut," is certainly the Galla *mānā* (but not *mānā*) as Dr. Conti Rossini says. The connection between the eastern Sidama words, *min*, *minē*, and the Galla *mānā* is demonstrated by the Somali *mīn*. Thus *lukkančo*, "hen," (perhaps the real meaning of the word is "fowl"), appears to be derived from the Bōrānā Galla *lukkū*, (southern Galla, *lukkū*, Somali in Harar, *lūki*). Bambala *ajū*, "mother" is the Galla *ayō*; Bambala *inanada* does not mean "fear" but "he is afraid," and is derived from the Galla root *na*, "to frighten" (cf. Somali, *nā*, "pain," "trouble," "weariness"), reflexive form *naq*, "to be afraid." Bambala *inagata*, "to sell," is allied, I think, with the Somali (Marrēhān dialect) *gad*, "to sell." Therefore, out of one hundred words selected by Captain Bottego, about thirty are derived from Galla roots. The eastern Sidama roots of Bambala are about twenty, more numerous than the southern and western Sidama roots, of which there are five or six. Among the personal names collected by Bottego, beside those already noted by Dr. Conti Rossini, the following nouns are certainly Galla; *bitāččo*, the "left-handed," *burǧé*, *dambalā* (is *dambalā* a personal name? In Galla, *dambalā* means "rising in waves," and is the Galla name for Lake Regina Margherita); *dargó* ("the fine young man"), *gobē*, *godana*, *guya* (more frequently *guyātu*; it means "[born] by day"); *gilō* is perhaps the following *ǧilō*, *iddō*, *kolbē*, *waččē*, *wayū*, *yaya* (which is not connected with the Arabic *Yahya*, "John," as Conti Rossini supposed, but is the Galla *yáyā*, "wolf"). Others may be discovered after collecting further examples of the Galla onomasticon.

All this proves, I think, the extensive Galla influence on the Bambala vocabulary; however I will refer to the statement made by Vannutelli and Citerni in their account of Captain Bottego's expedition (Vannutelli e Citerni, *L'Omo*, Milano, 1899, p. 184) that almost all the Bambala of Amārā Burǧi also speak Bōrānā Galla. Loransiyos's mistake may have arisen in this way, and it seems to me also that the many Galla elements in the words collected by Bottego are probably derived from the same source; on the southern frontier of the Amārā Burǧi there are certainly Galla tribes. And in addition to the information of travellers, the toponymy of this country is Galla: Bisān Gurrāččā, Gubbā, Ballēsā, Dada, Bultī Iddō, Galānā Sagan, etc. Loransiyos adds that he has heard in Amārā Burǧi a legendary genealogy of the Galla living round Burǧi. According to this genealogy, these Galla are descended from the Karrayū, the well-known eastern Galla tribe near Harar.

<sup>3</sup> *Mālkā Rīē 'ē* at 4° lat. North, 42° East Greenwich.

<sup>4</sup> West of *Mālkā Rīē 'ē*.

Máččā dialects, but less from the Tulámā, so Loransiyos tells me. The songs published in this article (s. 52–54) concerning the war between the Arussi Galla and Rās Dārgē were chanted by the Arussi. For this reason, I hesitated to publish them; but Galla original texts are still so scarce, and the three songs concern historical events so little known, that I have decided to include them, especially because the poetical form, restricted by the metre, assures, I think, the Arussi text against the variations which would probably be introduced by a native who was not an Arussi.

The Wállō Galla, according to Loransiyos, are probably Bōránā. Cecchi has stated<sup>1</sup> that, according to Galla tradition, the Wállō are Arussi who emigrated from their native country. Loransiyos tells me that the dialect of the Wállō resembles the dialect of the Ittu, but as I have not collected texts in the Wállō dialects, I cannot vouch for this information. Loransiyos adds that among the seven Wállō tribes (called by the Amara *sābāt Wállō bêt*, “the seven Wállō houses”), the Wārrā Himānō speak more Amharic than Galla; the Wārrā Babbō and the Wārra Qallú speak Galla; the others, Amharic mixed with Galla; and the tribes near Aussa, Galla mixed with Dankali.<sup>2</sup>

The second large group of Galla dialects is the Southern Galla spoken by the tribes living on the banks of the Tana River in British East Africa, known as Bararetta and Kofira Galla. Prātorius<sup>3</sup> has noted the Bararetta dialectic peculiarity of the apocope in the substantives; but from the Gospels of St. John and Matthew translated into Bararetta by the missionaries of the United Methodist Free Churches,<sup>4</sup> from the publications of Fischer,<sup>5</sup> and Miss Alice Werner,<sup>6</sup> and from a manuscript dictionary by the Rev. Mr. Howe, there appear a long series of grammatical and lexicological peculiarities. Southern Galla is closely allied to Eastern Galla, and has great linguistic importance on account of the interesting glotto-logical phenomena which occur in it, especially the influence of the accent on the final vowel. It is therefore desirable that Southern Galla should be studied further, and preferably in relation to Northern Galla.

I have collected the following Galla texts from four sources:

1. Lĭġġ Ḥayla Māryām Gugsā Dārgē, son of Rās Dārgē, the uncle of Negus Menilek II. He was born in Salālē, a district of Tulámā Galla. As he came to Europe many years ago, he remembers few Galla songs, but I obtained from him strophe 79, and some others not published here.

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, Roma, 1886, vol. 1, p. 513.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lincoln De Castro, *Nella terra dei negus*, Milano, 1915, vol. 2, p. 333. This confirms the statement of Loransiyos.

<sup>3</sup> Franz Prātorius, *Zur Grammatik der Galla Sprache*, Berlin, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> Gura Dansa ak Yohannes barese, *afan oromati*, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society for the United Methodist Free Churches' East African Mission (without date); Gur Dansa ak Mattayos barese, London, printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1904.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. Fischer, ‘Die Sprache des sud-Galla Land,’ (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1878, vol. 10, p. 141–144).

<sup>6</sup> A. Werner, ‘The Galla of the East Africa Protectorate,’ (*Journal of the British African Society*, vol. 12, no. 50, and vol. 13, no. 51; ‘A Galla ritual prayer,’ (*Man*, vol. 14, p. 129–131). Cf. E. Cerulli, ‘I Galla dell’Africa Orientale inglese,’ (*Rivista Coloniale*, Anno 12, November, 1914). This is a review of Miss Werner’s writings.



2. Agà Moḥammed Sa'íd, born in Hagalô (Límmu) a district of Máččā Galla. He was taken from his native land and sold by slave merchants into Eritrea, the country of the Assaorta Saho. Freed from slavery, he enlisted in the Italian colonial army and during the war in 1911-12 fought in Libya against the Arabo-Turks. As there are many natives of Galla countries, for the most part freed slaves, in the native battalions of Eritrea, it was again possible for Agà Moḥammed to speak his native language. I obtained from him six strophes in the dialects of the northeastern Máččā: the strophes 14, 65, 67, 68, 78, 141.

3. Loransiyos Walda Iyasus, born in the country of the Abbiččú Galla (Shoa). From him I have collected nearly all the texts in this volume. He is an old man, a reliable, valuable, and perhaps unique source of information concerning the Galla countries. He knows *de visu* places and personages; and during his adventurous life he has participated in the principal historical events of those countries for the last thirty years. He was taken by his parents to Liêqā Naqamtê and remained there during his youth. Soldier in the army of Dağğâč Morodâ, and afterwards of Dağğâč Kumsâ (son of Morodâ), he fought in all the wars against the enemies of Liêqā Naqamtê. Then he went to Liêqā Qiëllém and entered the army of Dağğâč Gotê; therefore he fought in 1897 in the combat in which Captain Bottego was killed, and Lieutenant Vannutelli and Lieutenant Citerni were taken prisoners; all three were members of the expedition sent into Abyssinia by the Royal Italian Geographical Society. Loransiyos then enrolled himself in the army of Dağğâč Haylé Guddísā, brother of Rās Makonnen, and chief of the Nónnō and Sulú Galla; he was afterwards chosen by the chief to accompany Qañāzmâč Abbā Nabrô on a great expedition led by the Qañāzmâč to hunt elephants. This expedition crossed all the countries beyond the Gibê, and advanced as far as the Galla around Lake Rudolph. Returning from this hunt, he quitted Dağğâč Haylé, passed through the Šānqillā countries inhabited by the Berta to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and remained there a few months, fighting with the Egyptian soldiers against Ali Dinar, the Sultan of Darfur. Finally, he enlisted in the Italian colonial army and fought in Libya. He speaks the dialect of the Liêqā Galla (northeastern Máččā) and while he knows the Máččā dialects well, on account of the vicissitudes of his life, he remembers very little of the dialect of Shoa (Tulámā-Galla). He lives today at Keren in Eritrea. It would be well worth while to approach him again to collect other notes and especially, the end of the "Chronicle of Gúmā" (Prose, text 1).

As I have already said, I have obtained from Loransiyos all the historical songs and the notes concerning them (1-64), except songs 14 and 33; many of the war songs, love songs, nuptial and religious songs, and the second song of the caravans, s. 146. He also helped me to translate the songs of *The Galla Spelling Book*<sup>1</sup> and gave me all the prose texts, and the proverbs, 90-96. The proverbs and the riddles of *The Galla Spelling Book* have also been translated with Loransiyos's aid.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *infra*, p. 15.

4. Other texts I have gathered from a strange little book published in 1894 under two titles; a title in English, *The Galla Spelling Book by Onesimos Nesib, a native Galla, Printed at the Swedish Mission Press in Moncullo near Massowah, 1894*; and a title in Galla written in Ethiopic characters, which I transcribe literally, *Ġalqaba barsisā ħnnīs mačāfa dubbisu barsisanun afān oromottī, Warra biya oromo karā Wāqayo agarsisudāf walīttī qabani čāfani Awāġ Onesimos kan ġēdamuf Ganon Aster kan ġēdamtu, Tolfamē Muṭuwā bukkē ĩsaġiru ganda Monkullottī goftākēña Yasus Kristos erga ḡalate bodē waggā kuma tokko ḡibba sadētīf sagaltami afurittī*. This means: "The beginning of teaching; that is, a book of conversation for those who study the language of the Galla. To show the natives of Galla countries the way to God; collected and printed (this book) by Awag Onesimos and Ganon Aster. Made in the village Monkullo at the side of Massaua, 1894 years after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ." Notice that in the English title Ganon Aster is not named as author of the book. This small book, the substance of which was till now unknown, appears to the reader to have been written purposely to discredit the Swedish Mission. "To show the natives of Galla countries the way to God," there are collected love songs, war songs, one of the tribal songs, and finally, the songs of the religious ceremonies of Galla paganism (*Wādāġā*), and a series of songs in honor of Atētē, the goddess of fecundity, worshipped by the Oromo. The collection, of course, is most interesting; for little is known in Europe concerning Galla paganism. Being the first collection of pagan religious songs printed and circulated in Galla countries, without any explanation of customs, beliefs, and local historical events familiar to the Galla, but unknown to Europeans, the contents were difficult to interpret; I could not have translated it without the aid of Loransiyos. The texts published in *The Galla Spelling Book* (the whole volume except the aforesaid title in English, is in Galla) are in the Máččā dialect with dialectal characteristics of Límму, the native country of Onesimos Nesib. The author or authors write the Galla in Ethiopic characters; therefore, they are obliged to use a very complicated transcription to express the sounds of the Galla language with the letters of the Ethiopic alphabet which express very imperfectly even the sounds of the Ethiopic language. This transcription is further complicated because the authors have sometimes attempted to mark the accent of the words. There is no special sign for this in the Ethiopic alphabet; therefore, they mark the accented vowel long, even when it is short. Moreover, the system of transcription is not explained in the book; the authors do not indicate what Galla sounds correspond in their system to this or that Ethiopic letter. Therefore, reading this small book is very like deciphering a secret writing, and it is evident why, for twenty-five years after its publication, its substance remained unknown, and the Swedish Mission fell into the aforesaid error. I have transcribed the songs of *The Galla Spelling Book* in the usual transcription, following the pronunciation of Loransiyos to indicate the accent and the double consonants. When Loransiyos gives me variants, I add them; when he tells me that the version of *The Galla Spelling Book* is incorrect, I indicate both versions. The texts of *The Galla Spelling*



*Book* translated in this volume are song 33 among the historical songs; many of the war, hunting, and religious songs, the first song of the caravans (s. 145), several of the love and nuptial songs, the pastoral songs, and the cradle songs, proverbs 1-89, and riddles 1-9. Loransiyos knows by heart several verses of songs 99 and 126.

In view of the present condition of Galla studies in Europe, I hope that the following texts are not without interest, whatever defects may be found among them. The texts, translated literally as far as possible, are preceded by the notes which I have collected from the natives on the subject of the song, and followed by some explanation in order to make possible the reading of this book by the student who is not a specialist in Galla linguistics and ethnology. The history of the independent Galla states, so vague and lacking in documents till now, is the subject of the first group of songs. I beg the reader to note particularly songs 8-27 concerning the religious wars between the pagan Galla and the Islamized Galla tribes beyond the Gibiṛe. The songs of the wars between the Galla and the Amara during the conquest of the Galla lands begun and finished by Menilek II, contain a short biography of Râs Gobanâ; and finally the songs of the Italo-Ethiopic war are a new proof of the great losses of the Abyssinians in the battle of Adua.<sup>1</sup>

I should like to add some explanatory notes on peculiarities in grammar and vocabulary of the dialect in which the texts were composed; but since Galla is almost unknown from the scientific point of view, I do not possess a Galla lexicon which I consider authoritative, to which I can refer the peculiarities of the songs; nor is the grammatical essay by Prâtorius<sup>2</sup> a sound basis for comparison of dialectical peculiarities. A systematic exposition of the grammar of the Máččā Galla dialect and the glossary of the texts contained in this volume shall be the subject of a later work of mine, *yó Wāqāyó nūf ġēdē*.

It is my duty to thank those who have encouraged my studies or made possible the publication of this work: in Italy, Professor F. Gallina, professor of Amharic and Tigritian languages at the Royal Oriental Institute of Naples, my eminent teacher, to whom I am happy to express here my most respectful gratitude; Senator I. Guidi, professor of Semitic Philology, Languages, and History of Abyssinia in the Royal University of Rome; Senator Y. D'Andrea, President of the Italian African Society; and in England, Miss Alice Werner, lecturer on Swahili and Bantu languages at the School of Oriental Studies in London.

ENRICO CERULLI.

NAPLES, 1917.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Cerulli, 'Canti popolari amarici,' (Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filosofiche, vol. 25, pt. 6, Roma, 1916, p. 13-14).

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit.

PHONETIC VALUE OF THE CHARACTERS <sup>1</sup>

I have employed the following phonetic alphabet to designate the sounds of the Galla language.

**Plosives**

labials: *p, b, p̣*  
 coronals: *t, d*  
 precacuminals: *ṭ*  
 cacuminals: *ḍ*  
 prepalatals: *ǧ, ǣ, ǥ*  
 mediopalatals: *k, g*  
 post-palatals: *q*  
 laryngals: *ʼ, h*

**Fricatives**

labials: *w*  
 labio-dentals: *f, b*  
 alveolars: *s*  
 palatals: *š*  
 pregutturals: *y*

**Sonants**

liquids: *r, l, ṛ, ḷ*  
 labials: *m*

**Nasals**

alveolars: *n*  
 palatals: *ñ*

The consonants *q, p̣, ṭ, ḍ, ǥ* are not plosives in the most rigorous sense of this phonetic classification; similarly *ḷ, ṛ*, cannot be called "sonants." They (*p̣, ṭ, q, ḍ, ǥ, ḷ, ṛ*) belong to the sound-group which has been thus described by Sievers: <sup>2</sup> "After the formation of the closing of the mouth, the communication between the mouth cavity and the lungs is interrupted by an energetic closing of the vocal chords." W. Schmidt <sup>3</sup> justly remarks that there are two kinds of sounds with guttural occlusion; the explosion of the closure of the glottis may occur either before or simultaneously with the closure of the mouth. If the explosion of the closure of the glottis occurs after the explosion of the closure of the mouth, the sound which is formed is properly a consonantal diphthong, i.e. *p̣ʼ, ṭʼ, ḍʼ 4 qʼ*. <sup>5</sup> Therefore Meinhof <sup>6</sup> transcribes the Galla sound *ḍ* as *ʼd*. If both plosives occur at the same time, the sound is single and Schmidt transcribes it with an apostrophe on the consonant, e.g. *ʼk, ʼt, ʼp*.

In Galla the plosives always occur simultaneously except in the following cases: *ḍ* between two vowels, e.g. *baḍânā*, pronounce *baḍ ʼânā*; *p̣* in every case; *ḷ, ṛ*, in those dialects which have kept these sounds. When *q* is followed by *i* or *î* (the fifth class of the Ethiopic alphabet), the basis of articulation is pushed forward towards the prepalate. Therefore, in this case, the closure of the mouth does not occur in the post-palate but in the middle palate; the closure is made by the motion of the tongue's middle dorsal region.

<sup>1</sup> The Editors wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr. G. P. Lestrade of Harvard University for his assistance in reading this portion of the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Eduard Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, Leipzig, 1901.

<sup>3</sup> W. Schmidt, 'Die Sprachlaute und ihre Darstellung in einem allgemeinen linguistischen Alphabet,' (*Anthropos*, Wien, 1907, vol. 2, p. 896).

<sup>4</sup> Prätorius, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> Carl Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912.

When thus pronounced, it is not followed by or joined with closure of the glottis. The same forward tendency in the closure of the mouth occurs in the sounds *k*, *g*, when they are followed by *ie*. I have not used special signs to transcribe these modifications of the sounds *q*, *k*, *g*, in order that my phonetic alphabet may be as simple as possible. There is no vestige in the northeastern Máččā dialects of the consonants *l*, *r*, except the words *hára*, "today," *mařimān*, "entrails," *bálā*, "broad." Loransiyos pronounces *l* and *r* only in these words; he tells me that both sounds have been retained in the dialect spoken in Ğímmā Abbā Ğifār. Therefore he calls the Ğímmā Galla, "those who speak with bound tongue."

The vowels used in this dialect in the following texts are: *a*, *ā*, *ä*, *ǎ*, *e*, *ē*, *ie*, *ę*, *ē*, *ǝ*, *i*, *ī*, *o*, *ō*, *q*, *ō*, *ũ*, *ū*, *ūō*; *ę*, *q*, are closed *e* and *o* of the Italian alphabet. The other vowels have the same value as in the usual transcription of the Semitic languages.

I have transcribed all the changes occasioned by the contact of a final sound and an initial sound of two words with the sign *˘* placed between the words, e.g. *hárkā ˘ ırbôrá* = *hárkā ırbôrá*. In Galla the accent of the word in a phrase is different from the accent of the isolated word; I have indicated in the following texts the accent of the word as I heard it in each phrase.

## SONGS

### SONGS ON HISTORICAL SUBJECTS

#### a) The Independent Galla States.

##### 1

The king of Gúmā, Abbā Dúlā Abbā Ğubîr, fought against Ğímmā Abbā Ğifār three times during his reign. First Ğímmā won, but the second time Abbā Ğubîr defeated the army of Tullú Abbā Ğifār II, entered the capital of his enemy's kingdom and sacked it, although the kings of Lımmu and Gómmā rushed to help their ally, Abbā Ğifār. The date of this war (according to Loransiyos) was probably about 1885–1886. Concerning it, a Gúmā minstrel sang:

*Gúmā ˘bbā dūlā mımıttā*  
*Ončo Ğılčā maráttā dā*

*Ğímmā ˘bbā Ğifār márqā garbútti*  
*ğimmátā dufé qidámıē ˘ndúmtı*

1 Gúmā of the Abbā Dúlā is pepper. 2 Ončo Ğılčā is furious. 3 Ğímmā of Abbā Ğifār is porridge of barley. 4 He [Abbā Ğubîr] came [to Ğímmā] Friday; Saturday, he has not yet finished [pillagin ].

*Notes.* Abbā Dúlā is the title of the Gúmā kings (literally, "lord of the expedition"). King Abbā Ğubîr is called, according to the Galla custom, by the name of his famous ancestor, Ončo Ğılčā. Abbā Ğifār was the war-name of Tullú, the king of Ğímmā. There is a custom among the Galla and the Amara of taking as a war-title the name of their horses. Thus *Abbā Ğifār* means the "lord of the dapple grey horse." The day of the victorious entry into Ğímmā was Friday (v. 4). "Porridge of barley," food of the poor,



symbolizes the want of bravery in Ğimmā's army, opposed to the pepper, i.e. the audacity of Gúmā's soldiers.

## 2

In this victorious expedition against Ğimmā, Abbā Ğubîr took prisoner Ğennê Alîmā, sister of King Abbā Ğifâr. Alîmā was carried off to Gúmā and confined in the royal residence; but her husband, Năgău Garbí, chief of Liêqā Billô, entered Gúmā, skillfully disguised, assuming the ironically threatening pseudonym, "*Bôr Albâ*" ("tomorrow, colic," i.e. "tomorrow, my enemies shall be afraid"). He advanced by night to the royal residence, and killed the sentries by thrusts of his spear, including the famous warrior Dilbô, and Muḥammed Yâsi, son of Dilbô. Thus Năgău rescued his bride, and after adorning his horse with the spoils of his dead enemies, fled with Ğennê Alîmā toward Ğimmā. Abbā Ğubîr himself pursued the fugitives; and, running more swiftly than his soldiers, he passed his escort and was unexpectedly assailed by Năgău Garbí. The king of Gúmā, seeing that he was far from his soldiers, alone, face to face with his enemy, fled, and Năgău Garbí, as a triumphant proof of the king's flight, cut off the tail of Abbā Ğubîr's horse and brought it to Ğimmā. Thereafter, he sang this boasting-song:

<i>dôbâ Garbí Ğilô</i>	<i>bôr iflân ğimmâta</i>
<i>Năgău Abbâ Ğifâr</i>	10 <i>Goriddâ sî nâta</i>
<i>găfgăf tórbâ ğġesé</i>	<i>ġatâni qâqâ</i>
<i>abbâf îlmâ ğġesé</i>	<i>gândâ ġawê Ončo</i>
5 <i>akkakayú habná</i>	<i>batâni dâqa</i>
<i>ġinfú lafâ riêbé</i>	<i>şurâ murâ Garbí</i>
<i>tiêpâf harrê wâmî</i>	15 <i>şurâ na muraté</i>
<i>Ğimma tolâ rgali</i>	<i>nitikîetti matî!</i>

1 The hero [son] of Garbí [son] of Ğilô, 2 Năgău [brother-in-law] of Abbâ Ğifâr 3 every day kills seven [warriors]. 4 He killed the father [Dilbô] and the son [Muḥammed Yâsi], 5 and, as the grandfather remained [yet living], 6 he struck the ground with the haft of the spear. 7 Bring [literally, call] the girths for the charger and the ass! 8 Send the presents [i.e. the spoils] to Ğimmā! 9 The day after tomorrow, Friday, 10 Goriddâ will eat you [O Abbā Ğubîr!] 11 The builders [construct] the ceiling. 12 From the village of Ğawê Ončo, 13 I will arise and go forth. 14 The tail-cutter Garbí 15 has cut off the tail for me! 16 Tell your bride [O Abbā Ğubîr!]

*Notes.* Abbâ Goriddâ (v. 10) was the war-name of Năgău Garbí (literally, "lord of Goriddâ"; Goriddâ was his horse). In verses 11–15 Garbí says: "The builders of Gúmā construct the ceiling of their huts (where the Galla hang their spears). Gúmā has warriors and spears, nevertheless I came in and went out." Năgău Garbí fought against the Italians in 1896 and died in the battle of Adua. His father was Garbí Ğilô.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, Roma, 1886, vol. 2, p. 399–402.



At the court of Tullú Abbā Ğifâr at Ginġo, hunting expeditions and Islamic holidays followed closely on one another. Abbā Ğifâr was considered a strict Mussulman and his eldest son even more so. Ğimmā, already the heart of commerce in the countries beyond the Gibê River, became also the centre of Islamic studies in these lands. Consequently, all the most celebrated Galla minstrels gathered at the court of Abbā Ğifâr to produce their songs in this literary and commercial centre. Several songs were chanted on the occasion of a challenge between the Mussulman warrior, Tolâ Mamûd, a famous elephant hunter, and Qiṭṭiessâ Gállô, governor of a province in the Ğimmā kingdom. Tolâ Mamûd wagered that he, alone, without a spear, could kill an elephant by sword thrusts in the presence of the whole court of Ğimmā. The stake was Sardô, a horse presented to Tolâ Mamûd by Túččo Dánnô, the chief of Liêqâ Hordâ (see song 15). After accepting the stake, Qiṭṭiessâ Gállô invited the court to ascend a hill, and there they saw Tolâ Mamûd assail and kill an elephant by his sword, although, during the struggle, the elephant struck with his trunk and killed Sardô, the horse at stake. Here is the victory song of Tolâ:

<i>Qiṭṭiessâ gadê Gállô</i>	<i>niṭikîe natti ħittê</i>
<i>kôrâttu ḥkkâ ħirâ</i>	<i>Sardô ġannâto Túččo</i>
<i>yâ ôltu ḥkkâ nađđiēni</i>	<i>baēssâ Tutê Dánnô</i>
<i>qaqarô torbâ yâbî</i>	<i>ħisi-kâ dú 'a ħôggo</i>
5 <i>đáltu gallô ambâččâ</i>	15 <i>dâni ħirâ akkanâ</i>
<i>torbanú kufú ħabî</i>	<i>Qiṭṭiessâ intalî Gállô</i>
<i>arriēdî natti kottú</i>	<i>sôbâ wâyâ guttâtte</i>
<i>maṭṭarî nan sí hiđâ</i>	<i>nâ qabatî, yâ Qiṭṭiessâ</i>
<i>gâfâ maṭṭarrî ḥnċittê</i>	<i>kriellâ môtî qabatî</i>
10 <i>lubbunkîe láfâ liṭtê</i>	20 <i>yâ ḥmaġġin garadî</i>
	<i>ħiryân dúrbâ Ginġô</i>

1 O Qiṭṭiessâ, vile [son] of Gállô, 2 proud as a man 3 [but] living as the women, 4 go climb seven qaqarô trees! 5 O daughter of Gállô, the lion, 6 seven times fall down [from the trees] and break yourself! 7 Run! Come to me! 8 With the bindweed I will bind you. 9 When the bindweed was cut, 10 your heart sunk into the ground. 11 Your bride has resolved [to come] to me! 12 Sardô, the necklace of Túččo, 13 the fine (horse) of Tutê Dánnô, 14 repose!<sup>1</sup> 15 There is the death of a man! 16 O, Qiṭṭiessâ, girl [daughter] of Gállô. 17 The lie has filled the togas! 18 Seize me, O Qiṭṭiessâ! 19 At the gate of the king, seize me! 20 O enemy of the servant maids, 21 friend of the girls of Ginġo!

*Notes.* Note that in the whole song, the feminine is used instead of the masculine to express the contempt of the singer for Qiṭṭiessâ. Qaqarô (v. 4) is a kind of gigantic

<sup>1</sup> The sense of the words dú 'a ħôggo is not clear.

sycamore growing in Kaffa and in the countries of Ġimmā and Gârō, contiguous to Kaffa. Sardô, the horse at stake is called (v. 12) "the necklace of Túččo," his most precious gem. Tutê (v. 13) is the diminutive of the name Túččo. It is the Galla custom to use the diminutives of proper names in boasting and war songs. Verse 14 means "your toga covers lies only," i.e. you are a liar! Verses 20–21 allude to the rumor that Qiṭṭiessā had much luck in his gallant adventures at the court of Ġimmā.

## 4

The warrior Šōnê of the Lîeqā Sibû tribe was challenged by Simâ ʿbbā Dîenta of Gúmā, an officer of Abbā Gûbîr. Here is the boasting song of Simâ:

<i>čirâ čirî! ġēttē</i>	<i>Simâ kallê lienčā</i>
<i>māf an čirâ čirâ?</i>	<i>bakákkā kuê-dā</i>
<i>Simâ simî! ġēttē</i>	<i>irrá ná darbáta</i>
<i>māf an Simâ simâ?</i>	10 <i>ġalâ ná muráta</i>
5 <i>niēnčā niēnčā bātú</i>	<i>māf an Simâ simâ?</i>
<i>maráttu ábbā Dîenta</i>	

1 "Weed the weed!" you said. 2 How can I weed the weed? 3 "Surpass Simâ!" you said. 4 How can I surpass Simâ? 5 The lion bringing a lion ('s skin), 6 the furious (brother) of Abbā Dîenta, 7 Simâ (bringing) the cloak of lion's skin. 8 The lightning (son) of Kuê 9 pierces me above, 10 cuts me below. 11 How can I surpass Simâ?

*Notes.* 1–2 are introductory verses, usual in Galla songs, forming a kind of parallelism of sounds or images with the following verses of the song. Here, the pun of the first verse, *čirâ čirî* is analogous to the pun of verses 3–4, *Simâ simî*. The name Simâ means in Galla "he who surpasses"; thus the singer puns: "How can I surpass him who surpasses?" Kuê (v. 8) was the mother of Simâ (see song 109). Verse 10 alludes clearly to the Galla custom of cutting off the genitals of the captive warriors as war-spoils.

## 5

Šōnê answered the boasting-song of Simâ with this song:

<i>námā Simâ simû</i>	<i>múčā Bušê Miġġú</i>
<i>anî biēkán himú</i>	<i>hatísa Boġêdā</i>
<i>gára Sibútti~mú</i>	<i>abbása Bušáni</i>
<i>Šōnê muđî ribú</i>	<i>argása~nqūfáni</i>
5 <i>gára Sibútti~mú</i>	

1 A man surpassing Simâ, 2 I know him and I will say (his name). 3 I speak of Sibû, 4 of Šōnê whose waist is a rope. 5 I speak of Sibû, 6 of the child of Bušê (son) of Miġġú. 7 His mother is Boġê. 8 His father is Bušáni. 9 No one grows tired of looking at him.

*Notes.* In this song appears one of the characteristic features of boasting in Galla war-songs, the enumeration of all the ancestors on both the father's and the mother's side. (See also the *fârsā*, songs 30-33). Šonê was the son of Bušáni (diminutive, Bušê, cf. song 3), son of Miğğú. His personal name was Gîendā, but, according to Galla custom, the women of his house did not pronounce his name, and called him Šonê, i.e. "gem." Verse 4 alludes to the thinness of Šonê, one of the qualities most appreciated by the Galla.

## 6

On assailing Simâ, Šonê said:

*gaṭanâ Bušê Miğğú*  
*Gîendātú ċabbi rôbé*

1 The thin (son) of Bušê (son) of Miğğú. 2 Gîendā rains (like) hail.

## 7

Simâ answered:

*harángamâ Gumâ*  
*ċāmsítu ġálā ġtrti*

1 The thorny thicket of Gúmā. 2 The ċāmsítu is below.

*Notes.* The ċāmsítu are sorcerers capable, according to Galla belief, of checking rain by the fumes of burning aromatic grass. When it does not rain in the country, and the tribal chief suspects that the drought has been occasioned by the sorceries of the ċāmsítu, he orders that they be arrested and buried to the waist in holes dug for the purpose, and there they remain till the coming of the rain. Similarly, the populations inhabiting the banks of the great rivers (Gibê, Omô, Diddiêssā) have recourse to the ċāmsítu to restrain the river at the time of floods.

## 8

After the conversion of the Galla kingdoms beyond the Gibê to Mohammedanism in the years 1855-70,<sup>1</sup> wars between these kingdoms were often occasioned by religious pretexts which several times disguised the usual motives of competition. The slight diffusion of Islamic culture and the survival of pagan beliefs in the Islamism practiced by these peoples, resulted in giving little evidence in those early times of a change of religion. But the Egyptian and Sudanese merchants aided, says Loransiyos, by Khedive Ismail began to form local centres of religious culture. The first among these centres was Ġímmā Abbā Ġifâr (see song 3). From these centres originated the first fanatics and the first attempts at rebellion. The first rebel was a warrior of Därrā, a tribe in Shoa near Salālîê. He, according to the custom of these Galla Mussulmen, kept in addition to his Mohammedan name Hasan, his pagan name Wádâġ. Hasan heading the Därrā (all converted to Islâm), and choosing from the most famous Mussulmen of these countries ten dervishes, as a kind of personal guard (perhaps an embryonic *zāwiyah*), began to fight Dağġâċ Mašašâ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Cerulli, 'L'Islam nei regni galla indipendenti,' (L'Africa Italiana, Napoli, 1916, vol. 35, p. 113-119. Some statements made in this article are corrected and enlarged by the following songs.



Sayfú, sent against him by Menilek. After defeating Mašašâ, he prepared to resist Râs Mikâ 'êl, sent by Emperor Johannes IV to Därrâ. Râs Mikâ 'êl was defeated and obliged to take refuge on Tullú Aylú, a mountain near Därrâ, to escape from the cavalry of Hasan Wädâğ. Then a minstrel sang this strophe in Amharic to honour Hasan:

<i>Hasân Wadâğ Abbâ Kurārâ</i>	<i>wärdô yigätmâl biččâ la-biččâ</i>
<i>gäddäl säddädä yihén hullú Amārâ</i>	<i>5 b-abbätú Mumâd bā-nnatú Faṭmâ</i>
<i>bābbätú zihón bā-nnatú ambäččâ</i>	<i>ṭabanğâ bittakküdäš zôr ayilmmâ</i>

1 Hasan Wadâğ Abbâ Kurārâ 2 sent into the abyss all these Amara. 3 By his father's side, he (his father) is an elephant; by mother's side, she (his mother) is a lioness. 4 He descends and fights face to face. 5 By his father's side, he is Muhammad; by mother's side, she is Fatmah. 6 Although the guns are discharged, he does not turn back.

*Notes.* Abbâ Kurārâ was the war-name of Hasan, i.e. "lord of Kurārâ" (his horse). Notice in verse 3, *ambäččâ* instead of the usual Amharic *ambässâ*; the change of -ssa to -ččâ has been occasioned either by the necessity of the rhyming with *biččâ*, or by the influence of the Galla *ambäččâ*. It is clear that the song was composed by a Galla who used the Amharic as a literary language; for example, in v. 5 Mumâd is the Galla pronunciation of the name Muhammad. This verse 5 seems to me noteworthy, because the singer uses to indicate the Islamic ardor of the hero, the strange expression: "His father is Muhammad, his mother is Fatmah," certain proof of the very slight culture of the Galla Mussulmen.

## 9

The Emperor Johannes IV and King Menilek II, although they might not have been pleased by the foundation of such a small Mussulman state on the frontiers of Shoa and Goğğâm did not act in concert to organize an expedition against Hasan. So at first, Râs Mikâ 'êl in the Emperor's behalf, and Däğğâč Mašašâ Sayfú for Menilek, fought and were defeated separately. Afterwards, when a large army had just been prepared in Shoa to assail Därrâ, the Galla sang this riddle:

*täkké tarakké*  
*lafên okkotét rakkaté?*

1 Come on, divine! 2 Is the bone distressed in the pot?

*Notes.* The bone was Hasan, desired by the dogs, i.e. the Amara; the pot was Därrâ, his tribe. As a pot protects a bone against the dogs who will not risk rushing into the pot, and cannot get the bone except by breaking the pot, so Hasan was protected by the Därrâ against the Amara who would not risk their lives by coming into Därrâ's country and could not capture Hasan except by defeating the Därrâ. The Shoan expedition had not yet departed when Hasan died a natural death, after slaughtering his war-horse. "After my death," he said, "no one can ride Kurārâ!"

Notice the formula *täkké tarakké*. Loransiyos tells me that this formula has no sense, but is used to attract the attention to the text of the riddle to follow.



## 10

The following songs were inspired by the wars between pagans and Mussulmen, centering in the kingdom of Gúmā. Gúmā was converted to Islam, says Loransiyos, before the other Galla kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1882, the king of Gúmā, Abbā Ğubîr, resolved to make an expedition against the pagans of Gabbâ at the northwestern frontier of his kingdom. The expedition was especially directed against Hánna, a Gabbâ country, of which the governor was Abbā Bárā, a famous sorcerer. The first battles were favorable to the Mussulmen who defeated Abbā Bárā and Abbā Dímā Tambô, chief of the Liêqā Nos and Arróġgi tribes, allies of Hánna. Hánna's prisoners taken to Gúmā sang this strophe:

*Ábbā Bárā kán durtî  
matám^bái na furî  
gatîn lôn afurî*

1 O Abbā Barā of times past, 2 turn your head and redeem me! 3 The ransom is four cows.

## 11

In these combats, Ambässâ Abbā Somîe, an officer of Abbā Bárā's army, was killed by Gállô, governor of a province (Abbā Qorô) in the Gúmā kingdom.

*Ambässâ^bbā Somîeti  
Gállô ambässâ^rrā gūngumá*

1 Over Ambässâ Abbā Somîe, 2 Gállô, the lion, roars.

*Note.* The singer puns on the double sense of the word *ambässâ*, personal name of the slain warrior, and "lion" in Amharic.

## 12

The first success of Abbā Ğubîr alarmed all the chiefs of the countries between the rivers Didǵiessâ and Bârô, who saw that these Islamic propagandists enforced their sermons with spear thrusts and pillaging of villages. Therefore, they began to help Abbā Bárā who was very tenaciously defending his country, availing himself of the natural advantages of the woody and rugged territory. Then Abbā Ğubîr, seeing that his enterprise had become difficult and fearing that the result of an expedition without success would be great loss of prestige for his kingdom, sought allies. Therefore four ambassadors of the four states, Gúmā, Ğímma, Gómmā, and Límmu, met in Goġġi, a place between Gúmā and Gómmā.<sup>2</sup> These four Mussulmen kingdoms resolved to confederate and proclaimed a holy war against the Galla pagans. The league, according to Galla customs, was called by a special name, *Arfâ*, i.e. "the four." Afterwards, it was called *Arfâ Naggādôtā* to

<sup>1</sup> According to the information which I have already gathered, the conversion of the Gúmā kingdom occurred during the reign of Gawê Ončo (son of Ončo Gilčā) about 1854-60. Cf. Cerulli, 'L'Islam nei regni Galla indipendenti,' op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to a misprint the date of this meeting in Goġġi is 1886 in my account, 'La questione del Califfato in rapporto alle nostre colonie di diretto dominio,' (Atti del Convegno Nazionale Coloniale, Napoli, 1916, p. 8).

distinguish it from the pagan league. (See song 18.) *Arfā Naggādōtā* means "the four Mussulmen" (literally, "the four merchants"), because Islam was introduced by the Arabic merchants. Therefore *naggādiē* means both merchant and Mussulman.

After confederating with the other Mohammedan states, Abbā Ğubîr took up arms again. Then, to weaken the hostile army, he tried to detach from Abbā Bārā the warrior Túfa Rôbā, chief of Hānnā Čákkā Gadí (see songs 15–17). The first propositions of Abbā Ğubîr were repulsed by Túfa Rôbā. Then a minstrel sang:

<i>ɖappô matá yáftā</i>	<i>fárda obbonkô bitá</i>
<i>yâ ɖlmā Rôbā Wārê</i>	10 <i>tokkiččā Ončo Ğawê</i>
<i>as gál ġennán diddé</i>	<i>mallí Ončo Ğawê</i>
<i>naô malé haftá</i>	<i>nitisa gāfatá</i>
5 <i>fárdā kan obbōkô</i>	<i>qallún Ončo Ğawê</i>
<i>qallú lamá ġŋirtu</i>	<i>čákkā Goğġí galá</i>
<i>tokkiččā Ončo Ğawê</i>	15 <i>garân Ončo Ğawê</i>
<i>mōtí lamá ġŋirtu</i>	<i>matá ġrrattí batá</i>

1 O red sorghum with a sharp head! 2 O son of Rôbā Wārê, 3 we said to you, "Come!" and you refused. 4 You shall remain without soldiers! 5 O horse of my Lord! 6 Two sorcerers are not there. 7 Ončo Ğawê is alone. 8 Two kings are not there. 9 My lord will buy a horse (for me). 10 Ončo Ğawê is alone. 11 Of the skill of Ončo Ğawê, 12 ask his wife! 13 The sorcerer Ončo Ğawê 14 enters the wood of Goğġí. 15 The mind of Ončo Ğawê 16 rises over his head!

*Notes.* The singer says: There is not in these countries such a generous king, such a foresighted sorcerer as our king, Abbā Ğubîr (called Ončo Ğawê). In many Galla and Sidama states, there is a general belief in the magical powers of the king; therefore Abbā Ğubîr is called "the sorcerer." Verse 14 alludes to the meeting at Goğġí. Verses 15–16 mean: The mind of Ončo Ğawê<sup>1</sup> is open. His thoughts rise up from the belly to his head, and therefore are manifest. He does not keep them in his belly!

## 13

Verses 11–12 of the preceding song allude to a tale well known in Gúmā. It is one of the numerous tales of the cruelty of the Galla kings. They say that Abbā Ğubîr once saw some artisans covering the roof of a hut in the royal residency.<sup>2</sup> Calling his wife Bíšā, he sang:

<i>Bíšā! Bíšā ġbbā Dangî</i>	<i>arragiessā ġġesé biékta</i>
<i>Bíšā kan ná gōdē biékta</i>	<i>arragiessā muka ġrrattí aġġesé</i>

1 Bíšā, O Bíšā (daughter) of Abbā Dangî. 2 Bíšā, you will know what I did! 3 You will know that I killed a crow! 4 I killed a crow on the tree!

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "the belly of Ončo Ğawê." The Galla, like the Amara, believe the belly to be the seat of reasoning.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Guidi, 'Strofe e piccoli testi Amarici,' (Mitteilungen d.Seminars f. Orientalis Sprachen zu Berlin, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 17), and Cecchi, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 541.

*Note.* After this song, similar in its fashion to the songs of the *buttá* (see song 142), he brandished his spear, and hurling it at an artisan on the roof, killed him.

## 14

Túfā Rôbā (song 12) afterwards was won over by the promises of Abbā Ğubîr and deserting Hállnā's army, passed to the enemy's camp. But the other chiefs of the Gabbā tribes persevered with Hállnā in fighting against the invaders of their country. The land of Gabbā is very rich in coffee, and allusion to this is made by the singer of the following strophe:

*Gabbāin bunnî`ndibú*  
*gabbatá fullî`ndibú*  
*Gârô arénnî`ndibú*

*gâri arârri`ndibú*  
*arârsi, yâ`bbā bôrā!*

1 Gabbā is not lacking in coffee. 2 A fat man does not lack *la bonne chère*. 3 In Gârô there is no lack of beards. 4 A good man does not lack contentment. 5 Hear us favorably, O Abbā Bôrā!

*Notes.* The song is addressed to Fatánsā Ilû (whose war-name was Abbā Bôrā, i.e. "Lord of the light-bay"), king of the Gabbā Ilû. Gârô (v. 3) is a little Sidama state to the southeast of Ğímmā. It was conquered by Abbā Gommol, king of Ğímma.<sup>1</sup> The slaves of Gârô carried off to Ğímmā, surprised the Galla because of their long, rough beards. Therefore, they became proverbial in these Galla countries.

## 15

On account of the difficult country, the struggle became ever more intense, but the Moslem allies of Abbā Ğubîr did not send their armies against the Gabbā. At this time, the king of Gúmā suffered another loss. Túfā Rôbā after a short stay in Gúmā (he was there appointed by the king governor, Abbā Qorô, of a district near the frontier of the Liêqā tribes) became hateful to some dignitaries of the royal court and especially to the king's brother, Abbā Diggâ. This was increased by the rumor that Túfā secretly loved Ğennê Qanátu, Abbā Diggâ's wife. Túfā resolved to return to Hállnā; and after an agreement with Túččo Dánnô, the well-known chief of Liêqā Hordâ, prepared to fly to the Liêqā country. Here is his song of farewell to Gúmā:

*ôbô goftê Šurámā*  
*láfā gabbáte ĉômā*  
*hára qamálie tóla*  
*láfā ĉisā ganamí*  
 5 *hára ĉibsā gabbaré*

*láfā sirrê tirfidā*  
*hára ĉiré birgidā*  
*êg`an gállā liēñšādā*  
*galán biy`ófin tolá*  
 10 *bîrē nan gála biyākô*

<sup>1</sup> Jules Borelli, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris, 1890, p. 433.



- Hánnā ċibsa gafarē*  
*láfā mōtí`bbā barā*  
*hára sarē nu wāmi*  
*ġollhēn hannā gafarē*  
 15 *dúr obbókó nu`nġēđū*  
*ġollhēn ġára Gumā*  
*kuní qallīččā nú`nġētti*  
*án biyākó kaġġēlé*  
*dubbín hamán*  
 20 *kārā nađđiēni đufá*  
*bokkán hamán*  
*kārā bōrúđā đufá*  
*bokkán hamán*  
*kārā bōrúđā đufá*  
 25 *čāmsitu ġiráf malé*  
*dubbín hamán*  
*kārā nađđiēni đufá*  
*đirsātu ġiráf malé*  
*nīenča ġālátō šurá*  
 30 *mīē`kka arbú`n čarānūre*  
*mīē`mma`n gáu ilālūre*  
*sílā Dannótt`an galá*  
*bíyā bintēnsā Bīerā*  
*ganamā námā kiēne*  
 35 *galgalá námā fudáta*  
*sílā Garbitt`an galá*  
*bíyā bintēnsā Ġiló*  
*ġagnātu ta`é mugá*  
*dabīērā dađi đugé*  
 40 *sílā Ġimmát`an galá*  
*Ġimmā`bbā Ġifār Sānā*  
*kaní`no ġibbé đīséf*  
*dubartí kása đufá*  
*đirát`itillīē`nafá*  
 45 *sílā Kafát`an galá*  
*Káfā Gallitto Kámo*  
*bíyā mōtí Busāsīē*  
*kaní`no ġibbé đīséf*  
*hundāšē gomfōn uffáta*  
 50 *húndā čakkátti gala*  
*ákka ġollótā wānní*  
*kanáfā ġibbé hafé*  
*mōtíđāf Bárā qámna*  
*yó láfā hámā Gumā*  
 55 *ēga dabārsā tātē*  
*útu gurgúrās tātē*  
*yá Túččo Dánnō Bīerā*  
*ēga nú sīn gallaó*  
*yó Wāqāyó nús ġēđē*  
 60 *galmás kaġġēlen anó*  
*Rōbā gurráččā Wārīē*  
*mīē sī wāmú takkarē*  
*Rōbā fanā đaní*  
*ákka đolgīē madaé*  
 65 *isa đowá đēbiyú*  
*ákka birrúsā duté*  
*Rōbē Rōbā`bbā Tullú*  
*kán daktē nāttu sviētē*  
*dakánu giddí nāttē*  
 70 *Rōbē Rōbā`bbā Tullú*  
*ġagán fói kārrotā*  
*ēga đirsīše badé*  
*išē galá Hannáđā*  
*išē đirsā kakattē*  
 75 *maldá lafótā šaní*  
*kan fára kuđāšaní*  
*maldá kaġġēle aní*  
*utúm maldá`nqabiní*  
*utúm buttā`nqalliní*  
 80 *ramní maldiēssu malé*  
*maldánkē ġrēssētti*  
*tumtú gabbáref malé*  
*mōtítti himínđāf malé*  
*maldá kaġġēlle anurré*  
 85 *yá Ġawē Ončo ġāló*  
*Šurámu Ġāló Ončo*  
*nađđiēnis gurdá`nqábne*  
*ilálu`kka`šen fokkífti*  
*lafōn qondālā`nqábne*  
 90 *sa`ōmti kórmā`nqábne*  
*ilálu`kka`šen fokkífti*  
*masítti baúm mōgá*  
*masín Gúmā gārídā*  
*iēro đābannéf malé*  
 95 *laftí Gúmā baēssā*  
*gotán gotannéf malé*  
*kamiētti Gúmā gārídā*  
*gurdá`nqabdúf malé*  
*mōtín Gumā gārídā*  
 100 *Wátā ġālattéf malé*



*éga nús biyā qámna*  
*galán biyā`fin tola*  
*éga nú`ngállā baránā*  
*ná himîera Abbā Sangá*  
 105 *manní Wattá qarqarra*  
*hinní gará qarbatá*  
*firākte`nbūsín ġēdē*  
*haḍākte`ngatín ġēdē*

*Gúmā qillîensā wârú*  
 110 *Gúmā`nafín na ġēdē*  
*Hannākte`nbūsín ġēdē*  
*éga nús biyā qámna*  
*galán biyā`fin tola*  
*éga nu`ngállā baránā*  
 115 *yó Wāqāyó nús ġēdē*

1 Oh Šurámā, my lord. 2 The fertile and rich land 3 today has become fit for monkeys (only)! 4 The land, rest of the mulatto, 5 today pays tribute for the cow's enclosure! 6 To the land, bed of Tirfí, 7 today, weeding the way I desire to return there (literally, today I weeded on its way). 8 Therefore I am a vagabond lion! 9 To return to one's own country is good. 10 Come! I will return to my land, 11 Hánñā, enclosure (of the cows) of Gafarê, 12 the land of King Abbā Bārā! 13 Today call us dog, 14 the sons of Hánñā Gafarê. 15 Already called us, my lord, 16 the sons of this Gúmā. 17 "This is a sorcerer!" they say to us. 18 I long for my country! 19 The bad contest 20 comes out of women's cause (literally, comes out of women's way). 21 The bad rain 23 comes at daybreak (literally, comes out of daybreak's way). 24 The bad rain 25 comes at daybreak 26 if the *ċāmsítu* is not there (to keep it back). 27 The bad contest 28 comes out of women's cause 29 if the man is not there (to keep it back). 30 O Lion, my dear (horse) with (fine) tail! 31 Come! like an elephant I will roar! 32 Come! I will look where I may go. 33 If I could go to the country of Dánñō, 34 the country of the wild-beast of the Bîrā (family)! 35 In the morning he gives presents to a man. 36. In the evening he takes back from this man (his presents)! 37 If I could go to the country of Garbí, 38 the country of the wild beast (son) of Ġilô! 39 The brave rest and slumber. 40 The vile drink the hydromel. 40 If I could go to Ġímmā, 41 Ġímmā (the country) of Abbā Ġifâr Sâñā! 42 This (land) I hated and left it. 43 The girl rises and comes. 44 The man stretches for her the skin for a bed! 45 If I could go to Kaffa, 46 Kaffa (the country) of Gallítto Kâmo, 47 the country of the kings of Busāsîê. 48 This (land) I hated and left it. 49 All wear (on their heads) the *gomfô*. 50 All go into the woods 51 like the sons of the baboon. 52 I hated these and left them. 53 We will go towards the king (Abbā) Bārā 54 if the land of Gúmā is bad. 55 "After being in exile, 56 perhaps you will be sold also!" 57 O Túččo Dánñō Bîrā 58 then we will go to your country. 59 If God has spoken (thus) in our behalf, 60 I desire to return! 61 O Rôbā (son) of the black Wārîê, 62 please, I will call you! 63 Follow the tracks of Rôbā 64 like a wounded elephant! 65 He is an obstacle which makes one fall back 66 like an angry elephant! 67 O Rôbê (daughter) of Rôbā`bbā Tullú! 68 Do you think that she eats what she milled herself? 69 (The slaves) work by constraint and she eats. 70 O Rôbê (daughter) of Rôbā`bbā Tullú, 71 beautiful, chosen among the girls with fine teeth! 72 Since the death of her husband, 73 she has been in Lower Hánñā. 74 She has

sworn against all men (never to marry again). 75 The armlet for five foot soldiers 76 and for fifteen horsemen, 77 the armlet I desire! 78 Although I may not have the armlet, 79 although I have not sacrificed at the *buttâ*, 80 I am a *rabâ* worthy of the armlet! 81 Your armlet would reach me, 82 if I had paid the tribute to the smith, 83 if I had not spoken to the king. 84 Have I really desired the armlet? 85 O dear Gawê Ončo, 86 dear Šuramu Ončo. 87 Women without the *gurdâ*, 88 I will see how ugly they are! 89 Foot soldiers without a *gondālā*, 90 cows without an ox, 91 I will see how ugly they are! 92 The coming out of the courtyard is bad. 93 The courtyard of Gúmā is beautiful, 94 but they plant there the *īero*. 95 The land of Gúmā is good, 96 but they dig and dig it. 97 The women of Gúmā are beautiful, 98 but they have not the *gurdâ*. 99 The king of Gúmā is good, 100 but he loves the *Wáttā*. 101 Come! We also have a country! 102 Returning to one's own country is good. 103 Then we will return there, this year! 104 That Abbā Sangā told me, 105 he whose hut is on Wáttā Qarqā, 106 he whose belly is a leather bottle. 107 "Give not up your relations!" he said. 108 "Give not up your mother!" he said. 109 "Gúmā is the breeze of spring." 110 "Remain not in Gúmā!" he said. 111 "Give not up your Hállā," he said. 112 Come! We also have a country! 113 Returning to one's own country is good. 114 Then we will return there this year, 115 if God has spoken (thus) in our behalf!

*Notes.* In this song, Túfā refutes the accusations and the slanders of the Gúmā (first part); then explains the motives of his dwelling in Gúmā after the desertion from Hállā (second part); boasts of his ancestors and their enterprises (third part); finally excuses himself of the principal accusation (i.e. as the lover of Gennê Qanátu); and after giving like for like to Gúmā in the matter of slander, recalls the counsels given him by an old diviner (fourth part). The verses of this song are put together in an orderly way not usual in Galla poems.

The song begins by describing the pitiable condition of Hállā, the country of the singer (v. 1-12). Šurāmā (v. 1) was the war-name of prince Abbā Diggā, the aforesaid brother of Abbā Čubír. Túfā Rôbā was a nephew of Wārê, a negro who immigrated to Hállā Čákkā Gadí (Hállā was partitioned in two districts: *Hállā Čákkā Gadí*, i.e. "Hállā of the lower wood" and *Hállā Čákka Olí* "Hállā of the upper wood"). Verse 4 alludes to Wārê. Tirfí (v. 5) was the wife of Wārê, and therefore grandmother of Túfā. Gafarê (v. 11) was an ancient chief of Hállā. It is a Galla custom to join to the country's name the name of a famous chief or king who governed the land, e.g. Čímmā Abbā Čifár (Abbā Čifár was the war-name of two kings of Čímmā); Čímmā Qadídā (Qadídā Wannabê was the chief of this other Galla state); Affillô Garê (Garê was an ancient chief of the Affillô tribe). This is a source of mistake to travellers and geographers who do not know the Galla tongue, e.g. the map of Abyssinia by Major De Chaurand has the locality Dano Bera, really not a place but a chief of Čímmā Arġō and Liêqā Hordā, Dánnō Bîêrā.



Verses 19–20 reproach Abbā Diggā because he considered worthy of belief the prating of the Gúmā women about Táfā and Ğennē Qanātu. On the *čāmsitu* keeping back the rain, see song 7.

Lion (in Galla, *lənčā*) was the name of Táfā's horse. Verses 32–35 allude to Dánnō Bêrā. It was said that he changed his officers very frequently. The verses 36–39 allude to Garbí Ğilô, chief of Liêqā Billô (see song 2). A very valiant warrior, he was so jealous of his renown that he preferred to give the high offices of his court to persons who could not push him into the shadow. The verses 40–44 allude to the bad reputation of the girls of Ğimmā Abbā Ğifār among the Galla. Abbā Ğifār Sâñā (verse 41) was the first king of Ğimmā.<sup>1</sup> Verses 45–51 relate to the customs of Kaffa, which appear very strange to the Galla. The Kaffa used to wear on their heads the *gomfô*, that is, a kind of cap made of monkey's hair and adorned by ostrich feathers or by feathers of the red bird called by the Galla *gučči*.<sup>2</sup> The houses in Kaffa are often surrounded by coffee trees which they utilize to hide and protect their houses. The coffee in these countries grows so high that it forms small woods (see song 14). Gallitto Kâmo (verse 46) was the king of Kaffa, the last king but one before the Amara conquest. He was born of the Busāsê dynasty which claims to be derived from the Portuguese. In fact, the kings of this dynasty are of a lighter color than the natives, and to keep this characteristic, they do not marry women who are not born of the same stock.<sup>3</sup> Verses 55–56 allude to the tradition current in Gúmā that Táfā was about to be sentenced to exile or slavery.

With verse 61 begins the glorification of Táfā's ancestors. First, Táfā sings about his father, Rôbā, who left tracks of the blood of his slain enemies everywhere he went, as a wounded elephant leaves blood tracks that guide the hunter to him. Then the poet sings about his step-mother, Rôbê Rôbā, who was said to have been a freed slave (v. 67–74). Last (v. 45), Táfā begins the *oratio pro domo sua*, vaunting his own enterprises. The Galla used to grant to the warrior who had killed five men, five buffaloes and five lions, an armlet called *maldâ*. The *maldâ* was awarded by the Abbā *Gučči* during the feast, *buttâ*, after the reckoning of the spoils. The number of the victims necessary to obtain the armlet was the aforesaid, but it was calculated according to a kind of computation table known by heart by the old men of the tribe. This table fixed the value of the different victims. Here is the table which Loransiyos gave me:

one elephant	= five horsemen
one panther	= fourteen foot soldiers
five monkeys	= one foot soldier
one lion	= two horsemen
one buffalo	= one horseman

In this case, Táfā had killed, beside five foot soldiers (v. 45), fifteen horsemen, that is, five lions and five buffaloes, according to the table.<sup>4</sup> In Gúmā the king was the president

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cecchi, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 540.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 497.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cerulli, 'Canti popolari amarici,' op. cit., p. 64.

of the *buttâ* feast. Túfā says (v. 81-83) he should have obtained the *maldâ*, if it had not been for the circumstance that the judge in the computation of the victims was the king. Perhaps the king of Gúmā would have granted the *maldâ* to Túfā, if Túfā had paid the tribute to the smiths (v. 82). The smiths exacted a special tax on the honors granted at the *buttâ*. Verses 81-83 allude also to the favoritism of the dynasty ruling in Gúmā toward the lower castes of the population (see Appendix).

With verse 85, the song comes back to the accusation of adultery, and Túfā tries to persuade the jealous husband, Abbā Diggā, that he (Túfā) has no love for strange women. The women in Gabbā, Hännā, and Liêqā used to gird themselves with the *gurdâ* (v. 84). The *gurdâ* is a sash of jet and hair which is wound round the body, its pointed ends dangling to the knees. The Galla think that the *gurdâ* is the best remedy against the evil-eye.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, in the other Máççā countries as Gúmā, Ğímmā, etc., not the women but the men wear this sash. To Túfā, born in Hännā, a woman without a *gurdâ* (who appears to him as a cow without an ox) is very undesirable; therefore he did not court Ğennê Qanátu.

Verses 97-100 scoff at the Gúmā. They used to plant round the courtyards of their huts a thorny shrub which is called by them *iero* (in Tulámā dialect, *wallénsu*; in Somali, *walénso* = *erithryna melanachanto*). The land of Gúmā is not rich in corn, but in woods and natural vegetation; therefore, the cultivation of corn necessitates keeping it free from the grass that smothers it. The Gúmā used to spade up the soil many times before sowing and remove carefully all the roots of the extraneous vegetation (v. 95-96).

As I have already said, in Gúmā the low caste of the *Wáttā* had certain privileges. Is this fact connected with the Galla legend of the origin of the Adamite dynasty (see Prose, I)? Or has the legend been occasioned by this partiality of Adam's descendants for the *Wáttā* (v. 99-100)?

Verses 104-111 recall the predictions and the counsels of Abbā Sangā. Abbā Sangā (a war-name which means "lord of the castrated horse") was an *Abbā Mōrā*, i.e. a sooth-sayer, reading the future in the entrails (*mōrā*) of the sacrificed victims (sheep or cows). In verse 8 of this song, the word *gállā* meaning "errant," "wandering," is especially noteworthy. The word is probably connected with the Somali root *gāl* meaning "stranger" and afterwards, "non-Moslem." Reinisch<sup>2</sup> has already suggested connecting the Somali word with the national name of the Galla. The fact that this word is still used today by the Galla is a veritable proof of Reinisch's hypothesis. Cf. the etymology of *Ge'ez*, the national name of the Ethiopians, from the root *Ga'aza*, "to emigrate"; and the etymology of *Sidāmā*, which is derived, according to Reinisch,<sup>3</sup> from the root *sid*, "to emigrate."

<sup>1</sup> Antoine d'Abbadie, *Dictionnaire de la langue Amariñña*, Paris 1881, very inaccurately translates *gurdâ* as "très petite ceinture, souvent une corde et portée sur la peau, ce mot oromo n'est usité que chez les Amara mélangés avec les Oroma. Ceux-ci attribuent au *gurdâ* la dignité d'une institution." Cf. Ignazio Guidi, *Vocabolario amarico-italiano*, Roma, 1901, p. 729.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Reinisch, *Somali Wörterbuch*, Wien, 1902, sub voce *gāl*.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Reinisch, *Die Kaffa Sprache in Nord Ost Afrika*, Wien, 1888, vol. 1, p. 15, vol. 2, p. 79.



In verse 64, *ḍolǵiē* is the Galla name of the adult male elephant called *ṭolie* in Amharic. In verse 66, *bǝrrúsā* is the Galla name for a kind of young elephant, but greater than the *gōrō*, which is the Amharic and the Galla name of the elephant not yet reached maturity. The *bǝrrúsā* is feared on account of its anger. As to other examples of the rich terminology employed in the East-African languages to indicate the different kinds of elephants, see my *Canti Popolari Amarici*.<sup>1</sup>

In verse 74, the text has *išē ḍirsā kakatte* meaning, "she has made a holy oath against the men." About the holy oath, *kákā*, see song 143.

*Rábā* (v. 80) is the name for the young men who have not yet sacrificed at the *buttā* (see songs 34, 142). P. Martial de Salviac<sup>2</sup> states that there are, among the Galla, "trois dignitaires: l'*Abba-Bokou* (Père du sceptre), premier magistrat, le *Dori* et le *Raba*, assesseurs et juges"; but the same author<sup>3</sup> says, that the *Abbā Bokkū*, the *Dori*, the *Raba*, are all called *dori* "comme dénomination générale." Loransiyos tells me that the information given by P. Martial de Salviac seems to him inexact. He does not recognize *dori* as a dignitary; he knows this word only as a personal name, e.g. of a Sulú Galla chief, father of Fitāwrāri Čúfā Dorí and relative of Fitāwrāri Habta Giyorgis.<sup>4</sup>

Wáttā Qarqā (v. 105) is a place in Gúmā near the frontier of Gómmā. Wáttā Qarqā means "Wáttā's ascent." Notice the old form of the genitive; the construction employed today would be Qárqā Wáttā.<sup>5</sup> *Wǝrú* (v. 109) is a strong but not steady wind blowing in the dry season (December–March) called by the Galla *bonā*.

## 16

The signal for Táfā Rôbā's flight, to acquaint him that his allies beyond the frontier of Gúmā were ready to aid him, was the following song. At the time appointed, this strophe was sung by the soldiers of Ğennē Táfā Čirfā, a woman who governed a country half-way between Hánnā and the frontier of Gúmā.

*čēi hammarí yá Tutē Dánnō*  
*wǝrqē Ončo Ğáwē hungulāle*

1 Pass (the frontier) and seize, oh Tuččo Dánnō 2 the gold hoarded by Ončo Ğawē. As to the verb *hungulāle*, see song 21, v. 60 and notes).

<sup>1</sup> E. Cerulli, 'Canti popolari amarici,' op. cit., p. 60–61.

<sup>2</sup> P. Martial de Salviac, *Les Galla*, Paris, 1901, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Philipp Paulitschke, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somäl, Galla und Hararí*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 56, says, "Bei den Galla am Gára Muláta (Gára Muláta, 'hill manifesting itself') und bei den Ennia (two Galla tribes living near Hara) hiess der Mōti (king) *dōri*, d. i. 'Fürst des Landes.'" *Dori*, then, is used only in the Borana dialects, and is therefore unknown to Loransiyos.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix, *The Wáttā*; a low caste of hunters, p. 200.

## 17

Tuččo went to the frontier of Gúmā and Táfā Rôbā fled to him, safe and sound. This flight impressed the Galla deeply and was interpreted as a real victory for the Pagan League. Therefore, Abbā Ğubîr in revenge prepared an expedition against the pagans with the aid of an army sent him by the king of Lîmmu.

<i>ɿtā Ónčo</i>	<i>Oromtitti sá ofi`ndú' u ñáttu</i>
<i>qalliččā Ónčo</i>	<i>kán karrā qalté hiññáttu.</i>
<i>Ğawê Ónčo</i>	<i>bôr ganamā ɿqén iŝé fidá</i>
<i>bôr ganamā ɿqén iŝé fidá</i>	<b>10</b> <i>adamirrâ`nɿalánne</i>
<b>5</b> <i>yó laŝtitti baríte.</i>	<i>yó`n isá fidú badé</i>
<i>Oromôn attám qúfte?</i>	<i>bôr ganamā ɿqén iŝé fidá</i>

1 The ruler Ončo, 2 the sorcerer Ončo, 3 Ğawê (i.e. the python) Ončo! 4 To-morrow morning I, Ončo, will go to bear him (Táfā) off, 5 when the day shall break (literally, when the earth shall dawn). 6 How saucy the pagans grew! 7 The pagans eat dead cows (i.e. dead from natural causes), 8 do not eat (cows) that the knife has slaughtered. 9 To-morrow morning I, Ončo, will go to bear him (Táfā) off. 10 I am not born of Adam's stock. 11 If I were, I should not be able to bear him off! 12 To-morrow morning I will go to bear him (Táfā) off!

*Notes.* Abbā Ğubîr, called also in this song by the names of his ancestors, Ončo and Ğawê, accused the pagans of eating impure meat, i.e. cows which have not been slaughtered with a sharpened knife, according to the ritual demanded by the Moslem law. *Ofú`ndu`ú* (v. 7) literally, "dead by itself" is the Galla translation of the Arabic word *maytah*, meaning impure meat (literally, "the corpse"). The pagan Galla used a spear to kill cattle and after killing them, cut them in pieces.<sup>1</sup> Verse 10 alludes to the descent of Abbā Ğubîr from Adam's dynasty. Notice in verse 7 the feminine article *-ti* used in contempt after the noun, *Oromô* (pagans); for a like motive, Táfā Rôbā is indicated in the verses 4, 9, and 12 by the feminine pronoun *iŝé* (literally, "she," "her").

## 18

Táfā, after returning to Hállā, continued to incite the minds of the pagans against Gúmā. Then was formed a pagan league to oppose the Moslem league of Goğğí. The allies were: Liêqā Billô with its chief, Garbí Ğilô (see song 2); Liêqā Hordā with its chief, Tuččo Dánnô; the Nolê Kabbā tribe (see song 21); Hállā, and other secondary tribes. The league took the name *Arfâ Oromôtā*, i.e. "the four pagans," corresponding to the name *Arfâ Naggādôtā*, "the four Mussulmen" of Goğğí (see song 12). According to the Galla custom, both armies, before the battle, sang their song of defiance. Here is the song of the pagans.

<sup>1</sup> Guidi, op. cit.

<i>Islām huddū dīqáttu</i>	<i>gára báddā Lîêqā</i>
<i>išē wāǧǧín daballamé<sup>^</sup>nballîesu</i>	<i>Ligditti ergáttinā.</i>
<i>nús qabánna malá</i>	15 <i>yó qibbēn nú qibbé</i>
<i>nú imbānu baddā</i>	<i>gára bádda Sibú</i>
5 <i>yógga isín bütáni</i>	<i>Šonétti ergáttinā</i>
<i>gáfā isín qūftáni</i>	<i>yá gulántā Sibú</i>
<i>sadān naggādôtā</i>	<i>Šonê muđi ribú.</i>
<i>isín wāmađđittu</i>	20 <i>báta báddā Qumbā</i>
<i>arfān oromótā</i>	<i>bāsa qittē mukā</i>
10 <i>nuyú wāmađđinna</i>	<i>isín inđuftáni</i>
<i>wāl agarrá baddā</i>	<i>núyu asín êgna</i>
<i>yó qibbēn nú qibbé</i>	24 <i>báddārrátti Qumbā</i>

1 The back-rinsing Mussulmen! 2 I will not fight (literally, ruin), joining myself with them. 3 We also have taken counsel. 4 We will go out to the plateau. 5 When you go thither, 6 when you come thither, 7 call you 8 the other three Mussulmen! 9 We will call 10 the four pagans. 11 We will meet each other on the plateau. 12 If we should be distressed (literally, if the distress should distress us), 13 towards the plateau of Lîêqā, 14 we should send (messages) to Ligdí. 15 If we should be distressed, 16 to the plateau of Sibú, 17 we should send (messages) to Šonê. 18 O obstacle of Sibú, 19 Šonê, whose waist is a rope, 20 go out to the plateau of Qumbā! 21 Pay (the ritual offering) to the *qittîe* tree. 22 You will come there. 23 Then we will await you there 24 on the plateau of Qumbā.

*Notes.* The first two verses (1-2) allude to Túfā Rôbā, who returning to his country, will no longer fight on the side of the Mussulmen. "Back-rinsing" (v. 1) is the usual nickname for the Mohammedans in the Galla tongue as in Amharic (Amharic, *qit tāt tābi*). The name alludes clearly to the Islamic ritual ablutions. As to other pleasantries on Islamic ceremonies and beliefs, see songs 21, 23, 142. In verse 14, Ligdí Bakarî (see song 20) and Šonê Miǧǧú (see songs 4-6) were two auxiliaries of the pagan league. *Qittîe mukā* (v. 21), says Loransiyos, is one of the trees most venerated by the Galla. It is known that the Galla and the Kushitic populations in general venerate certain trees, symbols of supernatural beings or habitations of the lesser spirits. Qumbā (v. 24) is a plateau in the Lîêqā territory near the dominion of Túččo Dánnō.

## 19

In the battle at Qumbā, the army of the Mohammedans was defeated; the pagans pursued them as far as the frontier of Gúmā. Abbā Ğubîr, seeing the threatening progress of his enemies, requested his allies to observe more strictly the terms of the league. Límmu sent a new army, which joined itself to the Gumā forces and assailed the pagans at Gîêdo, in the territory of the Gabbā Ōbô tribe, on the hilly banks of the Dīđđîssā. There also the pagans won a victory. The Moslem armies retreated separately. The Gúmā army was



again pursued as far as the frontier of the kingdom and Ligdí Bakarê took prisoner Abbā Diggâ, the brother of Abbā Ćubîr, the aforesaid rival of Tûfā Rôbâ (see song 15, introduction).

*Ĝîdô ġalâ bûlé*  
*ġâldîssi ģssa^mbu 'û fârdâ bûsé.*  
*fârdâ yo^bbân^mbûftú*

*agúddu fardîeni*  
*butân fardâ^tti hiqé.*

1 I came down to Ĝîdô. 2 Where the monkeys are not seen to descend, I made my horse descend! 3 When the horseman would not leave his horse, 4 the hoofs of the horse, 5 the horse was restrained there by the sword (literally, the sword has restrained there the horse).

*Notes.* Verses 3-5 mean: The horseman can restrain his horse in the precipices of Ĝîdô only by sword thrusts.

## 20

Ligdí Bakarê was a brother of Morodâ, the chief of Lîeqâ Naqamtê. The captivity of Abbā Diggâ, the prince of Gúmâ taken prisoner at Ĝîdô, made more difficult the position of Lîeqâ Naqamtê between the two belligerent leagues. Lîeqa Naqamtê did not join itself to the Mussulmen (although its chief enemy, Tuĉĉo Dánnô had added his army to the pagan league) because it was on every side surrounded by pagan populations and its little army would not have been able to resist till the arrival of the Moslem armies; nor did it fight on the side of the pagans because of the old enmity with the Wârrâ Bîerâ (see song 28). Here is an interesting strophe, which Morodâ sang to deplore the dangers of neutrality. Lîeqa Naqamtê, as I have above said, remained neutral during the war.

*yâ^bbākô Bakarê*  
*yâ^kkōkô Yamugîé*

*ģssa^bbākô ðaqaré*  
*râkkō rákkō na ðufé*

1 O my father Bakarê! 2 O my ancestor Yamugîé! 3 Where can I go? 4 All woes reached me!

*Notes.* However, the brother of Morodâ, Ligdí, followed the pagan league. Abbā Diggâ was taken after his capture into Lîeqâ Naqamtê; Ligdí desired to hang him, but Morodâ, to avoid worse difficulties between his tribe and Gúmâ, let him escape disguised in woman's clothes.

## 21

The army of Lîmmu, which had gone to aid Gúmâ, after the battle at Ĝîdô was pursued by the Nolê Kabbâ, a Galla tribe living on the left bank of the Bîrbîr, west of Harú Gadâ Dullê and Ĝîmmâ Horrô. The "four pagans" decided that the Nolê Kabbâ, after pursuing the army of Lîmmu, would attack Lîmmu itself. In fact, the Nolê Kabbâ penetrated Lîmmu as far as Hûrsâ.

hárra Hánnā ḡēttē  
yó birraṇ baritē  
40 gāfā doqqiēn qortē  
Nónnō Raḡḡi himā  
Limmu tā 'é bōā  
Oromōn gamtatē  
hinargū ṭtām gōtaré  
45 hamma ḡufān isō  
Gāmbā Raḡḡā raḡḡi  
ḡōtā ṭkanī guyā  
inčuqqállan innō  
gasasōn Fingillīe  
50 isa Siēqā darbē  
ēga Siēqā darbō  
lōlarra ṇṭṭinnattō  
mannī Ġimma ṁmbadū  
Ġimmā Gārō bu 'á  
55 Limmū ṭtām gōtaré  
Oromōn malatē  
atū ṭtām gōtaré  
hinēḡṡtu gomfā  
būnā sila ṇfūnū  
60 wārqiē hungulālī  
kan kiēña naḡḡiēni  
buqqē ṛkatti battī  
hoḡānkiēssan ḡirūmā  
hundūmtum ḡāfatā  
65 ḡirāf naḡḡiēn kiēssān  
nū wārī wāllālē  
ēga nū ēḡāḡḡā  
masqālā gubbamī  
fardākie sorraḡḡū  
70 ēga nū eggadḡi  
yó torbān Gudurū  
yó Ġān Ġimmā fūtā  
wālin nu barbaddāni  
ēga nūs ēḡannā!

1 The war of the Nolê Kabbâ. 2 Whoever has failed, repents (his failure). 3 (They) have pulled down the Gúmā from their horses. 4 (They) have taunted the Liêqā by laughing. 5 Lalósō (wood for yoke) of the oxen! 6 If you have taken the long spear (*habakkā*), 7 seven Gúmā you will have killed! 8 I will bring to you (their spoils), oh my girl.

9 Oh my one girl, 10 take the drum and the dwarf! 11 I will send you that, 12 if I have found it. 13 These Nolê Kabbâ, 14 an enemy whose language is unknown! 15 Seven days do you wait? 16 I shall have killed seventeen (enemies). 17 As the horse (literally, the halter) has refused the burden (of the spoils), 18 I have sent to you the spoils by the way of the Bârō. 19 "Where is the way?" he said. 20 Where the monkeys do not descend! 21 The precipice is of the Diddiëssā. 22 Weeping is for the poor! 23 The Gúmā perished utterly. 24 Why have the Límму been distressed (for them)? 25 We are born from kindred lineages. 26 O country of Abbā Bāgibō! 27 You descend, we descend into Gîdō! 28 Ligdí is born, 29 a man like thunder. 30 (Whoever) you have taken (into your company), you cause him to kill (i.e. to fight bravely). 31 The thunder, Abbā Rîébú. 32 One Orómō (i.e. pagan) 33 against ten Mussulmen! 34 Go out, let us descend to the plain! 35 They came into our house. 36 They will not return from there with empty hands! 37 "Húrsā is no (longer) Límму. 38 Today it is Hānnā," you said. 39 When the spring has broken forth, 40 when the dirt has become dry, 41 the Nónnō will tell wonderful tales. 42 The Límму afterwards will weep! 43 The pagans have agreed. 43 It is not there. What can you do? 44 As soon as he comes here, 46 Gámbā Rággā, the wonderful, 47 brave by night and by day, 48 he will trench, he 49 the short (warrior) of Fingillê, 50 he (the son) of Lîeqā has decided. 51 When (the son) of Lîeqā has decided, 52 as to war, he is not too short for it! 53 The house of Ğímmā does not perish. 54 Ğímmā descends to Gârō. 55 What can Límму do? 56 The pagans have taken counsel. 57 And you, what can you do? 58 Send not coffee as tribute, because we will not take it. 60 Hoard gold! 61 Our women (only) 62 carry pumpkins. 63 Do your servant-maids do the work of men? 64 Question (about it) all 65 your men and your women! 66 We do not know the night. 67 Then await us, 68 (when) the Cross holiday has been celebrated (literally, burnt). 69 Give food to your horses. 70 Then await us! 71 Even if you confederate with the seven Gudrú (literally, if you should take in your company the seven Gudrú), 72 and with the six Ğímmā, 73 and then look for us, 74 we will await you!

*Notes.* In the verses 5–18, the victorious warrior tells his sweetheart that he intended to send her the captured spoils, but on account of their great quantity and the ruggedness of the country where the horse had refused so heavy a burden, he has flung them into the Bârō (perhaps in a stream flowing into the Bârō), tributary of the Saint Bon (Upênō). Dwarfs (v. 10) were most appreciated as buffoons by these Galla populations (see Prose, text 13). The Nolê Kabbâ (v. 13) were followed during this expedition by a group of Affillô, a Sidama tribe living on the banks of the Upênō. The Affillô speak a Sidama dialect very similar to the Kaffa language. They were "an enemy whose language is unknown", to the Galla of Gúmā. Loransiyos affirms that the king of the Affillô is born of the same line as the Busâsê who reign in Kaffa. The verses 19–20 point out the ruggedness of the Gîdō country. They are very similar to verse 2 of song 19. Then the singer wonders why Límму has intervened in the war just when Ğímmā was in a bad condition (v. 21–24).



Verse 25 alludes to the affinity between the Nolê Kabbâ and the Lîmmu Sobâ tribe (the Lîmmu Sobâ and the far distant Lîmmu are brothers according to the Galla genealogists). Abbâ Bâgibô (v. 26) is the well-known king of Lîmmu.<sup>1</sup> The verses 28–36 allude to an enterprise of the famous warrior, Ligdí Bakarê. Pursuing his enemies, he advanced as far as the village of Bôqâ Maráçço in Gúmâ and challenged the people to send against him ten Moslem warriors whom he alone fought and defeated. The verses 35–36 (which are supposed to be sung by the conquered soldiers) allude to the spoils that these soldiers were obliged to give to Ligdí Bakarê, as a recompense for the excursion which Ligdí had made into their country. Abbâ Rîébú (v. 31) was the war-name of Ligdí, “lord of (the horse) Rîébú,” (*Rîébú* means whip). The Nónnô (v. 41) although they were old enemies of Lîmmu, did not confederate with the pagans, and fearing an invasion of their country, they guarded their frontier and made trenches on it. Gámbâ Rağğa (v. 16) was a chief of the Nónnô, ironically praised by the singer on account of the trenching. Lamú, son of Liêqâ, (v. 49–52), was a brave officer of the army of Túçço Dánnô. His country was Fingillê in Liêqâ.

The Nolê Kabbâ, after invading nearly the whole of Lîmmu, began to sack the adjoining districts of Ğimmâ Abbâ Ğifâr. Therefore, the verses 53–55, praising the victory, allude to the custom of the court of Ğimmâ of escaping to Gârô, whenever the capital of the kingdom was in danger. The verses 61–65 contain the usual pleasantries about the Moslem ritual ablutions. When travelling, the Galla Mussulmen carry the water necessary for these ablutions in an empty pumpkin called *masagulâ*.<sup>2</sup> The pagans say, “Among our people, only the women bring the pumpkins and draw the water; your men do this work fit only for women. Then who among you does the work fit for men? Perhaps the women?”

The song ends with the threat of a new invasion of Lîmmu.

The pagans mention the feast of the Cross (v. 68) as a well known date in their calendar. Some Galla pagan tribes, the Kaffa, the Affillô, the Zingârô,<sup>3</sup> celebrate with primitive rites the holiday of the Cross. Loransiyos tells me that, according to a Galla tradition, these are survivals of the cult taught to the Galla by *Môti Wârqê* (i.e. “the King of the Gold”) who conquered the Galla and Sidama countries before the invasion of Grâñ. One finds in Galla countries beyond the Gibê ruins of ancient churches built by the “King of the Gold.” Legends allude to the expeditions led by the Ethiopian emperors against the Sidama kingdoms and the Galla countries to the southern frontier of the Ethiopic state. Verse 71 alludes to the confederation of the seven Gudrú tribes, which afterwards became a little kingdom governed by Gâmâ Murás.<sup>4</sup> Verse 42 alludes to the confederation of the six Ğimmâ; they are the five tribes, Ğimmâ Rarê, Ğimmâ Gobbô, Ğimmâ Tibbê, Ğimmâ Arğô, Ğimmâ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cecchi, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 157–160; Fra Guglielmo Massaja, I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell’alta Etiopia, Milano, 1885–88, vol. 5, p. 12–15; I. Guidi, ‘Strofe e piccoli testi Amarici,’ (Mitteilungen d. Seminars f. Orientalis Sprachen, zu Berlin, vol. 10, pt. 2, p. 180–184).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Cerulli, ‘L’Islam nei regni Galla indipendenti,’ op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> According to Loransiyos, the present chief of the Zingârô is Fitâwrâri Antonie, a late Catholic, converted by Cardinal Massaja, who has kept, as a remnant of his Catholicism, only his name *Antonie*, i.e. Anthony.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Massaja, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 196–199.

Qadfdā, and the kingdom of Ğimmā Abbā Ğifār. Although Ğimmā Abbā Ğifār is separated from the other five tribes living between Gudrú, Límму and Lîeqā, on account of the remembrance of their common origin, the six Ğimmā always consider each other akin, but there is no political bond between them. Likewise, the Lîeqa esteem themselves brothers of a tribe living near Wārrā Himānō in Wállō, and say that Grāñ expelled them from Wállō to their present seat.

*Lalósō* (v. 5) is a tree, the wood of which is used by the Galla to construct yokes for oxen; *habakkā* (v. 6) is a kind of spear with long wooden shaft and short blade; it is called also *tuma Limmú*, because the smiths in Límму construct and sell it in great quantities. *Šēō* (v. 11) "thing" is an Arabism; *lókō* "halter" means horse figuratively; *hungulāle* (v. 60, see also song 16), means "to hoard the gold dust," which in these countries was found in the river gravels, and heaped up by the Galla. In this form, it is brought to the chief as tribute. Borelli<sup>1</sup> tells that Menilek II hurled against Walda Giyorgis the gold heap which this *dağğâč* had paid as tribute to the Emperor.

## 22

The second defeat by the pagan league and the invasion of Límму forced Abbā Ğubír and his allies to demand an armistice, which was accorded to them by the pagans. In the meantime, Abbā Ğubír sent his brother, Abbā Diggā, to Dāpō Gumbí, the only land conquered by him during the war and kept by him till the armistice. Abbā Diggā was appointed governor (*Abbā Qoró*) chiefly to spy from the north upon the movements of the pagan armies. Then Abbā Ğubír asked his allies whether they would conclude a new agreement to take up arms again after the armistice. The king of Límму, who had suffered the largest losses during the invasion of his country, and had participated in the Islamic war from motives political rather than religious, refused to renew the alliance. Likewise Ğimmā Abbā Ğifār did not desire to participate in another war. These refusals were perhaps the cause of the wars between Gúmā and the two kingdoms of Límму and Ğimmā Abbā Ğifār which I have discussed in the notes to the songs 1-2. Gómμά alone sent a favorable answer by means of a special embassy. Then Abbā Ğubír assembled all the princes and officers of his kingdom and recited to them the following riddle. The solution of the riddle was given by Abbā Diggā.

Abbā Ğubír: *hibó! hibó!*

Abbā Diggā: *híp!*

Abbā Ğubír: *godarrê bakkîe kiessa gúrrā rāfté*

*wārrā guddā dabēmi*

5 *mimittā siniččō*

*kabalā námā ġēftu*

*nîenčā bukkēkotí*

*gafársā mirgān tá 'u*

*qîerránsā milán tá 'u*

10 *kána biēka*

Abbā Diggā: *donáččō, na mārí!*

*donáččō, án nán imá!*

*godarrê bakkîe kiessa*

*gúrrā rāfté kan ġētte*

<sup>1</sup> Jules Borelli, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris, 1890, p. 166.



15 *abbākô, Limmúḍā*  
*wārrā guddā dabômi*  
*abbākô kan ḡette Ğimmāḍā*  
*mimittā siniččô*  
*kabalā námā ḡēftu*  
 20 *abbākô kan ḡette Gommāḍā*  
*niēnčā bukkēkēti*

*yā ḥbbākô Tuččôḍā*  
*gafārsā mirgān tá 'u*  
*yā ḥbbākô Tambôḍā*  
 25 *qērrānsā milān tá 'u*  
*yā ḥbbākô Nolēḍā*  
*kāna sif nan biḡké*

1 Abbā Ğubîr: "A riddle! a riddle!" 2 Abbā Diggā: "Come on!" 3 Abbā Ğubîr: "A calladium moves the leaves (literally, the ears) in the plain! 4 There is great family of cowards! 5 The very hot pepper, 6 a handful (of it) kills the people. 7 (There is) a lion at my side, 8 there is a buffalo at my right hand, 9 there is a leopard at my feet. 10 Divine this! (literally, know this!)" 11 Abbā Diggā: "My Lord, pardon me! 12 My Lord, I will tell (it to you). 13 The calladium which in the plain 14 moves its leaves (literally, the ears), as you have said, 15 my Lord, is Limmu. 16 The great family of cowards 17 which you have mentioned, O my Lord, is Ğimmā (Abbā Ğifâr). 18 The very hot pepper, 19 a handful (of which) kills the people, 20 as you have said, O my Lord, is Gómmā. 21 The lion at your side, 22 O my Lord, is Túččo (Dánnô). 23 The buffalo which is there at the left hand, 24 O my Lord, is (Abbā Dímā) Tambô. 25 The leopard which is there at the feet, 26 O my Lord, is the Nolê (Kabbā tribe). 27 This I have divined (literally, known) for you."

*Notes.* The population of Limmu (v. 3, 13–15) not brave, but vainglorious and inconstant, is compared to the *calladium sativum*, the tuber of which is eaten by the Galla; its leaves move according to the direction of the wind. The Galla often call the leaves *gurrā mukā*, i.e. "the ears of the tree," (cf. v. 3, 14 of this song and song 93); likewise, they call fruits *iḡḡā mukā*, i.e. "the eyes of the tree" (this second metaphor is so usual that often *iḡḡā*, "eyes," without the genitive *muka* means "fruits"). Also the Sidama (e.g. the Kaffa, the Dáwrô, and the Wālāmô) call leaves, "the ears of the tree." There is no doubt a close correspondence between this animistic conception and the religious ideas of the Kushites concerning trees. Song 138 is a very important proof of this connection.

The population of Ğimmā Abbā Ğifâr, although very numerous, was said to be wanton, (see song 15, v. 40–44), and therefore not valiant in war (v. 4, 16–17). The warriors of Gómmā were few, as their native country was small; but they fought very bravely (v. 5, 18–20). As to the pepper, symbol of bravery, (v. 5) cf. song 1, notes. The three enemies who resemble the three wild beasts (lion, buffalo, leopard) are north of Gúmā—"at my side," says the singer, Túččo Dánnô; west of Gúmā, "at my right hand," Abbā Dímā Tambô; northwest of Gúmā, "at my feet," the Nolê Kabbā. Naturally this orientation was determined by the place where the council of the officers had assembled, and by the position of the singer (Abbā Ğubîr). As to Abbā Dímā Tambô, cf. song 10.



Worthy of notice in this song is the formula for stating and for solving riddles; *Kána brêka*, "Divine (literally, "know") this" (v. 10), and *Kána síf nan brêke*, "This I have divined (literally, "known") for you" (v. 20). These formulae may be compared to *Mñ awgillış*? "What shall I divine (literally, "know") for you?" used by the Amara in their riddles.

*Siniččô* (v. 5, 18) is a very hot variety of pepper. In some parts of Shoa on the Galla frontier, the Amara also call it *šinjšo*. *Donáččo* (v. 11, 12) was the title of the kings of the Galla state beyond the Gibê, used only when addressing the king as the Amharic *ganhoy* (cf. the Kaffa word, *dônô*, "lord"; Gongga, *dónğō*, *dónğā*, "lord").

## 23

The new war between the pagans and the Mussulmen was occasioned by the arrogance of Abbā Diggā. He had resolved that instead of the usual tribute, the population of Dâpō should give him the whole crop of maize for that year. The chiefs of two clans in Dâpō, Ebiyô and Dukkullâ, were obliged to vouch for the preservation and consignment of all the crops. On one occasion the crops were found damaged, and both guardians laid the blame to monkeys that had visited the fields by night. But Abbā Diggā, finding in their houses a large part of the stolen maize, condemned them and their families to slavery and ordered that they should be brought to Gúmā and sold in the market place. Ebiyô was able to escape and reach the pagan army commanded by Tókko ʾndarsê, who had pitched his camp near Dâpō. Tókko ʾndarse was easily persuaded that the guardians were innocent and unjustly condemned; he sent many soldiers to cut down all the maize of Abbā Diggā as a sign of the declaration of war. Then he besieged Dâpō with his army. Abbā Diggā, as soon as the war began, was aided by the army of Gúmā which went to deliver him from the siege of the pagans. After three days of battle, the Mussulmen were defeated for the third time. The army of Gúmā was pursued as far as Ebíččā Ruyā at the frontier of the kingdom, and only the resistance of Nagarí Gannâ, a chief of Dâpō, converted to Islam and therefore fighting together with the Mussulmen, was able to prevent the invasion of the Moslem kingdom. Here is the triumphal song of the victors:

*qignî Eban Šullê*  
*boqqollô ʾbbâ dūlâ*  
*durbî Eba Šullê*  
*ğollîe namátti*  
 5 *nú Gúmā mitt*  
*dúr ingurgurámne*  
*ákka ʾomborê*  
*sañt naggādîeqā*  
*hātikîe Wārfidê*  
 10 *abbānkîe naggādîe*

*yâ Šurāmu Ğawê*  
*katiso garbiččâ*  
*yó aná namiččâ*  
*hindangô sosoqqô*  
 15 *qalê môrâ ʾngiessa*  
*môrâ ġiessi ʾmbiékâ*  
*lafô ġára Gumâ*  
*tókko ʾndiččâ ʾnbāsâ*  
*namnî hárra qabdê*  
 20 *Gúmâ firâ ʾnargítu*

- yá Gadā`dā Yambē*  
*kallē liēñčā mōfā*  
*durātt`asīn ġirā*  
*Yambiēt`essā mōgā*  
 25 *tumāttu`kkā Simā*  
*agadā na čabsī*  
*ġabbī Tokkó`ndarsē*  
*Gadādā Abbā Ġabbī*  
*ġillī Tókko ġirā*  
 30 *nāmn`ákka kuḍanī*  
*ibirkún guddisā*  
*ġawēn hólā tiksā*  
*kan Tókko nó goḑē*  
*bakkē Dāpō ġalā*  
 35 *si`ndīngu yā Gumā*  
*kuḍasān qabatē*  
*sagallāmā murē*  
*riēfān ʔa 'ó bāsē*  
*lāfā ʔa 'ó Gumā*  
 40 *boqgollō fačāfne*  
*lommottō ʔomburē*  
*Hannān kolfā ġūfē*  
*tokkón siēsa`mbiēku*  
*harkakō berrukō*  
 45 *isa tiēpā hirbū*  
*anā nātu`bbōkō*  
*mūčā`ndarsē Ōbē*  
*Tokkón bāčā ḑumā*  
*gaḑē māl sodatā*  
 50 *lafā`bbā ofittī*  
*durū bāsā bāftē*  
*naggādīēn qumbīdā*  
*qumbī gurgurātī*  
*māl barčūmā qabdtī*  
 55 *yó algāsān kiēña*  
*gurgurāḑḑu čallīē*  
*yo Gúmā ḑaḑḑabdtē*  
*Ġimmān ʔs dabalī*  
*Negitā ʔambarō*  
 60 *ʔambarōtti ergatī*  
*túmtu kuḍas anī*  
*fāqī torbatamā*  
*túmtu tumā tumtī*
- fāqīn immoroddī*  
 65 *hinnī siēsa`mbiēku*  
*Wāqī būtē kanī*  
*gandī Tókko`ndarsē*  
*kunī Wāqī bu 'é*  
*ákka qallū`bbukkū*  
 70 *yā ilmā Ončō Ġawē*  
*kórmā si ērginna*  
*anī`ññāttu ġettē*  
*kórmā námā malē*  
*ḑīgā námā malē*  
 75 *korbiēssā ro 'ótā*  
*sogidda nam`bitā*  
*Ġubīr Abbā Dinqī*  
*isa sitti ērgatā*  
*isa siēsa`mbiēku*  
 80 *Doččē námā`ngiēssi*  
*Abbā Miñā Hannā*  
*Goḡḡāmīn hindidū*  
*yó Gállā hillitū*  
*hundīē boṭorōḑā*  
 85 *gōgā ġabbī čōmā*  
*hundīēn Oromōḑā*  
*sódā rabbī sōmī*  
*Šurē māl kiēssanī*  
*Oromōn marātē*  
 90 *isa sirrē kiēssē*  
*ofi ġalā tiēssē*  
*ákka Tókko`ndarsē*  
*kososōn čirattē*  
*Tolā Wāqī wāmátte*  
 95 *bakarāti`nḑōftu*  
*ilmī Gannā Sabū*  
*bakakkān ga`bu 'é*  
*útu hinnī`nġirē*  
*Gúmā tókko`ngalū*  
 100 *yā Gumā motúmā*  
*itti kiēnnī Sabū*  
*utū Sabū`nġirē*  
*akkakunktē`nafū*  
*māniktē`ngubbatā*  
 105 *hárkākīē diēbisē*  
*nítikīē`narāmī*

1 The blood of Ebiyo Šullê, 2 (is it) the maize of Abbā Dûlā? 3 The daughters of Ebā Šullê 4 are noble women (literally, "daughters of man"). 5 We are not Gúmā, 6 formerly were not sold 7 like negroes. 8 O race of Mussulmen, 9 your mother is Wârfidê, 10 your father is a Mussulman. 11 O Šurāmu (son) of Ğawê, 12 you also are a slave, 13 if I am a (free) man. 14 A pullet 15 I have slaughtered and brought to the diviner (*Abbā Môrā*). 16 Beforetime, I had not gone to the diviner. 17 Among the troopers of this Gúmā, 18 I will kill one for the *indiččā*. 19 The man who has not gone today (to the battle), 20 shall no longer be able to revenge his family (literally, shall not find the blood-vengeance of his family). 21 O Gadā, whose mother is Yambê, 22 (who has) an old cloak of lion's skin, 23 long since he is here! 24 What blemish has the son of Yambê? 25 He hits only with the point, like Simā. 26 Break for me the cane (of the maize)! 27 O calf of Tókko ʾndarsê, 28 Gadā, shepherd of calves! 29 There is a *ğillā*, 30 one man, who is (in value) as ten men. 31 He cultivates the plants *ibirkú*, 32 and he, a python, guards the sheep. 33 Only one has done (this) for us, 34 below, in the plain of Dâpō, 35 [do you not wonder, O Gúmā?] 36 fifteen (soldiers) he took (prisoner), 37 ninety (soldiers) he stabbed. 38 The corpses have made fruitful the land! 39 In the fertile land of Gúmā, 40 we have reaped the maize. 41 O valiant negro! 42 Hānnā is satiated with laughing. 43 Tókko does not know flight. 44 O my hand, O my palm, 45 twist this strap! 46 Woe to you, O my Lord! 47 The child of Handarsê Obê, 48 Tókko, has struck down the proud! 49 O coward, why are you afraid? 50 In his father's land, 51 long since he has done ill. 52 O Mussulman (merchant) of myrrh, 53 sell your myrrh! 54 Why have you ascended the throne? 55 If his throne belongs to us, 56 let him sell jet! 57 If Gúmā has been defeated, 58 add (to them) also Ğimmā, 59 and Négita (the king of) the ʾTambáro! 60 Send to the ʾTambárō (many ambassadors): 61 fifteen smiths 62 and seventy tanners; 63 the smiths striking on the anvil, 64 the tanners scraping (the skins!) 65 They do not know flight! 66 They have descended from heaven 67 to the land of Tokko ʾndarsê. 68 They have descended from heaven, 69 as the sorcerer Bukkó! 70 O son of Ğawê Ončo, 71 we will send you a bull! 72 "I will eat nothing," you have said, 73 "except male sons of men, 74 except blood of men!" 75 A he-goat among the goats 76 I will buy with a (piece of) salt. 77 O Ğubîr Abbā Dingî, 78 that I will send to you 79 who do not know flight. 80 Doččê does not reach (the stature of) a man. 81 He is the chief of Miñā's family in Hānnā. 82 He does not reject the Godjamians, 83 if he does not enter the Galla (families). 84 O root of the tree *botorô*, 85 O skin of a fat calf! 86 The race of the Oromō 87 fasts on account of the fear of God! 88 O Šurāmu, what has become of your (soldiers)? 89 The pagan has gone out of his mind. 90 He has placed that on the throne. 91 He has placed himself below! 92 As Tókkō ʾndarsê, 93 he has weeded Kososô. 94 He is called Tolâ Wāqî. 95 He hits with the *bakarâ*. 96 The son of Gannā Sabú, 97 the thunderous, has gone down. 98 But for him, 99 no one would have returned to Gúmā! 100 O Gúmā, as for the kingdom, 101 give it to him, to (the nephew) of Sabú! 102 But for the nephew of Sabú, 103 not even your grand-



fathers would have remained (living). 104 Your house would have been burned; 105 your hand would have given back (what you had taken); 106 your wife would have been sold as a slave!

*Notes.* In verses 1–4, the singer alludes to the sons of Ebiyô, one of the two guardians of the maize, condemned to servitude by Abbā Diggâ (see above). Wârfidîe (v. 5–13) the mother of Abbā Diggâ, was a Sidama concubine of Ončo. Therefore, Abbā Diggâ, although he was older than Abbā Ğubîr, was destitute of right of succession to his father's throne. The custom of consulting haruspices (*Abbā Mora*, i.e. Master of the entrails, see v. 14–16), who read the future events in the entrails of sheep and cows, is general among the Galla. We already know the Galla legend about the cow that ate the sacred book, and thenceforth kept it in its peritoneum. Lefebvre<sup>1</sup> after telling a new version of this legend (the cow is replaced by a sheep) writes: “Les Gallas expriment cette tradition dans leur langage par les mots suivants, *matâf ouakabouéésà lone ignaté mora te-e ourmone matâf ni mora.*” I think that the Galla words quoted by Lefebvre may be interpreted as follows: *matâf Wâqâ bu 'é, sâ 'ā lôn iññate, mōrā ta 'é; haṛa-mmó matâfnî mōrā*, “the book has descended from heaven, a cow of a cattle-herd has eaten (it), it (the book) has stuck in the peritoneum (of the cow); and to-day the book is the peritoneum.” On the contrary, in Kaffa and other Sidama countries, the fowl is the sacred animal, holding in its entrails the secrets of the future.<sup>2</sup> These Sidama beliefs were not unknown in Dāpô, unless the verses 14–16 may be interpreted as another ironical allusion to the Sidama origin of the slave, mother of Abbā Diggâ. When a pagan Galla kills an enemy, he does not enter his house on returning after victory until he has slaughtered a she-goat at the threshold. This sacrifice is called *guṛṛpê*. If the victim has been an elephant, one slaughters an ox, and the sacrifice is called *indiččā*. The singer (v. 17–18) would sacrifice his *indiččā* by slaughtering a Gúmā soldier instead of the usual ox. Verses 21–28 allude to the warrior Gadā Yambê born in Dimtu, a country between Hānnā and Qúmbā. He had taken a holy oath (*kakú*, see song 15, v. 74, 143) not to strike his enemies during battle by hurling his spear but only with the point, fighting hand to hand. A similar oath was taken by Simâ (see song 4–6). Abbā Ğabbî, “shepherd (literally, master) of calves” is the nickname given to Gadā Yambê by his sister-in-law. According to Galla custom, a sister-in-law may not call her brothers-in-law by their personal names, but she must address them with a special nickname. There is probably a connection between this custom and the levirate in force among the Galla. Verses 29–38 mention the warrior, Túrā Rôbā Nončê, born in Bīenti near Dimtu. He had gone to the Abbā Múdā; therefore he was *ğillā* (see Prose, text 4, notes). The verses 52–56 allude to the origins of the Moslem penetration of these lands, i.e. to the Arabic merchants who entered the Galla countries beyond the Gibê to buy the local products, giving in return myrrh and necklaces of jet. (The pagans use myrrh to supplicate the genii.)

<sup>1</sup> Theophile Lefebvre, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris, 1845, vol. 1, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cecchi, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 197.

Verses 57-58 allude again ironically to the Sidama origin of Abbā Diggā's mother. The allies fit for Abbā Diggā are the Ṭambārō (i.e. the inhabitants of the well-known Sidama kingdom southwest of Shoa), especially since it was said that Negītā, the king of Ṭámbārō, had been at that time converted to the Moslem faith. If Abbā Diggā has recourse to such an ally, he may not send noble Galla ambassadors to the Sidama who were and are considered by the Galla worthy only of servitude, but an embassy of low caste men such as smiths and tanners. Bukkó (v. 68) is Abbā Bukkó, a sorcerer of the Liêqa (see song 44). In the verses 69-70, the singer touches again upon the servitude of the sons of Ebiyo and Dukulla, and says to Abbā Diggā, "An ox or a he-goat is enough to repay you for the lost maize. Do not desire human blood!" Doččê Dangašâ (v. 79-82) was a warrior (of low stature, according to verse 80) belonging to the family of the Miñā Hännā. This family had not been reckoned in the Galla tribes of Hännā, but they pretended to be emigrated Godjamians. As I have said above, the Islamic ritual ablutions and the fast of Ramadân were the laughing-stock of the pagans. The verses 84-87 allude clearly to the fast. The verses 87-94 mention a slave of Tókkô ʾndarsê, whose name was Tolá Wāqî (i.e. Gift of God, Theodore). He fought valiantly during the battle and was very dear to his lord. Kososô (v. 93) is a place near Dāpô, one of the plantations of maize which occasioned the war.

The last verses of the song nobly commend the bravery of Nagarí Gannâ, the warrior born in Dāpô and converted to Islam, who stopped the pagan army at Ebičča Ruyā. But for him, Gúmā would have been wasted. *Ĝollê namátti* (v. 4) "sons of men" means "noble"; in a similar way, *ilma abbā*, "son of father" means "noble." The Amharic words *yä-säw lǝǝǝ*, "son of man," are used with the same sense. *Ibirkú* (v. 31) is a plant often employed to make hedges and enclosures; therefore, it grows around the huts. The Amara in Shoa call it *aláltu* (according to Loransiyos). *Sîsa* (v. 43, 65, 79) is the infinitive of the verb *sîs*, which in the northwestern Mačča dialects (Dāpô, Hännā, Gabbā) means "to flee" (other Mačča dialects, *qîs*). *Sîs* is probably connected with the Amharic *šäšä*, "to flee." *Boťôrô* is a big tree (v. 84); *bakarâ* (v. 95) is a kind of long spear.

## 24

Even after the victories of the pagans and the conquest of the country by the Christian Amara, the kingdom of Gúmā remained a centre of Moslem fanaticism. After submission to Râs Tasammâ, who had married Ğenne Alimâ, daughter of Abbā Foggî (younger brother of Abbā Ğubîr and last king of Gúmā), the princes of Adam's dynasty remained in the land as officers of the Amara government. However, Firrisâ, the heir to the crown of Gúmā, fled to Massowah. There he met Šêk Abderromân (this is the Galla pronunciation of the name, *Šayh 'Abdu' l-raḥmâni*) native of Gómmā, another fugitive on account of the Shoan invasion. They (Firrisâ and Abderromân) lived together for a long time, making frequent pilgrimages to Mekkah and Medina. About the years 1899-1900 as it has



been stated, there arose in Gúmā an agitation against the Shoans. Firrisâ went boldly through Eritrea to Kassala, and thence to the Sudan. Here he assembled some of his friends along the Sudan-Ethiopic frontier, entered the country of the Affillô and thence went through Liêqâ into Gúmā. Reaching Ebiččâ Rúyâ, he invited all the chiefs of the land to a meeting, and proclaimed himself king of Gúmā, independent of the Amara. Among the chiefs, many submitted to Firrisâ (e.g. Imâmâ, brother of Firrisâ, and the governor, *Abbâ Qorô*, of Siddî); others refused the invitation and took refuge in Shoa (e.g. Wayêssâ, another brother of Firrisâ); others remained neutrals (e.g. the *Abbâ Qorô* of Ambîrâ, and also the famous Moslem warriors, Asín Saîd and Gúfâ Rufô). Firrisâ during the meeting at Ebiččâ Rúyâ proclaimed a holy war, *ġihâd*, against the Christian Amara. Râs Tasammâ sent against him Fitâwrârî Šāgirdê, who was defeated by the Mussulmen at Lágâ Sanțô and driven beyond the Diddiêssâ. Then Firrisâ, carrying out the plan of his ancestor Abbâ Ğubîr, proceeded to Hânnâ Abbâ Bárô, defeated Hânnâ's army, and burnt the village. Thus began a series of skirmishes between the armies of Firrisâ and Râs Tasammâ. The struggle continued for two years, until at last Firrisâ decided to retreat from Gúmā to Gabbâ, and to the Šānqillâ lands near the Sudan-Ethiopic frontier.

- asín ačči kunnô, Ğubîrîekô  
 Firrisâ ħbbâ Ğubîr, Ğubîrîekô  
 garâ naggādittî, Ğubîrîekô  
 bôr is a ħnnâmmattâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 5 mánâkieña kottú, Ğubîrîekô  
 láfâ Firrên olé, Ğubîrîekô  
 allattîn bokoké, Ğubîrîekô  
 gullônîs naffamé, Ğubîrîekô  
 atí ġollîe Mārîe, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 10 mîekatatammô bōsî, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 utú attî ħġirré, Ğubîrîekô  
 allattîn indūttî, Ğubîrîekô  
 gullôn sōmā oltî, Ğubîrîekô  
 yâ îlmâ ħbbâ Ğubîr, Ğubîrîekô  
 15 Firrisân inġufé, Ğubîrîekô  
 ġagnâ kârri lûlê, Ğubîrîekô  
 e ħráġta ħbbâ fardâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 Firrisân bodūmâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 lafô ħmbūsîn fardâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 20 asómâ ná ħirré, Ğubîrîekô  
 qîerrânsâ ħguggaté, Ğubîrîekô  
 nîenġâ dačġafaté, Ğubîrîekô  
 kunî bu 'ú Ganġî, Ğubîrîekô  
 kîessa tattafaté, Ğubîrîekô  
 25 Firrisân inġufé, Ğubîrîekô

- amârô gadullê, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 isînis 'addatú, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 gadâni ħġudîedô, Ğubîrîekô  
 kan ġâra ħġú ħrafú, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 30 mâtî Gumâ bōé, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 gúmâ ġumtu soddâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 silâ sâñî ġagnâ, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 ató firâ ħġabdu, Ğubîrîekô  
 garbiččâ Adamî, Ğubîrîekô  
 35 Adamîn Dullúdâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 inmurîn inġabîn, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 asómâ ná ħirré, Ğubîrîekô  
 garân Gómmâ diêssé, Ğubîrîekô  
 ġādî mâ ħnkaġanné, Ğubîrîekô  
 40 dalasân inġirtú, Ğubîrîekô  
 garâ bantî Kafâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 bakakkân ġalaté, Ğubîrîekô  
 Ġufâ Rufô fardâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 gabânnô yó ġufté, Ğubîrîekô  
 45 yâ dalasâ Gumâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 îe sirré ħbbâ dūlâ, Ğubîrîekô  
 attîr ħindġamté, Ğubîrîekô  
 ġungô qafsifattú, Ğubîrîekô  
 kîessa barbaddaġdâ, yâ Ğubîr mâlo  
 50 dâmmâ Gumâ bustî, Ğubîrîekô



- yá Ēbiččá Ruyá, Ğubīrīekō  
 Țomborēn immōtú, Ğubīrīekō  
 garáni sī bāté, Ğubīrīekō  
 wārqrē mīēka bāsē, Ğubīrīekō  
 55 hādā mā sī dalté, Ğubīrīekō  
 utúˆn iġġáˆnargé, Ğubīrīekō  
 handúrāˆndungatté, Ğubīrīekō  
 utú bōrú dūtē, Ğubīrīekō  
 gúmā abbākīēs bafté, Ğubīrīekō  
 60 gúmā sāñī bafté, Ğubīrīekō  
 dibbē mīēkˆonsitté, Ğubīrīekō  
 nagārītti būsé, Ğubīrīekō  
 ēssa buletaˆsé, Ğubīrīekō  
 yá Tasammā Nādō, Ğubīrīekō  
 65 ēssātti qīēssitá, Ğubīrīekō  
 utú galte Šoá, Ğubīrīekō  
 mālīnta negusá, Ğubīrīekō  
 nagārītti būfté, Ğubīrīekō  
 utú Tutēˆngīrré, Ğubīrīekō  
 70 nagārīttiˆnafté, Ğubīrīekō  
 Firrisānis mōé, Ğubīrīekō  
 asī mā yá Siddī, Ğubīrīekō  
 lafó gōdā Siddī, Ğubīrīekō  
 isén kúdašaní, yá Ğubīr máló  
 75 hundišē ġādidá, yá Ğubīr máló  
 silá Wāqá büté, yá Ğubīr máló  
 námā mītiˆšenó, Ğubīrīekō  
 má Līēqā uffatté, Ğubīrīekō  
 hurrí daččafatté, Ğubīrīekō  
 80 itti tattafatté, Ğubīrīekō  
 asūmán kunnóti, Ğubīrīekō  
 lafti baddá Qumbá, Ğubīrīekō  
 qorrīsa biniēnsá, yá Ğubīr máló  
 imbuˆin yá ġādī, yá Ğubīr máló  
 85 luggámāˆnqabattú, yá Ğubīr máló  
 ilāniˆndandīēssú, yá Ğubīr máló  
 ġára marmá dīdā, Ğubīrīekō  
 Dāpō gārˆergattú, Ğubīrīekō  
 matá gadī qītē, Ğubīrīekō  
 90 ilmáˆbbā Ğubīrī, Ğubīrīekō  
 Wāyēssān qallōdā, Ğubīrīekō  
 Ğubīrīē Imāmá, Ğubīrīekō  
 Imāmān maraté, Ğubīrīekō  
 maré hādō qītē, Ğubīrīekō  
 95 duˆ'asa dingatá, Ğubīrīekō  
 Firrisá biniēnsá, Ğubīrīekō  
 sāñītú Ambīērā, Ğubīrīekō  
 mālīfú sodatá, Ğubīrīekō  
 yá hādō Surriyāđá, Ğubīrīekō  
 100 Ambīērā máˆnbūtú, yá Ğubīr máló  
 bundān infonantú, yá Ğubīr máló  
 yá ilmān Ğubīrīē, Ğubīrīekō  
 kuyˆyādón ná qabde, Ğubīrīekō  
 ġāfá Hānnā gubbé, Ğubīrīekō  
 105 Qiēllēm yaddón qabde, Ğubīrīekō  
 negufnīˆnnagiēñé, Ğubīrīekō  
 ákka Hannān taˆ'é, Ğubīrīekō  
 nađqīēn qottó būfté, Ğubīrīekō  
 Iddó Irró fārdā būsé, Ğubīrīekō  
 110 kobāsa daddisá, Ğubīrīekō  
 Firrisáˆbbā Ğubīr, Ğubīrīekō  
 kobāó baraté, Ğubīrīekō  
 ákka qallúˆbbukko, Ğubīrīekō  
 Tullú Šangó yābé, Ğubīrīekō  
 115 infāga Firrisān, Ğubīrīekō  
 harkīsa wārqrēđá, Ğubīrīekō  
 namnīˆsammó argé, Ğubīrīekō  
 agabúsaˆmbuló, Ğubīrīekō  
 ákka Wāqāˆmané, Ğubīrīekō  
 120 dúˆ'aˆnsodatú, yá Ğubīr máló  
 buˆ'i gōdā Ambō, Ğubīrīekō  
 Nonnō ġará čakká, Ğubīrīekō  
 kará na kiēnnitú, Ğubīrīekō  
 anóˆnčēa! ġēđé, Ğubīrīekō  
 125 Ġārō tarkanfáté, Ğubīrīekō  
 Yabalóttiˆergaté, Ğubīrīekō  
 kará čīrsīfaté, Ğubīrīekō  
 ákka Bušē Garbá, Ğubīrīekō  
 utúˆrabá büté, Ğubīrīekō  
 130 dunnikīēˆkkasīrré, Ğubīrīekō  
 ġúyā lamáˆnbullá, Ğubīrīekō

1 This (man) is here, my Ğubîrê, 2 Firrisâ (nephew) of Abbâ Ğubîr, 3 race of Mussulmen, my Ğubîrê. 4 Tomorrow I will send him a message, my Ğubîrê. 5 Come into our house, my Ğubîrê! 6 In the land where Firrisâ has dwelt, my Ğubîrê, 7 the vulture has swelled, my Ğubîrê, 8 the hyena has fallen sick (by eating corpses). 9 You, son of Mārām, O Ğubîr what is there? 10 How many men have you caused to weep; O Ğubîr, why? 11 But for you, my Ğubîrê, 12 the vulture would have died, my Ğubîrê; 13 the hyena would have lived by fasting, my Ğubîrê. 14 O son of Abbâ Ğubîr, my Ğubîrê, 15 Firrisâ, he has come, my Ğubîrê, 16 the brave, whose teeth are white jet, my Ğubîrê! 17 Where are you going, O horseman, my Ğubîrê? 18 Firrisâ is back, my Ğubîrê. 19 Do not descend from the horse and fight on foot, my Ğubîrê! 20 The sickle has weeded for me, my Ğubîrê. 21 The leopard has veiled his head, my Ğubîrê. 22 The lion has veiled himself twofold, my Ğubîrê. 23 This (man) will descend to Gangî, my Ğubîrê. 24 He has come thence in haste, O my Ğubîrê. 25 And Firrisâ will come, my Ğubîrê. 26 The Amara are black ants; O Ğubîr, why? 27 And you are white; O Ğubîr, why? 28 Fighting, one does not grow fat, O my Ğubîrê. 29 Those who guard them (the Amara prisoners) do not sleep; O Ğubîr, why? 30 The wealth of Gúmā has wept; O Ğubîr, why? 31 He will get blood-vengeance against his brother-in-law, O my Ğubîrê, 32 because he is born from a brave stock; O Ğubîr, what is there? 33 You have no relation, O my Ğubîrê. 34 O slave of Adam, O my Ğubîrê. 35 The Adamites are like Dullû, O my Ğubîrê. 36 "Do not cut! Do not take prisoners!" O Ğubîr, why? 37 The sickle has weeded for me, O my Ğubîrê. 38 A belly of Gómmā has given birth to him, O my Ğubîrê. 39 O warrior of the holy war, why do you not pray? O my Ğubîrê! 40 There are no *zawāyā*, O my Ğubîrê. 41 Toward the sky of Kaffa, O my Ğubîrê, 42 thunder is born, O my Ğubîrê. 43 Gufā Rufô, the horseman; O my Ğubîrê. 44 Even the whole market would have come, O my Ğubîrê. 45 O enclosure of Gúmā! O my Ğubîrê! 46 O throne of the *abbā dūla*! O my Ğubîrê! 47 Before you, it had been knocked down, O my Ğubîrê. 48 Let him light a torch, O my Ğubîrê, 49 and seek in the interior; O Ğubîr, why? 50 Gather the honey of Gúmā. 51 O Ebicca Rúyā! 52 "The mulatto shall not reign!" 53 The belly which has brought you forth, 54 how much gold has it brought forth? 55 Who is the mother who has given birth to you? 56 If I had seen her with my eyes, 57 I would have kissed her navel. 58 Even if you should die tomorrow, 59 you have (already) got blood-vengeance for your father, 60 you have (already) got blood-vengeance for your relatives. 61 How many drums have you pulled down? 62 You have forced (the enemies) to abandon the war-drums. 63 Where has he dwelt? 64 O Tasammā Nādō, 65 where have you flown? 66 If you have returned to Shoa, 67 what have you told to the emperor? 68 You (O Firrisâ) have forced (the enemy) to abandon the war-drums. 69 But for Tuččo, 70 not one war-drum would have been kept (by the Amara). 71 Firrisâ has won! 72 What will you do now, O Siddí? 73 The troopers of the Siddí plain, 74 they are fifteen; 75 they are all warriors of the holy war. 76 Since he is come from the sky, 77 he is not a man. 78 Why have the Liēqā put



on their clothes? 79 They have doubly veiled themselves with the fog, 80 and they have come to him (Firrisâ) in haste. 81 There is, behold, 82 the land of the Qumbâ plateau. 83 It causes the wild beasts to freeze. 84 Do not descend here, O warrior of the holy war! 85 You would not be able to rein (your horse), 86 you would not be able to look. 87 By this valley of the Ðiddiëssâ, 88 send messages to Ðâpō! 89 You have trampled upon their heads (O Firrisâ)! 90 The son of Abbâ Ğubîr, 91 Wāyëssâ is thin. 92 (The nephew) Abbâ Ğubîr, Imâmā, 93 Imâmā has gone out of his mind. 94 Going out of his mind, he has trampled upon his mother. 95 May he die suddenly! 96 O Firrisâ, wild beast, 97 whose race is Ambîērā, 98 why do you doubt? 99 O you, whose mother is Surriyā, 100 why do you not descend to Ambîērā? 101 Why do you not gather the coffee? 102 O sons of Abbâ Ğubîr! 103 I take care of these (people) (literally, the care of these has taken me). 104 When Hännā was burnt, 105 Qiëllém was alarmed (literally, the care has taken Qiëllém). 106 The Emperor has not heard 107 what Hännā has become. 108 You (O Firrisâ) have caused the axes to descend upon the women. 109 You have pulled down Iddô Irrô from his horse 110 and he (Iddô Irrô) is wandering alone. 111 Firrisâ (nephew) of Abbâ Ğubîr, 112 he alone has learned. 113 As the sorcerer Abbúkkō, 114 he has ascended Mount Šanqô. 115 Does Firrisâ descend thence? 116 His hand is gold. 117 He who has looked at him, 118 dwells fasting. 119 He is as worthy of faith as God. 120 He does not fear death. 121 Descend to the Ambô plain! 122 "The Nónnō of these woods, 123 let them give way to me! 124 I will pass by!" he has said. 125 He has passed the Gârô. 126 He has sent messages to Yabalô. 127 He has caused the way to be weeded, 128 even as Bušê Garbâ. 129 If you should descend to (the land of) the Arabians, 130 your death would follow immediately. 131 You could not dwell (there) two days!

*Notes.* Firrisâ (v. 9) is called son of Mārām, i.e. Attētē (see song 127). The verses 20–30 celebrate the victory of Ganġí, where the Mussulmen led by Firrisâ, defeated the Amara army of Râs Tasammâ. Ganġí is a place between Gúmā and Ðâpō. Among the Amara captured during this battle by the Mussulmen, there were many negro slaves, *sānqillâ*, who had fought together with Râs Tasammâ's army. The verses 26–27 allude to these negro prisoners. The verses 31–36 sing about the harshness of Firrisâ who fights even against his brother-in-law, Tasammâ, (see the introduction to this song) to revenge his father, Abbâ Foggí, killed by the Amara. The princes of Adam's dynasty, says verse 35, are immovable in their severity, unshaken as Mount Dullû (a mountain in Gúmmā). Firrisâ is called *garbiččâ*, i.e. "slave" (v. 34), because he had ordered that all the warriors of this holy war would take the nickname *garbiččâ Rabbí*, i.e. "slave of the Lord." He had also forbidden his soldiers boasting by calling themselves slaves of their ancestors, or chiefs. It was the custom among the Galla pagans to sing a short boasting song, calling themselves "slave of my father" or "slave of the king." Also recently Daġġáč (today Râs) Kabbada had used in boasting the Amharic cry "*yä-Dāñāw bāryā*," "the slave of Dāñāw," that is, Menilek whose war-name was Abbâ Dāñāw (see also Prose, text 2). Besides, Firrisâ



ordered that his soldiers should not cut off the genitals of the conquered enemies, as was usual among the Galla, and that they should not take prisoners in order to gain, afterwards, great ransoms. The holy war, according to Firrisâ, should not procure profane trophies (v. 36).

Verses 37–40 allude to Šêk Abderrôman, native of Gómmā (see the introduction to this song). He established in Gúmā and in the conquered lands many *zawāyā* of the Ṭarīqah Mirganiyyah. (It is known that the Arabs called *zawiyyah*, pl. *zawāyā*, the single seats of the Moslem congregations. The congregations are called in Arabic *ṭarīqah*, pl. *ṭuruq*). The verses 41–42 allude to Asín Saíd (see the introduction to this song). Verses 43–44 refer to Gufâ Rufô, native of Gêrā, who was once obliged to take refuge in Kaffa, because he had been banished from his native land. He, like Asín Saíd (song 25), was favorable to the Mussulmen of Gúmā, but did not fight in the holy war. Verse 47 alludes to the first submission of Gúmā to Râs Tasammâ. Verses 48–51 honor the parliament assembled by Firrisâ in Ebíččā Rúyā (see the introduction to this song). The singer in verses 50–51 puns on the two senses of the word *ebiččā*, name of the aforesaid village and meaning also a plant, *vernonia myriocephala*, and a kind of dark honey which is produced by the bees from the flowers of this plant. Verses 52–60 sing about the mother of Firrisâ, who was a slave of Abbā Foggí. Therefore, Firrisâ had been insulted by his enemies, who declared that, according to the Galla law, the sons of the king's negro slaves must be excluded from the throne. Likewise Abbā Diggâ, when Ġawê Ončo died, was obliged to acknowledge that the legitimate king was his younger brother, Abbā Ġubîr. The verses 61–70 allude to a strange episode of the battle at Ganġí. Râs Tasammâ, flying, abandoned the war-drums of his army, and then sent Tuččo Dánnō to retake them. Tuččo with twenty horsemen defeated the guard of Firrisâ and was able to restore this loss. The verses 71–75 praise the bravery of fifteen warriors, natives of Siddí. Siddí is the place of the tombs of the Gúmā kings; no strangers were allowed to enter there, and even today, after the Amara conquest, a proclamation of the Emperor has forbidden even the soldiers of the Amara governor of the country to enter this royal cemetery. The verses 78–80 allude to the Liêqā Hordâ, who fought with their chief, Tuččo Dánnō, ally of Râs Tasammâ, against the Mussulmen. The verses 81–86 recall the battle at Qumbâ during the first Moslem war (see songs 18–19). Firrisâ took revenge for this defeat of his uncle Abbā Ġubîr, by devastating Dâpō. The verses 90–95 allude to both brothers of Firrisâ; Wayêssâ, who fought together with his brother and died during a battle against the Christians, and Imâmā, who, traitor to his family, flew to Shoa to the court of the Emperor. The verses 96–100 relate to Ambîêrā, a village where Firrisâ had been brought up during his youth. Therefore, although Ambîêrā had remained neutral during the holy war, Firrisâ did not assault this village and force it to pay the usual tribute of coffee. The verses 104–116 sing of the revenge which Firrisâ took against another enemy of his uncle, Hánnā, which he pillaged and burned. During the pillaging of Hánnā, Firrisâ killed the horse of Iddô Irrô, chief of the army of Abbā

Bárā. Tullú Šanqô (v. 114) is a mountain in the territory of Hännā. On this mountain, Firrisā retreated at the end of the two years of war to attempt flight toward the Sudan. In the verses 121-127, Firrisā demands of the Nónnō an open way to escape. The Nónnō whom he addresses (v. 122) are the Nónnō Gaččí, a tribe living westward of Hännā and northwest of Gabbā. Ambô (v. 121) is a place between Hännā and Qumbā. Gārô (v. 125) is Gārô Šanqillā, a river near Gúrrā Fárdā, in the region of Naččabā. Yabalô (v. 126) is the chief village of the Nónnō Gaččí. Verse 128 compares Firrisā with Bušê Garbā, an ancient Galla king of Horrô, who conquered the whole country of Liêqā, many districts of Límму, Ğimmā Abbā Ğifār, and the lands of the Nonnō near Límму. He was father of Rās Wāraññā.<sup>1</sup>

*Agabú* (v. 118) is fasting in a general sense (i.e. not eating) and also in the pagan religious sense (see song 133, v. 78-80). The Moslem fast is called in Galla *sômā*, which is an Arabic loanword. In this song (*passim*) the Moslem soldiers are called *ğādî*, Galla pronunciation of the word *ğihādî*, adjective from *ğihād*, "holy war." Thus *ğādî* means "the holy warrior," "the warrior of the holy war." The Christians and the pagans punned on this word, pronouncing it *ğadî*, that is "little buffalo" (the buffalo is considered a low animal by the Galla, see song 34, notes). The *zāwiyyah* (see note to the verses 37-40 of this song) is called by the Galla *dalasá*, i.e. "enclosure." Even the residences of the sorcerers are called *dalasá* (see song 114, v. 9).

## 25

Asín Saíd (see song 24, v. 41-42) was a native of Ğimmā Abbā Ğifār, and husband of Tullú Abbā Ğifār's sister. He was banished from Ğimmā and went to Gúmā, where he became at once famous on account of his Moslem zeal. However, as Abbā Ğubîr became very partial to him, and gave him great presents, many people in Gúmā protested against this favoritism towards a stranger. Then the women of Gúmā sang:

*Sidāmā gárā čábsā*  
*durísa mbullú mütí*  
*ğimmiččā kabā galčā*

1 The Sidama with broken belly, 2 we will not dwell before him. 3 Let the native of Ğimmā return to (his native) walls!

Then Asín Saíd, who had heard this song, went to the royal residency and demanded of the king permission to go to Kaffa. The king asked Asín the reason for this demand. Asín answered: "*Donáččo, laftí gurdá nqabdu wál inčáltu*," that is, "Sire, the land where (the women) have not the *gurdá*, is not the best (land)." As to the *gurdá*, see song 15, notes. And he went to Kaffa; thence he advanced as far as Gîêrā, when he heard the reports of the return of the Adamite dynasty to Gúmā, and the holy war. However, seeing the expedition of Rās Tasammā already prepared, Asín remained in Gîêrā and did not participate in any battles.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, 'Strofe e piccoli testi Amarici,' op. cit.



After passing through the Nónnō country, Firrisâ reached Gabbâ and tried to convert Fatânsâ Ilú, the king of Gabbâ, to the Moslem faith. However, Fatânsâ Ilú, as he did not understand the ascetic fervor of Firrisâ, and saw that Firrisâ and his companions offered prayers and held religious ceremonies in a way which appeared to him very strange, imagined that Firrisâ was a sorcerer and imprisoned him. In the meantime, Râs Tasammâ went to the frontier of Gabbâ and ordered Fatânsâ to consign Firrisâ to the Amara soldiers. Fatânsâ answered that Firrisâ had been suspected of sorcery while he was a guest of Gabbâ. Therefore, he (Fatânsâ) might condemn Firrisâ, but by the ancient customs, he could not deliver a guest of Gabbâ to strangers, especially to the Amara, enemies of the guest. Then Fatânsâ assembled his army and went to the frontier. In the meantime, he ordered that during the actions between his army and the Amara, no food should be given to Firrisâ, to enfeeble him and thus hinder him from making sorceries against Gabbâ. Since, during the battle the Doranní, led by their chief, Abbâ Čallâ, refused to fight in behalf of their ancient enemy Firrisâ, Fatânsâ was defeated by Râs Tasammâ. However, he imagined that his defeat had been caused by the sorceries of Firrisâ, and returning to his capital, ordered that Firrisâ should be brought before him to inquire whether Firrisâ had fasted, according to orders. The orders had been executed, but it appeared to Fatânsâ that, in spite of the fast, Firrisâ had *la bonne-chère*. Then he sang:

*finčānitti finčāni*  
*gabbaté nātāni*  
*qoriččā har 'a isáf ta 'á turá?*

1 O urine, son of urine! 2 He has eaten and grown fat. 3 Had he today a medicine?

*Qoriččā* (v. 3), "medicine" is often used to mean "poison," and also "sorcery." Gunpowder was called *qoriččā gawê*, "the medicine of the gun," by the Galla when firearms were first introduced among them.

After defeating Fatânsâ, the Amara advanced as far as Burê, the chief village of Gabbâ Ilú. Then Fatânsâ surrendered to Tasammâ and consigned to him Firrisâ, Šêk Abderromân, and their companions. Šêk Abderromân was able to escape; the others were tried by Râs Tasammâ and condemned to death. Firrisâ demanded to be executed holding the Koran in his hands, and before the hanging he cried out that he would be buried outside Ethiopia. In fact, says Loransiyos, although Tasammâ had surrounded the gallows with sentries, the corpse of Firrisâ disappeared mysteriously during the night after the execution. The tragic death of the last prince of Gúmâ made a great and painful impression on the Galla. Even today, all the Mussulmen of these lands consider Firrisâ a saint (*walî*). Fatânsâ Ilú repented delivering Firrisâ to Râs Tasammâ and feared divine vengeance. In fact he died after some months, struck by lightning, and the day after his burial the sepulchre was found open and the bones scattered in the ground.



The following song was composed by a Galla pagan minstrel after hearing the news of the condemnation of Firrisâ. The singer, by threats and prayers, demands an act of grace for Firrisâ. He recalls the power of Firrisâ and the battle at Lágâ Sanțô, thus admonishing the Amara not to provoke the Galla to sanguinary reprisals; then states the relationship between Firrisâ and Tasammâ. Finally he threatens divine vengeance against Tasammâ, if he should order the execution of Firrisâ and Șêk Abderromân (the song was evidently composed before the flight of the latter).

- |                         |                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| yâ Adamî, guyâ gâfâ`rbî | wâl gúbba ċibsé    |
| hundú ratáé             | 35 gangónni`mbuttú |
| bulté gâfâ`nñi          | ilmí`bbā Ġubîr     |
| qoró`bbā Watô           | du' á`nsodatú      |
| 5 hofâ bidaté           | gārîkô ġetté       |
| Firrisâ Ġobê            | yó dú`a malí       |
| garâ murátu             | 40 ġēđé Firrisân   |
| Tāsāmmā Nādô            | ilmí`bbā Ġubîr     |
| kutté garākié           | billân butāđá      |
| 10 muċân soddākié       | ċirâ ċiratá        |
| ġimmātā rōbū            | ilmí`bbā Ġubîr     |
| maná`mbainá             | 45 gottôn`arkátti  |
| Fayôn dutāđá            | billân mudđittí    |
| qolló`bbā Ġāffrê        | qorân falađá       |
| 15 Māryām Amārâ         | māl gôta ġennân    |
| imbîeku Kirrôn          | lafrê kāfirâ       |
| ilmí`bbā Ġubîr          | 50 funanén gubbá   |
| gamí rabbitti           | ġēđé Firrisân      |
| sagál aġċsé             | qaċċé namâti       |
| 20 lamâ hindiċċâ        | imballiēsín        |
| fuqurân duté            | ġēđé soddānkié     |
| saddāqa büté            | 55 ġēđát`itti`má   |
| dalásâ maná             | Tāsāmmā Nādô       |
| otú ġarratté            | yó đúgā dubbí      |
| 25 Tāsāmmā Nādô         | dukkánâ baí        |
| si`nānkaku`nnó          | butáttu Firrâ      |
| Điđđiēssâ ċċi           | 60 arâra firâ      |
| du`á đengatâ            | firrí`nđadđabú     |
| Šāġtrdinirré            | akên imbātú        |
| 30 hinnú`nargaté        | sānî Adamî         |
| amsâ bāl-qamîs          | firâ`mbiēkanî      |
| gâfâ tokkorré           | 65 isân gorra`ú    |
| garbíċċâ goftá          | Ġimmâ ṭabbarí      |

	<i>maná`mbainí</i>		<i>istín kāfirá</i>
	<i>Tāsamma Nādô</i>		<i>dūtán mā`ngirú</i>
	<i>dutá`bbā Ğubír</i>		<i>badán mā`ngabdú</i>
70	<i>sāñí nīēñčiččô</i>	90	<i>guyá gáfā`rbí</i>
	<i>ēbô sí`mbadđú</i>		<i>lagá Sančōtí</i>
	<i>ğēđē kakaté</i>		<i>yó đúgā himá</i>
	<i>gawē sí`mbadđú</i>		<i>aní sín himá</i>
	<i>ğēđē kakaté</i>		<i>ilmí`bbā Ğubír</i>
75	<i>yó qóttô malé</i>	95	<i>gāfā kamāsá</i>
	<i>gottón inmurá</i>		<i>alá`lasirí</i>
	<i>billán inkutá</i>		<i>yoggá saggadú</i>
	<i>ğēđē Firrisán</i>		<i>galbín inđagti</i>
	<i>Abdurramānis</i>		<i>hinní`nmarātá</i>
80	<i>gubbô mimittá</i>	100	<i>allátti ta`é</i>
	<i>sāñí Gommāđá</i>		<i>gará wāgattí</i>
	<i>nīēñčí`bbā Dammīē</i>		<i>bállē biqilčē</i>
	<i>Makká šán đaqé</i>		<i>sí galafatá</i>
	<i>Medīna gaé</i>		<i>maná`mbainí</i>
85	<i>du`á`nsodatú</i>	105	<i>đúgā firôma</i>
	<i>Tāsammā Nādô</i>		<i>imân sí himá</i>

1 O Adam, the day of Wednesday, 2 all were astonished. 3 After one day, the day of Antí, 4 the land of Abbā Watô 5 has sharpened its spears. 6 O Firrisá (nephew) of Abbā Ğubír, 7 O belly-cutter, 8 Tasammā Nādô 9 has cut your belly, 10 your young brother-in-law. 11 Friday, it has rained. 12 Do not go out of your house! 13 Faysá is angry. 14 In the spirit of Abbā Čāffiē, 15 in Mary (venerated) by the Amara, 16 Kirrô does not believe. 17 The son of Abbā Ğubír, 18 traitor of the Lord, 19 has killed nine (enemies), 20 has made two sacrifices (*indiččá*). 21 The Moslem missionary grew angry; 22 he offered a *sadaqah*. 23 The enclosure of the house, 24 oh, if you had (well) constructed it! 25 O Tasammā Nādô! 26 He (Firrisá) will not neglect to come. 27 Pass beyond the Điddiēssā! 28 Here, there is sudden death. 29 Šāgirdiē, 30 he has found it (i.e. sudden death). 31 Fifty officers 32 in one day. 33 The slave of his Lord 34 has placed him on his own throne. 35 The mule does not bring (the spoils). 36 The son of Abbā Ğubír 37 does not fear death. 38 "It is good for me," you have said, 39 "even death!" 40 So has said Firrisá. 41 The son of Abbā Ğubír 42 is a long sword, 43 weeder of weeds. 44 The son of Abbā Ğubír 45 is an axe for arms, 46 is a sword for waists, 47 wood-cutter! 48 "What are you doing?" we said to him. 49 "The bones of the infidels 50 I collect and burn (them)," 51 Firrisá has answered. 52 "The noble dynasty, 53 do not waste them (O Tasammā)!" 54 has said your brother-in-law. 55 What he has said, say you to this (i.e. to Tasammā)! 56 O Tasammā Nādô 57 if the matter is right, 58 go out of darkness! 59 O valiant man, O Firrisá! 60 Peace between the relatives! 61 The noble family does not

debase itself, 62 does not become low caste. 63 The dynasty of Adam 64 does not acknowledge relationship. 65 They slaughter each other. 66 Await us in Ġímmā! 67 Do not go out of your house, 68 O Tasammā Nādô! 69 Abbā Ġubîr is angry. 70 He is a race of lions. 71 "I will not bring for (fighting) you a spear!" 72 he said, and took a holy oath. 73 "I will not bring for (fighting) you a gun!" 74 he said, and took a holy oath. 75 "On the contrary (I will bring) the axe! 76 The axe will split; 77 the sword will cut!" 78 has said Firrisâ. 79 And Abderromân, 80 burning pepper, 81 native of Gómmā, 82 the lion, Abbā Dammîê, 83 he went five times to Mekkah; 84 he reached Medina. 85 He does not fear death. 86 O Tasammā Nādô, 87 you infidels, 88 if you die, 89 what will you become? 90 What will you have after (death)? 91 The day of Friday, 92 the river Santô 93 may testify to it! 94 I will tell it to you. 95 The son of Abbā Ġubîr 96 the day of Thursday, 97 at the hour of the *asr* 98 after the prayer, 99 will go out of his mind (literally, the mind will go out of him). 100 He will be a fool. 101 He will become a vulture; 102 toward the sky 103 wings shall break forth to him. 103 He shall destroy you. 104 Do not go out of your house! 105 With a relative's good faith, 106 I sincerely advise you!

*Notes.* The song begins with the description of the astonishment of the inhabitants when Firrisâ unexpectedly appeared in Gúmā, and the struggle of the Doranni against Firrisâ. Friday was the day sacred to the spirit of Abbā Čäffîê, a sorcerer of Dâpô (see song 29). The Galla, and especially the nobles, consecrated one day weekly to their guardian spirit. This day they called by the name of the spirit. The spirit of Abbā Čäffîê was Antí, to whom Friday was consecrated. Therefore, Friday is called the day of Antí (v. 3). Abbā Watô (v. 4) was an officer of the Doranní. The verses 11–13 allude to Fáysā Budê, another Doranní warrior. The verses 14–16 sing about Šêk Kirrô, a companion of Firrisâ. The singer, a pagan, wonders because Šêk Kirrô, a Mussulman, believes neither in the Virgin Mary venerated by the Christians nor in the genii venerated by the pagan Galla. Note that *Māryām* (v. 15) means in Galla the Virgin Mary (*Māryām* is the Amharic form of this name); whereas *Mārām* means *Atêtê*, the goddess of fecundity (see song 127 and following). The verses 17–22 allude to a strange tale which had been told in the Galla countries about Firrisâ. It was said that, as he had killed nine horsemen, he made before again entering his house, two sacrifices, *indiččâ* (see notes to song 23). It is customary to offer up the *indiččâ* for the killing of one elephant, but as one elephant is valued as five horsemen (see notes to song 15), Firrisâ offered two *indiččâ* for his nine victories. Afterwards he was reproached by the zealous Moslem missionaries (called by the Galla *fuqurâ*. Amharic *fuqṛā*, Arabic, *faqîr*) on account of these pagan ceremonies, and he made a donation to the poor to expiate his sin (these donations are called in Arabic *sadaqah*). The verses 23–32 urge Tasammā to fly beyond the Diddîessa, reminding him of the defeat of Fitawrâri Šāgirdê at Lágā Santô. The verses 33–36 allude to Doččê Dangašâ, an officer of Firrisâ, who had once fought in behalf of Dâpô against Gúmā. The pagan singer praises him by calling him "slave of his Lord" (see song 24), thus unconsciously violating the



order of Firrisâ (see notes to song 24). The verses 52–68 demand the act of grace for Firrisâ on account of his relationship with Tasammâ. The verses 63–65 mean, “The other noble families are sensible of family bonds. Why do only the descendants of Adam kill one other?”

Tasammâ, after the victory against Fatansâ, returned to Ğimmâ Abbâ Ğifâr where he awaited the arrival of the prisoners (v. 66). In Ğimmâ, far from Gúmâ, Firrisâ was judged and executed, perhaps because it was feared that there might be a rebellion of Gúmâ against the sentence. The verses 69–78 refer to an oath taken by Firrisâ not to fight against Christians with the spear (the weapon of the pagans), nor the gun (the weapon of the Amara Christians), but only with the axe and the sword. Naturally, however, his soldiers were armed with guns. As to the holy oath (here the verb *kakaté* is used), see song 143. The verses 79–85 allude to Šêk Abderromân (see the introduction to song 24). Abbâ Dammî (v. 82) was the war-name of the Sheikh. The verses 86–93 read: “The Amara infidels must fear death, but the Mussulmen (i.e. the condemned men, Firrisâ and his companions) have not been afraid of their sentence, because they await eternal joy. Certainly they have not feared death during the battles and the Lágâ Sanțô may testify on this point!” Verse 91 is not Galla, but Amharic: *amsâ bāl-qamîs*. *Butattu* (v. 59) means “valiant;” it is a formula used in the boasting-song. According to Loransiyos, it is like in its value to the Amharic formula: *akāki zarrāf*.<sup>1</sup> *Akê* (v. 62) is the general name for the low castes: smiths (*túmtu*), hunters (*wáttā*), tanners (*fāqî*) etc. Verse 96 is not Galla, but Arabic: ‘*alā*’*l-asr*’ pronounced by the Galla singer (according to the Galla pronunciation), *alā*’*lasirí*. *Al-‘asr* is the well-known hour of the day in which a special prayer must be offered according to the Moslem custom.

## 28

The chiefs of the Wǎrrā Bîērā, the famous family ruling over the Lêqa Hordā were obliged to fight many times against Ğimmâ Gobbō. First of all, Tuččo Dánnō defeated and killed Biččê Garbā, chief of Ğimmâ Gobbō; then the uncle of Tuččo, Rumiččô Bîera, defeated at Húfō the king Fáysā Lamú, son of Biččê Garbā and well-known among the Galla on account of his strange cruelties:

*riēbā Bîērā Otā*  
*Rummîe hammā*’*ngiēssí*  
*hámma*’*bottē giēssí*  
*fárdān qūftē adiēmti*  
 5 *naḍḍiēn Ğimmā Gobbō*  
*matā muraččisē*

*láfā Hordā*’*mbiēgne*  
*Hufō hordaččisē*  
*námā kolfā*’*mbiēgne*  
 10 *Tutē kolfāččisē*  
*Fáysā*’*lmā Lamú*  
*bodē ōbaččisē*

1 The hero (son) of Bîērā (son) of Ótā, 2 Rumiččô, how far does he reach? 3 He (i.e. his stature) reaches a fist. 4 (His) horse comes and goes. 5 The women of Ğimmâ Gobbō 6 he (Rumiččô) has caused to shave their heads. 7 In a land where fences had never been

<sup>1</sup> Cf., Guidi, Vocabolario amarico-italiano, op. cit.

raised, 8 in Húfō, he raised his spear. 9 A man, who had never laughed, 10 Tuččo, he (Rumiččō) has caused to laugh. 11 To Fáysā, son of Lamú, 12 he (Rumiččō) has given drink with his spear (i.e. has caused the blood of Fáysā to flow).

*Notes.* To shave one's own head is a sign of mourning (v. 6). *Kolfā<sup>ˆ</sup>mbrēgne* (v. 9) lit. "he does not know laughing," i.e. "he had never laughed," is an unusual construction. Similarly, the Amharic runs, *siqó ayāwqēm*, "having laughed, he does not know."

## 29

Tuččo Dánnō also fought, during the Amara invasion, against Morodā, the chief of Liēqā Naqamtē, who after the Amara conquest was appointed *dağğāzmāč*. Morodā, who favored the Shoans, joined Rās Gobanā and followed him first into Ğimmā Abbā Gifār and then into Dilālō and Imbābō during both actions between Rās Gobanā and the God-jamiāns led by Rās Darasō (see song 39). Túččo Dánnō, on the contrary, joined the God-jamians, and fought with them during the entire war. Here is Morodā's song of defiance against Tuččo.

*kēkku murinna*  
*mannikē yó manākō čāla*  
*kēttu bullinna*  
*mallikē yó malāko čāla*  
 5 *hiḍankiēña sambātā tokkorre*  
*dubbī Wāq ḡḡdé*  
*ákka Wāqtu čāla*  
*qāmsikēña sambātā*  
*rḡbí wāl agarre*  
 10 *matif naqḏiēn imbāfna*

*atīs fidā rās Darasūkē*  
*anīs fidā Gobanā Dančikō*  
*arfasān yógga barṭe*  
*Abbā Čāffīē wāmaḏinna*  
 15 *atīs ayānākē Ğiğḡō Báččo kaḏaḏitta*  
*torbāni lamāttu wāl agarra*  
*dú 'a sodatāni<sup>ˆ</sup>naḑāni*  
*nigúsā gabbarēra*  
*kanā birā námā hundūmā nān danqēra*

1 We will cut the stalks of *kekku*, 2 if your house is better than my house. 3 We will become your servants, 4 if your wit is better than my wit. 5 Is our appointment for Sunday definite? 6 Yes! I have said the word of God! 7 I am strong as God! 8 Our appointment is for Sunday. 9 Wednesday we have met. 10 Let us bring our wealth and our women (as stakes of the combat)! 11 You will lead your Rās Darasō. 12 I will lead my Gobanā Danči, 13 when autumn breaks forth. 14 We will call Abbā Čāffīē. 15 You will pray to your genius, Ğiğḡō Báččō. 16 We will meet twice in the week. 17 Those who fear death cannot escape from it! 18 I have paid my tribute to the Emperor. 19 Except him (the emperor), I will fight (lit. make trenches) against all.

*Notes.* *Kēkku* (v. 1) is a plant the stem of which resembles the stem of sorghum. The Amara call it *ḡimmugā*. The armies of Rās Darasō and Rās Gobanā met each other twice (v. 9), the first time at Dilālo in Nónnō's land on a Wednesday, the second time at Imbābō on a Sunday (see songs 39, 40). Abbā Čāffīē (v. 14), was a famous sorcerer, native of Dāpō; Ğiğḡō Báččo was a sorcerer of Liēqā Hordā (v. 15).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the historical subject of this song, cf. Guidi, 'Strofe e piccoli testi Amarici,' op. cit., song 4; G. J. Afevork, *La vita di Menilek II*, Roma, 1906; De Castro, *Nella terra dei negus*, op. cit., vol. 2.

The four following songs belong to the class of poems called by the Galla *fársā*. They are long poems with short verses, in which are celebrated the most famous warriors of the tribe, particularly by recalling their ancestors on the father's and the mother's side. They are the poetical expression of the bonds which unite the members of the tribe. They are the boasting songs of the tribe as a whole, as opposed to the boasting-songs of the single warriors which are called *gērārsā*. Here is the *fársā* of the clan *Lágā Ğārtí* of the tribe *Liêqā Billô*.

- |                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>têfô adí qadó</i>        | <i>Ligdí ámma`ndufú</i>      |
| <i>afân bollâ gayâ</i>      | <i>gára`rfasâ dufâ</i>       |
| <i>Gôrô Nabî Batô</i>       | <i>fárdâ`lbasâ bulâ</i>      |
| <i>yâ`bbâ Goğğâm fayâ</i>   | <i>yâ kallô`fâl`lagâ</i>     |
| 5 <i>fuđú qorô sadí</i>     | 35 <i>soddân Dâti`nsîene</i> |
| <i>ğára Ğákkâ gadí</i>      | <i>yâ Wallô`bbâ Qabâ</i>     |
| <i>boqqollô lolloqé</i>     | <i>Wallô`ğollên torbâ</i>    |
| <i>ğîâ goftâ ğalâ</i>       | <i>gutê`ğagğé kolfâ</i>      |
| <i>šanqillôn ôbôkô</i>      | <i>morkí`ğôlîe golfâ</i>     |
| 10 <i>lommottô tomburê</i>  | 40 <i>gağğamô miđâni</i>     |
| <i>kan Dâqâ kan Qorkâ</i>   | <i>ğabbí Rorís Bakâ</i>      |
| <i>láfâ dâbi nâddi</i>      | <i>Watarô kan isâni</i>      |
| <i>láfâ dâbi çallîe</i>     | <i>rîebâ Bulgú Dorâ</i>      |
| <i>aččî kat darbí</i>       | <i>Tullú Danstê qallú</i>    |
| 15 <i>rîebâ Dâsâ Osê</i>    | 45 <i>amartí gutiččâ</i>     |
| <i>Dolê olú manná</i>       | <i>qubârrattí rîebú</i>      |
| <i>dullí olú wāyâ</i>       | <i>ábbâ adí guddiččâ</i>     |
| <i>fardîel`Lágâ Ğārtí</i>   | <i>alâ`lattí biékú</i>       |
| <i>išén mánâ čálti</i>      | <i>Kolobô afân kiyô</i>      |
| 20 <i>išén biyâ čálti</i>   | 50 <i>ğinní`fān Badîessâ</i> |
| <i>yâ daččîe bararí</i>     | <i>ğabbí Rasú Guddí</i>      |
| <i>yâ qollô gargarí</i>     | <i>qūfê mullâ dābô</i>       |
| <i>soddân Wārrā Biērā</i>   | <i>Qupê lubbú lafô</i>       |
| <i>kolfân fárdâ`lîela</i>   | <i>yâ murâ`fān killô</i>     |
| 25 <i>Lořâ lokkô dîerâ</i>  | 55 <i>yâ Turâ`bbâ Billô</i>  |
| <i>đirsi Loğğô Biērâ</i>    | <i>niťi Biyô Garbâ</i>       |
| <i>đirsi Disô Bulâ</i>      | <i>dîrstn kōrā dîrbi</i>     |
| <i>ákka`nčîrô murâ</i>      | <i>lafôn dūgâ lóltu</i>      |
| <i>rîebâ Sîefî Simbô</i>    | <i>indirâti malê</i>         |
| 30 <i>Ligdí Rôbîe Wallô</i> | 60 <i>Qiltú Rôbâ ğirtí</i>   |

1 The pure, white cup 2 is burned at the edge of the ditch. 3 O Gôrô Nabî Batô!  
4 O safety of the lord of Goğğâm! 5 Take three districts 6 and the forests down there!



7 The maize has ripened. 8 (Like) the moon (he is) under his lord, 9 the negro of my lord, 10 the robust mulatto! 11 Dáqā and Qorkā! 12 Plant in the ground necklaces of jet! 13 Plant in the ground anklets! 14 Put them here and go away!

15 The hero (son) of Ɖasā Osê, 16 Dôlē, why is he absent? 17 (Then) it is better not to go to war! 18 O horsemen of Lágā Ğárti! 19 It (i.e. Lágā Ğárti) is the best house! 20 It is the best land! 21 O *daččê*, be propitious (to us)! 22 O *qollô*, aid (us)! 23 The son-in-law of the Wǎrrā Bîērā 24 pushes forward his horses, laughing. 25 Loṭâ with the long bridle, 26 the husband of Loğğô Bîērā, 27 the husband of Disô Bulâ, 28 he cuts down (his enemies) like stalks of sorghum. 29 The hero (son) of Sîfî, (son) of Simbô, 30 Ligdí (son) of Rôbîê, (daughter) of Wallô, 31 Ligdí does not come now. 32 He will come in the autumn. 33 He will terrify the horses (lit. he will cause the horses to have colic).

34 O grass at the borders of the river! 35 The son-in-law of Dátî ʿnsîene, 36 Wallô, father of Qabâ. 37 Wallô has seven sons. 38 He laughs, standing upright in Gutê, 39 the stubborn man whose sons are demons. 40 O sickle for corn! 41 The sons (lit. the calves) of Rorrísā Bakarê, 42 Watarô is their land!

43 The hero, son of Bulgú (son) of Dorâ, 44 Tullú (son) of Dansê, the sorcerer, 45 with rings and ear-rings, 46 he beats the fingers. 47 Lord of a great white horse, 48 he is known in every country. 49 The Kolóbô, whose mouth is a snare, 50 the demons of the banks of the Badîessā, 51 sons of Rasú Guddí.

52 I am full of boiled pulse and pudding. 53 Qupê, soul of the warriors! 54 O cutter of borders of wooden bowls! 55 O Turâ, lord of (the horse) Billô!

56 The wife of Bíyo Garbâ, 57 Dirsí stitches the saddles. 58 He (Bíyo Garbâ) is a trooper truly valiant, 59 but he is cruel. 60 He is at Qiltú Rôbâ.

*Notes.* As I have already remarked (see notes to song 4), very frequently in these Galla songs there is a parallelism of sound between two verses. The first verse in this case is in no way connected with the sense of the song, but it is introduced merely to make with its syllables, similar to the syllables of the second verse, the aforesaid parallelism. This parallelism is used especially in the *fârsâ*; there are many examples of it in the preceding song: v. 1-2 with v. 3-4; v. 7 with v. 9; v. 34 with v. 36; v. 52 with v. 53; v. 54 with v. 55.

The first hero named in the song is Gôrô Nabî Batô (v. 3-6). He stood by the king of Goğğâm, Takla Haymānot (at that time *râs*) during the unfortunate expeditions against Kaffa. Once, the soldiers of Kaffa unexpectedly reached the Omo where the armies were encamped, and under the protection of the night, attacked the Amara camp, massacring the Godjamians and the Galla of Ğimmā Abbā Ğifâr, allies of Râs Adâl. (Takla Haymānot was the royal name taken by Râs Adâl at the time of his coronation.) Then Gôrô Nabî Batô, who was on the other side of the camp, running to join the combat cried: “*Yâ ʿbbā Goğğâm, án abbānkîê ɖuféra ʿnsodatin!*” “O Lord of Goğğâm, I have come! I, your protector, do not fear!” He defeated the Kaffa and thus saved Râs Adâl. Then Râs Adâl gave him three districts at the frontier of Goğğâm.

Verses 7–12 extol two brothers, Daqā and Qorkā, sons of a negro slave. The singer warns the enemy not to stand against Daqā and Qorkā, and to abandon to them that which they desire. The *daččîe* and the *qollô* (v. 21–22) are two kinds of genii venerated by the Galla.<sup>1</sup> The verses 23–28 allude to Loṭā Mōtî, husband of Loḡḡô, sister of Tuččo Dánnô. The suggestion of the other wife of Loṭā (v. 27) demonstrates the spread of polygamy in these Galla countries. Gutê (v. 38), Watarô (v. 42), Badîessā (v. 50), Qiltu Rôbā (v. 60) are districts of the Lágā Ğārtî clan in Liêqā Billô. The verses 43–48 sing about the sorcerer, Tullú Dansê, who is so wealthy that he uses rings and earrings, instead of a whip, to beat the fingers of his servants. As it is known, the whip (*alangá*) is a sign of power among the Galla.

## 31

Here is the *fārsā* of the clan Bú'ā Sôrgā, belonging to the tribe Liêqā Naqamtê on the frontier between the territory of Morodā and the territory of Liêqā Sibû.

- |                                    |                                  |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| yá daqî ḡḡlā bôkâ                  | godî baté, yá ḡollîe             |
| náttî urgôfte lólî ḡôttâ           | manâ dubbâ ḡnqottú, yá ḡollîe    |
| figánîrré kottî yâ bôkô            | bitáččā Bakarîe, yá ḡollîe       |
| ḡarrô kka bakakkâ, yá ḡollîe       | 30 Qannô yâ bbâ Dilbâ, yá ḡollîe |
| 5 šolê ḡibilčâté, yá ḡollîe        | gurráččā kka ayānâ, yá ḡollîe    |
| Šonê disasú gaé, yá ḡollîe         | biên ná dukâ ḡyānâ, yá ḡollîe    |
| nú há-basú daččê, yá ḡollîe        | án offâ ḡnqinqimé, yá ḡollîe     |
| komérrattî milâ, yá ḡollîe         | wambarî nigusâ, yá ḡollîe        |
| dubbî Moródâré, yá ḡollîe          | 35 yâ Burčâ Titillê, yá ḡollîe   |
| 10 nú há-basú daččê, yá ḡollîe     | yâ bbâ bantî Ğiddâ, yá ḡollîe    |
| Diliččâ bbâ biyâ, yá ḡollîe        | sirbâ ganné ḡngurrâe, yá ḡollîe  |
| ḡilākô ḡilākô, yá ḡollîe           | eñún ḡnaqé na fidâ, yá ḡollîe    |
| Sibúttu ḡilākô, yá ḡollîe          | Ğiddâ fardiên hurrâ, yá ḡollîe   |
| forónčâ buqqîdâ, yá ḡollîe         | 40 falaṭâ gag ḡgûré, yá ḡollîe   |
| 15 Morodân Urgîdâ, yá ḡollîe       | mûčâ Bōñâ Dūlâ, yá ḡollîe        |
| mālô ḡollîe, Bakâ Goḡî, yá ḡollîe  | Qabatâ yâ Ulčê, yá ḡollîe        |
| Dinqâ Ğorgîe Ğiēččô, yá ḡollîe     | bakakkâ Bačurîe, yá ḡollîe       |
| babattê gindîdâ, yá ḡollîe         | ḡirâ ḡillî tókko, yá ḡollîe      |
| mûčâ Bakâ Godî, yá ḡollîe          | 45 ḡára nûf há-ḡissú, yá ḡollîe  |
| 20 Amantên Iggiḡâ, yá ḡollîe       | yâ Čomuḡîe Bōñâ, yá ḡollîe       |
| ḡibî kōrnê lūlê, yá ḡollîe         | sîf salpînâ olê, yá ḡollîe       |
| gáfâ bu 'é rabâ, yá ḡollîe         | abbân čibâ ullê, yá ḡollîe       |
| dúka olê bulê, yá ḡollîe           | Nagarî fayūmâ, yá ḡollîe         |
| irrátto murantî, yá ḡollîe         | 50 ḡarrî kan čallūmâ, yá ḡollîe  |
| 25 mālô ḡabbî Bakâ Goḡî, yá ḡollîe | asūmâ ná čirré, yá ḡollîe        |
| Čiráččô Gumarî, yá ḡollîe          | badâ burčûčûdâ, yá ḡollîe        |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cecchi, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 314–316, and Guidi, Vocabolario amarico, op. cit., *sub voce*, *qollie*.

- hárkarrátt`abukú, yá ġollîe*  
*batú kún tumtuđá, yá ġollîe*  
 55 *kán fardátt`uluqú, yá ġollîe*  
*muččá mōti Horó, yá ġollîe*  
*Gayê darbá ġrēssá, yá ġollîe*  
*mālú fardiēn firá, yá ġollîe*  
*lafó Bu `á Bayt, yá ġollîe*  
 60 *kuní Đappó ġennán, yá ġollîe*  
*waqarān qartamí, yá ġollîe*  
*kuní Babbó ġennán, yá ġollîe*  
*būtú ġará čakká, yá ġollîe*  
*ná garān tás gabí, yá ġollîe*  
 65 *sí garān attamí, yá ġollîe*  
*ákkaōnkó durbá, yá ġollîe*  
*hāđikós nađđiēnī, yá ġollîe*  
*lafón đúgā lóltu, yá ġollîe*  
*torb`oft bađattí, yá ġollîe*  
 70 *torbí baččifatté, yá ġollîe*  
*niti`ndiēnē malé, yá ġollîe*  
*kán samitá ħattú, yá ġollîe*  
*išē`nsifēsini, yá ġollîe*  
*lafó`llollé malé, yá ġollîe*  
 75 *kán innaró battú, yá ġollîe*  
*išē`nmilkēsini, yá ġollîe*  
*yá niti bositetti, yá ġollîe*  
*sí bēka buōkīe, yá ġollîe*  
*bukó čiqqillīekē, yá ġollîe*  
 80 *lafón đúgā lóltu, yá ġollîe*  
*si bēka ġuōkīe, yá ġollîe*  
*kán qillīēssí rāsú, yá ġollîe*  
*lafón tókko ġirté, yá ġollîe*  
*Kutí bu `á baeti, yá ġollîe*  
 85 *ġuó čiqqillīekē, yá ġollîe*  
*kán qillīēssí rāsú, yá ġollîe*  
*Điđđiēssā gamattú, yá ġollîe*  
*Bāró bittinfattú, yá ġollîe*  
*Līēqá gamá`ġēšé, yá ġollîe*  
 90 *gamá siribisīé, yá ġollîe*  
*hāđá`lmā tokkiččē, yá ġollîe*  
*ilmāšē haġšēšé, yá ġollîe*  
*hāđá siribisīé, yá ġollîe*  
*Gidadá Róbāđá, yá ġollîe*  
 95 *ilmí Obá Barē, yá ġollîe*  
*insodatú du `á, yá ġollîe*  
*ġinní`kka bakakká, yá ġollîe*  
*fardarrá`ndāmađđá, yá ġollîe*  
*Nagī Bagó Liēssó, yá ġollîe*  
 100 *ġabbí Obá Barē, yá ġollîe*  
*itt`adiēmá urgé, yá ġollîe*  
*indaqé ná fidá, yá ġollîe*  
*lafó Gubbá Gombó, yá ġollîe*  
*agadá ná čabsí, yá ġollîe*  
 105 *yá Gadá`bbā Sambó, yá ġollîe*  
*Ġimalá Ġimalē, yá ġollîe*  
*māčā Ġirġó Warri, yá ġollîe*  
*fuñón`itt`án čitté, yá ġollîe*  
*Bullón miđāgdittí, yá ġollîe*  
 110 *Ġabbí Ġimalēđá, yá ġollîe*  
*Wāyín Abbā Kottē, yá ġollîe*  
*soddān Bakanēđá, yá ġollîe*  
*ormāf dabariēđá, yá ġollîe*  
*indaqé ná fiddá, yá ġollîe*  
 115 *lafó Bu `á Sērgá, yá ġollîe*  
*Nagī Sombē Ubē, yá ġollîe*  
*abbá Bu `á Sērgá, yá ġollîe*  
*Wandón kán kiēssūmá, yá ġollîe*  
*Kumá`bbā Qalanġí, yá ġollîe*  
 120 *gabá mál nāggāddí, yá ġollîe*  
*Salá Saló Ōbó, yá ġollîe*  
*Dinqí Somē Dāñó, yá ġollîe*  
*adará yá`lmākó, yá ġollîe*  
*sitt`ērgāđđá`nó, yá ġollîe*  
 125 *ġará sīēsá`mbiēgne, yá ġollîe*  
*lafó Bu `á Sērgá, yá ġollîe*

1 O hydromel of the storehouse, O old hydromel! 2 (Like the hydromel) I smell the  
 valiant warriors. 3 Those of Kottí run, O my Lord! 4 They are like thunder, O children!  
 5 The plant of šolē has shot up, O children! 6 Šone is about to deluge, O children! 7 Let



the *dačče* save us (from Šone)!<sup>1</sup> 8 On the ankle is the leg! 9 From Morodâ (lit. from Morodâ's matter) 10 let us save the *daččê*! 11 Diliččâ, chief of the land, 12 my terror, my terror! 13 Sibû is my terror! 14 The pulse among the pumpkins! 15 Morodâ, son of Urgî! 16 What are the sons of Bakariê Godânô? 17 Dinqâ, son of Ğorgî Gîččô! 18 the ploughshare and the plough-handle! 19 The son of Bakariê Godânô, 20 Amantê, son of Iggî, 21 hyena with thin ankles! 22 When the Arabians descended here, 23 he pursued them day and night 24 by cutting them off from above. 25 Where are the sons of Bakariê Godânô? 26 Čirráččô, the son of Gumarî, 24 descends for the expedition. 28 He does not plough behind his house. 29 O left-handed (son) of Bakariê, 30 O Qánnô, lord of (the horse) Dilbâ, 31 black as a beneficent genius! 32 Come on, follow me, O beneficent genius!

33 I have cut the canes. 34 The judge of the Emperor, 35 Burča, son of Titillê, 36 chief of Ğiddâ, 37 while we sing about him, he becomes famous. 38 Who will go and bring him to me? 39 The horses of Ğiddâ are like shrubs for torches. 40 I have collected the wood. 41 The child of Bônâ Dûlâ, 42 Qabatâ, son of Ulčê, 43 the thunder of Bačuriê.

44 There is a *ğillâ*. 45 This, we will leave him! 46 O Comugî, son of Boña. 47 For you dishonor was avoided! 48 The master of cows has remained (there). 49 How do you do, O Nagarî? 50 Those are the best (warriors).

51 The sickle has weeded for me. 52 The curds have curdled. 53 You can eat them with your fingers. 54 Is this so brave a smith? 55 He jumps on the horse. 56 The son of Mōtî Horô, 57 Gayê hurling hits (the enemy)! 58 What (may be said) about the kindred horsemen? 59 The trooper of Bú'ā Bayî! 60 On calling the white sorghum, 61 the millstone has broken. 62 On calling Babbô, 63 "He will descend to this forest!" 64 My mind has rejoiced, 65 and what says your heart? 66 My aunt is a girl, 67 my mother is a woman. 68 The trooper truly valiant 69 has burdened himself with seven, 70 has caused seven to be brought. 71 A woman who has not brought forth, 72 may she eat boiled pulse? 73 This does not satiate her. 74 A soldier who has not fought, 75 may he bear the parade-shield? 76 This does not indicate him (i.e. is not his proper sign). 77 O rough woman, 78 I can recognize you by your leavened cake, 79 by the leavened cake which you have on your elbow. 80 O soldier truly valiant, 81 I can recognize you by your red shirt 82 which is moved by the wind! 83 There is a trooper. 84 He has come to Kottî Bu'â. 85 The red shirt on his elbow 86 is moved by the wind!

87 Those of the other bank of the Diddîessâ 88 have passed the Bârô. 89 He who has killed the Liêqâ of that bank 90 has caused the Liêqâ of this bank to dance. 91 The mother of an only son, 92 he has killed her son. 93 He has caused the mother to dance! 94 Gidádâ son of Rôbâ, 95 the son of Ôbâ Barê, 96 he does not fear death. 97 Demon, thunderlike, 98 standing on the horse, he sends (spears). 99 Nagî (son) of Bagô (son) of Liëssô, 100 the calf of Ôbâ Barê, 101 where he comes, smells. 102 Who will go and bring (him) to

<sup>1</sup> Thenceforward all the verses of the song are followed by the refrain, "O children." I have not added it to every verse of the translation.

me? 103 Trooper of Gubbâ Gombô, 104 break for me the canes of sorghum! 105 Gadâ Abbâ Sambô, 106 Ğimalâ (son) of Ğimalê, 107 the child of Ğirĝô Warrî. 108 Pulling the rope, has broken it. 109 Bullô is a beautiful warrior. 110. He is the calf of Ğimalê. 111 Wâyî, lord of (the horse) Kottê, 112 is the son-in-law of Bakarê. 113 He is a hurler of spears for others. 114 Who will go and bring (him) to me? 115 The trooper of Bú 'ā Sôrgā, 116 Nagî (son) of Sombê (son) of Ubê! 117 O chief of Bú 'ā Sôrgā, 118 Wandô is your land! 119 O Kúmsā, lord of (the horse) Qalanĝî! 120 What can I sell to the market? 121 (The son) of Salâ (son) of Salô (son) of Ōbô. 122 Dinqî (son) of Somê (son) of Dāñô. 123 I beseech you, my son! 124 I will send messages to you! 125 He does not know flight, 126 trooper of Bú 'ā Sôrgā.

*Notes.* After mentioning Kottî Bú 'ā, the chief family of Bú 'ā Sôrgā (v. 1-4), the singer alludes to the neighboring chiefs, Šonê and Morodâ, both feared on account of their bravery (v. 5-7, 8-10); then sings about Diliččâ, brother of Šonê (v. 11-13). Next, he enumerates the sons of Bakarê Godánô; the first is Morodâ, whose mother was Urgê (v. 14-15); the second is Dinqâ, whose mother was Ğorgî Ğiēččô (v. 16-17); then Amantê, whose mother was Iggî (v. 18-25). Amantê was an officer (*fitāwrāri*) of Râs Gobanâ and fought together with his chief against the Dervishes when they invaded Wāllagâ and Liêqâ (see song 49). Another younger son of Bakarê is Čirráččo (v. 25-28) whose mother was Gumarî. As may be seen, there are enumerated four wives of Bakarê: Urgê, Ğorgî Ğiēččô, Iggî, Gumarî. The last son of Bakarê is Qánnô (v. 29-32). As to the words "black as a beneficent genius," see song 138, notes. The verses 33-39 allude to Búréâ, chief of the village Giddâ, (his mother was Titillê) but a native of Bú 'ā Sôrgā. The verses 40-46 allude to the two brothers, Qabatâ Bônâ and Čomugê Bônâ. The mother of the former was Ulêê, and the land which was governed by him was Baçurê in the territory of Bú 'ā Sôrgā. The verses 47-50 allude to a warrior, Nagarî, who evidently is not Nagarî Gannâ (see song 23). This other Nagarî was a rich owner of cattle. The verses 51-56 sing of Gayê, son of Mōtî Horô, a valiant horseman, and the verses 57-65, of Babbô, native of the family Bú 'ā Bayî, belonging to the clan Bú 'ā Sôrgā. After a few verses on the general subject of gallantry, which make an interlude and a pause in the long enumeration of the warriors (v. 66-82), the singer celebrates the exploits of Gidadâ whose father was Ōbâ Barê and whose mother was Rôbâ. During a war between the two Liêqâ (i.e. the confederation of the five Liêqâ tribes and the Wāllagâ), Gidadâ fighting together with Tuččo Dánnô and Kúmsâ (see song 32) against Wāllagâ, killed a traitor, and although Liêqâ was standing by Wāllagâ, Gidadâ himself brought to the mother of the traitor the news of her son's death. The mother danced for joy on hearing this news, which, however sad, cancelled the dishonor of her family.

Verses 99-103 allude to the brother of Gidadâ, Nagî Obâ Barê, whose mother was Bagô Liēssô; the country of Nagî was Gubbâ Gombô. The song ends with references to several warriors; Gadâ Abbâ Sambô; the two brothers, sons of Ğimālie, Ğimalâ and Bullô;



Wāyí, son-in-law of Bakarê; Nagí, son of Sombê Ubê and governor of the Wandô marshes; Salâ, son of Salô Obô.

The *šolê* (v. 5) is a tree, the smaller branches of which are used by the Galla to cure toothache. The leaves of this tree are also used to check discharges from the eye. Loran-siyos tells me that they rub the teeth with twigs of the *šolê*; the rubbing causes a hemorrhage, after which the toothache disappears. Loransiyos adds that a French doctor has studied this tree, and, moreover, collects many twigs of it and sends them to France. The Amârâ calls it *ĩngĩm*.

## 32

This is the *fársā* of the tribe, Lîeqā Naqamtê.

<i>rîebā Morî Bakâ</i>	<i>Bonîn Gibîe galé</i>
<i>Kumsân Gôsā Rufô</i>	25 <i>fárdā dibbê ta 'é</i>
<i>Šāwāččūm gabbarê</i>	<i>gabâ māl' naggādî</i>
<i>Goğğāmîrê danqārê</i>	<i>rîebā Abdî Bāsô</i>
5 <i>ğēğē barâ kanî</i>	<i>wānt'ābbā Qalanğî</i>
<i>miđān nú ñāččisê</i>	<i>wāntā mánā bātê</i>
<i>Gibiētti yābatê</i>	30 <i>mánā dúbba' nqottú</i>
<i>Sîegótti' rra bu 'é</i>	<i>mannô sí 'addaté</i>
<i>sangān hîetô hagê</i>	<i>wāntā gadî bātê</i>
10 <i>múčā Morî Bakâ</i>	<i>fárdā' nqúrā' nkuttú</i>
<i>Kumsāniyó lólá</i>	<i>māln sí fakkâte</i>
<i>att māyó' llólti</i>	35 <i>foťanān hin 'arú</i>
<i>abbān Gîebô Ğarê</i>	<i>Bošarâ Bidarú</i>
<i>wāmbārîrê negusâ</i>	<i>án ağēsú ğēđé</i>
15 <i>sí Wāq nú guddisâ</i>	<i>hindibbáđđū ğēđé</i>
<i>bakakkâ Bakarîrê</i>	40 <i>gúmā' bbākô ğēđé</i>
<i>Ligdî manâ' mbašê</i>	<i>Goğğām torbatāmā</i>
<i>manān Ğatô ğirâ</i>	<i>Šāwān qibba šanî</i>
<i>gurrān Dāpô ğirâ</i>	<i>gúmā' nbāsâ ğēđé</i>
20 <i>yoggá' n kîetô godê</i>	<i>makarî fuđáttu</i>
<i>Lîeqā ná dabasâ</i>	45 <i>gibiri butáttu</i>
<i>đîrsâ Sîekô Golbê</i>	
<i>Sídā' bbā Yābasâ</i>	

1 The hero (son) of Morodâ (son) of Bakarê, 2 Kúmsā (son) of Gôsā (daughter) of Rufô, 3 has paid tribute to the Shoans, 4 has stood against the Godjamians. 5 In this time of famine, 6 he has given us corn to eat. 7 He has ascended toward the Gibîe, 8 he has descended from there to Sîegô. 9 The horse has evacuated a tape-worm. 10 The child of Morodâ (son) of Bakarê, 11 Kúmsā himself fights. 12 Why do you not fight? 13 O Lord of Gîebo Ğarê, 15 judge of the Emperor, 15 may God increase you in our behalf!



16 The thunder (son) of Bakarê, 17 Ligdí (son) of Hanbašê, 18 his house is in Ġatô, 19 his fame (reaches) Dāpō. 20 When I have collected the *krēfō*, 21 the Liêqā men will annoy me (i.e. by demanding some *krēfō* of me). 22 The husband of Siêkō Golbê, 23 Sídā, father of Yābasâ. 24 The Bonáyā have returned to the Gibê; 24 the horses have become sick.

26 What can I buy at the market? 27 The hero (son) of Abdí (son) of Bāsô, 28 the shield of the lord of (the horse) Qalanġí, 29 Wántā has gone out of the house; 30 he will not plough behind his house. 31 Your wife is white for you. 32 Wántā has gone out below. 33 Please do not cut the navel of the horses. 34 How does it seem to you? 35 The tobacco with light leaves does not burn. 36 Bošarâ Bidarú: 37 "Amârâ during one week 38 I will kill!" he said. 39 "I will not anoint myself!" he said. 40 "It is the blood-price of my father!" he said. 41 "Seventy Godjamians, 42 one hundred and five Shoans! 43 It is the blood-price of my father!" he said. 44 "Now take counsel, 45 pay the tribute."

*Notes.* The *fārsā* begins by extolling the bravery of the chief of Liêqā Naqamtê, Kúmsā Gabra Igziabhêr, son of Morodâ Bakarê. Kúmsā is his pagan name; when he was baptized, he took the Christian name Gabra Igziabhêr (i.e. in Ethiopic, Slave of God, lit., Slave of the Lord of the Earth). After the death of his father Morodâ, Kúmsā was appointed *daġġâč* and governor of his father's land. Gôsā (v. 2) was the mother of Kúmsā. Kúmsā, like his father, was always loyal to the Shoans; he made an expedition against Siêgō (v. 7-8), a place between Shoa and Liêqā. Verse 9 alludes to the fright of the warriors of Siêgō assailed by Kúmsā; even the horses, on seeing Kúmsā, have evacuated the worms living in their bellies! Giêbō Ġarā (v. 13) is a large territory in Liêqā Naqamtê, fief of Kúmsā. The verses 16-19 allude to Kúmsā's uncle, Ligdí Bakarê, owner of the territory of Ġatô in Liêqā Naqamtê (see songs 19, 20). The verses 24-25 refer to the secession of the Bonáyā family, who, after a contest with Kúmsā, left Liêqā Naqamtê and camped near the frontier of Limmu on the banks of the Gibê. The verses 22-23 allude to the warrior Sídā Tufâ, father of Yābasâ, and chief of Hindîebâ Gaččí (see Prose, text 9). The *krēfo* (v. 20) is an aromatic plant.<sup>1</sup> The verses 26-34, singing of the warrior, Wántā, pun on his name, which in Galla means "shield." Abbā Qalanġí (i.e. lord of the horse, Qalanġi) is the war-name of Kúmsā.

Verses 35-45 describe the terrible vengeance taken by the warrior, Bošarâ Bidarú upon the Amara. When the Shoans advanced to conquer Liêqā, Daġġâč Lul Saggad, commandant of an Amara corps, received the peaceful surrender of the clan Liêqā Wāyó. However, after entering the country, the Amara soldiers began to sack and pillage the huts of the Galla. During this plundering, Bidarú, father of Bošarâ, was killed. Then his son, a youth of seventeen, devoted himself to a relentless hunting of Amara. Following the Shoan troops on their march, he assailed all the soldiers, who, disbanding in their usual way, detached themselves from their comrades. Bošarâ did not anoint his head with butter because of these victories for the reasons stated in song 34.

<sup>1</sup> Cecchi, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 281.

Here is the song<sup>1</sup> of the tribe Sulú Mannê, living between Límму, Shoa, and Libán Tokko. The tribe paid tribute to Fitawrâri Háhta Giyorgis (see song 35):

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| yābaté bu 'arré G. S. B.: bu'āre | kan dúlli wāmé   |
| láfā obdídā                      | 30 tumáttu <sup>^</sup> rkā <sup>^</sup> rbōrá G.S.B.: tumáttu <sup>^</sup> rkā <sup>^</sup> rbōrá |
| yā Bató Gu 'á                    | ol gorkā sitt <sup>^</sup> an dāmaqá   |
| lafó Sobǵídā                     | māgán yā gu 'á   |
| 5 hoqā matādā                    | ēlémtu gogsé   |
| Ofā Gadādā                       | gādí kōrāsé  |
| asín ol gorú                     | 35 māgán yā du 'á  |
| sittó daggalá                    | kan gári doksé   |
| yā Sído Bōrú                     | wārē ballēsé   |
| 10 lafó Gabbará                  | yā Ōgō Kormā   |
| qēnsān falfalā G. S. B.: qēnsān  | sitt <sup>^</sup> abbā fardátti  |
| yā Gáro Binnó                    | 40 ergáddu lōkōn si dirá   |
| lēnčā Gabbará G. S. B.: lēnčā    | yā nāpāriēsó   |
| án tófó sofé                     | yā Čóro Čoní   |
| 15 yā Ōgō Lofē                   | sitt <sup>^</sup> abbā fardátti  |
| gu 'á <sup>^</sup> nrāsanú       | ergáddu lōkōn si dirá  |
| qalú <sup>^</sup> nđīsanú        | 45 hindangōn kormā   |
| du 'á <sup>^</sup> nfārsanú      | sadīento iyyá  |
| maqá <sup>^</sup> nđīsanú        | tókko <sup>^</sup> nbarrisá  |
| 20 māgán yā gu 'á                | wāl qitté Bogbó  |
| ēlémtu gogsé G. S. B.: ēlímtu    | sadīento simá  |
| gādí kōrāsé                      | 50 Girǵó čālčisá   |
| māgán yā du 'á                   | Šumónu <sup>^</sup> nsimá  |
| kan gári doksé                   | Qurīenu <sup>^</sup> nsimá   |
| 25 wārē ballēsé                  | Girǵó čālčisá  |
| gābā garbúdā                     | lēnčā Gubbā <sup>^</sup> helú  |
| hantúni nāté                     | 55 Girǵó Bogíett <sup>^</sup> an fārsáé  |
| Rābā Barǵúdā                     |  |

1 He has ascended. Will he descend 2 to the ground of the threshing floor? 3 O Bató Gu 'á, 4 you are the trooper of Sobǵí. 5 I scratch my head. 6 Ofā (son) of Gadā! 7 Here shall be raised 8 the grass of the desert. 9 O Sído Bōrú, 10 trooper of Gabbará, 11 with the nails he hurls spears!

12 O Gáro Binnó, 13 lion of Gabbará!

14 I have filled the cup, 15 O Ōgō Lofē!

<sup>1</sup> This song is included in *The Galla Spelling Book* (see Introduction). I give the variations of *The Galla Spelling Book* in parentheses, since I have written the song according to the pronunciation of Loransiyos. This song with a few others has already been published by Paulitzsche in his *Ethnographie Nord Ost Afrikas*, vol. 2.

16 With cows which have no milk, one cannot make butter, 17 (but) they do not cease bringing forth (calves). 18 For the dead (warrior), one does not sing *fârsā*, 19 (but) one does not forget his renown. 20 O cow without milk, 21 you have made the milk pot dry, 22 you have hung up [forever] the rope for milking! 23 O death, 24 you have hidden (from us) the valiant (warriors); 25 you have wasted their renown!

26 In the market of the barley 27 the rat has eaten. 28 O Rābā (son) of Barǧú, 29 the war has called (us)! 30 Slayer with the point of the spear, owner of the armlet of ivory, 31 after ascending, I will speak with you!

32 O cow without milk, 33 you made the milk pot dry; 34 you have hung up (forever) the rope for milking! 35 O death, 36 you have hidden (from us) the valiant (warriors); 37 you have wasted their renown!

38 O Ōgō (son) of Kormā, 39 you horseman, 40 send (to me) your bridle; I will stitch it for you! 41 O Ñāpārēso! 42 O Čôro Čōní! 43 You horsemen, 44 send (to me) your bridle; I will stitch it for you! 45 The cock 46 crows three times; 47 once causes the day to dawn. 48 Likewise Bogibô. 49 Three (sons of his) distinguish themselves. 50 Girǧô is the best. 51 Šumónu distinguishes himself. 52 Qurîenu distinguishes himself. 53 Girǧô is the best! 54 The lion of Gubbâ Alêlu, 55 Girǧô (son) of Bogrê, I will sing (of him) in my *fârsā*!

*Notes.* Verses which have no sense, but are sung only for the sound parallelism (see song 30) are very frequent in this song (e.g. 1-2, 5-6, 7-8, etc.) Sobǧí (v. 4) is a place in the Sulú territory near Libán Tókko; the population is Mohammedan. Gabbarâ (v. 10, 13) is a village near Libán Tókko at the bank of the river Bisân Gabbarâ. As to "the rope for milking" (v. 22), it is a Galla custom to bind the feet of the cows before milking them. These special ropes are called *gādí*. The armlet of ivory (v. 30) belongs only to the slayer of one elephant (see song 15, notes). Gubbâ Alêlu is a place, probably a hill, between Sulú and Límму (v. 54).

## 34

The warrior Bošarâ Bidarú, after the massacre of the Amara (see song 32, v. 35-45), sang this song:

*kán abbá buttá<sup>^</sup>nqallú*  
*ganá hāí rakô<sup>^</sup>nqábdú*

*kanáfa<sup>^</sup>ǧēsáni*  
*ḍāḍā dibbáččun sālā*

1 (Warriors) whose father does not make the sacrifice of the *buttá*, 2 whose mother has not yet received the sacrifice of the *rakô*! 3 After killing such warriors, 4 it is contrary to custom to anoint one's self with butter.

*Notes.* Similar outrageous words are quoted by Bahrey in his *Historia Gentis Galla*.<sup>1</sup> The Galla are forbidden to anoint themselves with butter after killing ignoble beasts, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> I. Guidi, ed., *Historia Gentis Galla*, (Corpus scriptorum orientalium, Scriptores Aethiopici, Paris, 1907, ser. 2, vol. 3, p. 206-207).



all beasts which, after receiving the shot, cry out. Thus, the buffalo is ignoble, because if it is wounded, it lows as a cow; and, according to a proclamation of Bakariê Godánō, even the elephant is ignoble among the Lîêqā Naqamtê tribe, because many elephants roar when they were wounded. The Amara are compared by the singer to ignoble beasts, because (v. 1-2) they have none of the signs that distinguish men from beasts according to the Galla standard, i.e. offering the sacrifice of the *buttâ* and the sacrifice of the *râkō*. The *buttâ* is a great Galla festival which each tribe celebrates every eight years. It is connected with the initiation ceremonies (see song 142 and Prose, text 4). The *râkō* is the sacrifice which legalizes a wedding (see Nuptial Songs). A woman "receives the *râkō*" when she is anointed with the blood of the victim sacrificed for the *râkō*.

## 35

The Sulú Galla, as I have already said (song 33), paid tribute to Fitawrâri Hábta Giyorgis. This chief, after a great murder followed by many blood vengeance, proclaimed that blood revenge must be abrogated in the territory governed by him. The Galla law concerning adultery reads: "The offended consort must kill the adulterous consort and his companion to take vengeance for their crime." Hábta Giyorgis, on the contrary, decided that for the killing of the adulterer, could be substituted payment of a fine equal to the blood-price, by the adulterous consort to the injured husband. The proclamation excited the protests of the Sulú, who considered the abrogation of this ancient custom impious. As Hábta Giyorgis did not retract his proclamation, the Sulú rebelled against him. The emperor Menilek, following his policy of great toleration of Galla customs, removed Fitawrâri Hábta Giyorgis from his command, and gave the governorship of the Sulú to Dağğâč Haylê Guddisâ, brother of Râs Makonnen (see song 82). Haylê Guddisâ, as the first act of his government, abrogated the proclamation of his predecessor, and re-established the ancient Galla law. Then a Sulú minstrel sang:

<i>kan durí dubbí ballîese</i>	10 <i>ğârsiççi dubbí ballîese</i>
<i>abbân ôdâ bāga dāte</i>	<i>ta 'é çābsa galčē bāsa</i>
<i>garbiççi gommānā bûte</i>	<i>Disô yâ Disô ^bō ^rqiêkō</i>
<i>dūftu sāñi Guddisāti</i>	<i>Disô fardî ġātamākiē</i>
5 <i>sāñi mōti durattiti</i>	<i>dubbí fitāwrâri Gorgiêkō</i>
<i>tuttumātta ġēdanio</i>	15 <i>gāfā Šōā dāqe goftân</i>
<i>gati dālfā dālfā nātū</i>	<i>karân qințirró ^nqağēlē</i>
<i>tuttumātta ġēdē goftân</i>	<i>dubbí ^bbā qurtā ^sanôso</i>
<i>ilm ^abbā firdi furdāqā</i>	<i>hiyēssi ġifti kağēlē</i>

1 The ancient matter is finished. 2 Abbā Ôdā is really dead. 3 The slave harvests sprouts. 4 He who is born from the stock of Guddisâ, 5 the stock of the ancient kings, 6 "Hit with the point!" he has said. 7 May the price of the womb be eaten by the womb! 8 "Hit with the point!" the lord has said. 9 The son of the judge is wise! 10 The ancient matter

is finished. 11 Those who had sat down (in your houses), break them! Those who had entered (your houses), send them out! 12 O Disô, my Disô (daughter) of Ōbô Wârqê, 13 Disô whose horses are sixty! 14 The matter of Fitawrâri Hâbta Giyorgis. 15 When the lord (Hâbta Giyorgis) has gone to Shoa, his way has been directed to the sky! 17 The matter of Abbâ Qurtâ. 18 The poor has desired the lady!

*Notes.* Abbâ Ōdā (v. 2) was a famous Galla sorcerer (see Prose, text 11) who had prophesied, as Abbúikko, the submission of the Galla to the Amara. Therefore the Sulú do not bewail him! The verses 3–6 compare the noble mind of Haylê Guddisā, born of Galla Tulāmā stock, with the cowardliness of Hâbta Giyorgis (the penalty established by Hâbta Giyorgis seemed a cowardice to the Galla), pictured as a slave collecting sprouts, the well known vegetables, food of the poorest Abyssinians. In verse 9, Haylê is called “the son of the judge,” because his father Guddisā was a judge in the territory called Sulultâ between Wállō and Shoa near Ankobar. To explain verse 16, it is necessary to remark that the Galla ironically called Shoa *qintî goftâ*, that is “the Lord’s sky,” alluding to the court of Menilek, a destination very much desired by all the Amara officers sent far from their own countries to govern the Galla lands. In verse 17, Fitawrâri Hâbta Giyorgis is called Abbâ Qurtâ. This is an ironical name given to him by Menilek, because Hâbta Giyorgis was famous for his skill in deciding the most intricate questions. The name is formed like the war names (that is, preceded by the word, *abbā*, “lord”) from the Amharic root *qorraṭa*, “to decide a question.” The true Amharic name is *Abbā Qurtāw*; *Qurtâ* is the Galla pronunciation. Verses 12–13 have no meaning other than sound parallelism with verses 14–15. Disô Ōbô Wârqê was a Galla heroine who governed the Nonno Ġibât tribe. She was the only woman among the Máččā Galla to whom her tribe had given permission to carry a spear.

## 36

In *The Galla Spelling Book* (see introduction to this article), among the pastoral songs, there is the following little song concerning Turâ Tobbô, a warrior native of Libân Kuttayê.

*urân fardâ čittê*  
*bu' asá bičkaté*  
*murâ mormā tšfô*

*Turâ Kórmā Tobbô*  
5 *du 'asá bičkaté*  
*Turân marqâ diddé*

1 The girth of the horse has been broken. 2 It has been well understood that it shall fall down. 3 O cutter of the rim of the cups! 4 Turâ, the son of Tobbô 5 has well understood that he will die. 6 (But) Turâ has refused porridge.

*Notes.* The song means: Turâ, although he has known that it was not possible to win, has preferred to die, rather than to live as a coward (porridge is the food of the cowards, see song 1). The verses of this song are joined together with an artful sound parallelism; the first verse with the sixth, the second with the fifth, the third with the fourth.

The following song may be found in *The Galla Spelling Book* among the boasting songs (*gērársā*). However, as it concerns a single warrior, I have included it among the historical songs. Nasiró, the hero of this song had fought bravely, but in a foreign land, exiled from his native country.

*Nasiró bātú bāsé*  
*ambāččā mánā bāsé*  
*ambāččānkó bātú bāsé*  
*đídā kièllā qīellamé*  
 5 *đídā bāqā guddātti*

*otú biyākōtitti*  
*qaletó nattí gomfá*  
*māgān yā btyā ormá*  
*ta 'etó nattí kolfá*

1 Nasiró has fared badly going out (of his country). 2 The lion has gone out of his house. 3 My lion has fared badly going out (of his country). 4,<sup>1</sup> 5,<sup>1</sup> . . . 6 If I had stayed in my country, 7 they would have killed (cattle for sacrifices after victory) and they would have given me presents. 8 O foreign country! 9 They (i.e. the strangers) stay and laugh in my face!

*Notes.* The verb *gomfa* (v. 7) means exactly “to pay a tribute”; but the Galla call also “tribute” *gomfá* or *gibirí* the presents which must be given according to the laws of custom. Thus the present to the victorious warrior paid by the other warriors of his tribe; likewise the present given to the host (see Prose, text 3).

### b) The Conquest of the Galla Kingdoms by Menilek II.

Among the first expeditions made against the Galla during the reign of Menilek II, one worthy of note is that of Dağğáč Wáldê Bāseyúm against the Gullallîe and the Abbiččú living in the district where Addis Abeba was afterwards established. The assembly of the Gullallîe resolved to stand resolutely against the Amara led by Wáldê (see song 142). Here is the text of the law passed by the assembly. Like most Galla laws, it is drawn up in verse.

*luggámā fardátti ^nbasín*  
*addú addarrá ^nbūfatín*  
*mīēdiččā ^rkarrá ^nbūfatín*  
*tumé síērā*  
 5 *muré síērā*  
*síērā ábbā lubbáti*

*bokkúḍā*  
*čāffīēḍā*  
*čāffīē ábbā Galláti*  
 10 *ákka čāffīēkiēña ballīesi*  
*Amārā agabúsa olčá*

1 Do not take away the harness from the horse! 2 Do not take away the *addú* from your head! 3 Do not take away the *mīēdiččā* from your hand! 4 I have struck the law! 5 I have cut the law! 6 The law of the fathers *lubbá*! 7 This is the sceptre! 8 This is the

<sup>1</sup> Loransiyos could not give to me a clear explanation of verses 4 and 5.



parliament, 9 the parliament of the Galla fathers! 10 According to our parliament, waste!  
11 Force the Amara to fast this day!

*Notes.* The law may be divided into three parts: the first part (v. 1-3) is formed by introductory verses, commanding everyone to be ready for war; the second part (v. 4-9) is the formula for all Galla laws passed by the assembly. "I have struck the law"! says verse 4, because the president of the assembly, after the vote, strikes the ground with his sceptre as sign of the approval of the law. "I have cut the law!" that is, "the law has been decided"; "to cut" is often used in the sense of the verb "to decide." As to the *lubbā* or *lūba* (v. 6), see Prose, text 4. The sceptre (v. 7) is the *bokkū* of the *Abbā Bokkū*, who is the president of the assembly (see Prose, text 5). *Addū* or *addō* (v. 2) is the skin of a she-goat or bull's head, with which the Galla elders cover their heads (see Prose, text 5); *māḍiḥḥā* is an armlet of she-goat's skin (see song 132).

## 39

Among the protagonists of the wars, whom the Amara sent out to subdue the Galla during the reign of Menilek II, Rās Gobanā is perhaps the most famous. He was the son of Dančī, a king of the Tulāmā Galla, who had his residence at Fallē. The name Gobanā (meaning in Galla, "full moon," as the Arabic personal name, *Badr*) demonstrates the Galla origin of the *rās*. It is not strange that Gobanā, a Galla, was a chief of the Amara, who tried to conquer the independent Galla countries in Shoa and beyond the Gībē; these wars were, in the beginning, only sanguinary expeditions such as for many centuries had been made by the Galla tribes. They ended apparently with the conquest of the Galla lands, but really they gave to the Ilmórmā an important political position in the Ethiopic empire. The horse of Rās Gobanā was called Dāmṭāw (the Galla pronunciation is Dāmṭō); therefore the war-name of the *rās* was Abbā Dāmṭāw; not Abbā Dāqi, as Afevork states.<sup>1</sup> The Galla relate that Gobanā, after the death of his father, was banished from his country, and reduced to the rank of a reaper on the plantations of Menilek II (at this time only king of Shoa). Once, during the feast of the Cross, Gobanā went to the ritual joust, and unhorsed all the jousters. Menilek II, who was present at the joust, desired to know the winner personally. Gobanā appeared before the king's throne and revealed to Menilek that he (Gobanā) was the son of a king. Then Menilek appointed him *ligābā*, and gave him the title of *Atō*.

His first expedition was made against the Gurāgê, following one led there by Wāldê Bāseyum. Gobanā had, at this time, only fifty guns of ancient type, and twelve Sanādir (the Abyssinian name of "Sniders"); nevertheless he conquered and plundered the country of the Gurāgê, but without remaining there long enough to subdue the region decisively. Then he was sent by Menilek against the Galla of Shoa, and defeated Tūfā Boṭorā, chief of the Abbiččū and Galān. He marched victoriously into Fallē, and estab-

<sup>1</sup> Afevork, op. cit., p. 32.

lished his chief camp (Amharic, *katamá*) in the former district of his father. There he was appointed *rás*. When Menilek decided to conquer Salálîe, Râs Gobanâ and Râs Dārgê united their strength and, after six months, set out for Salálîe to subdue its inhabitants. Later, Gobanâ made three expeditions against the kingdom of Táfâ Obâ (another portion of the Galân, Abbiččú and Gullallîe territory), but without conquering the land. The fourth time he was stopped in a new invasion by Dağğâč Nādô, who had already concluded an agreement with Táfâ Obâ.

After making sure of the dominion of the Amara over the Galla of Shoa, Menilek also desired to extend the frontiers of his kingdom beyond the Gibrê. At this time, those Galla districts were occupied by the Godjamian army which, after subjugating the intermediate countries, had advanced as far as Kaffa.<sup>1</sup> Râs Gobanâ, in charge of this far from easy enterprise, feigned to rebel against Emperor Johannes and King Menilek, and demanded to be appointed governor of the Galla countries occupied by the Godjamians. The emperor Johannes refused to grant to him these lands, and Gobanâ began a campaign against the Godjamians and passed the Gibrê. At this time (1882), the king Takla Haymānot, *negus* of Goğğām, was already engaged in his third invasion of Kaffa, when the hostilities between Shoa and Goğğām began. Menilek stood, at the beginning secretly, then publicly by Râs Gobanâ. The king Takla Haymanot, to avoid being surprised far from his own country, withdrew the greater part of his army toward Goğğām, leaving his officer, Râs Darasô, in Ğimmā Abbā Ğifâr to guard the territory already conquered. Darasô had under his command the army of Ğimmā, the Liêqā Hordâ led by Tuččo Dánnô (v. 29), and the Gudrú. Menilek sent against these troops Râs Gobanâ, who, without fighting, forced Darasô to retreat.<sup>2</sup> Finally at Dilâlô in Nónnô, the two armies assailed each other; but after a short struggle, almost without shedding of blood, Darasô continued his retreat.

*án būsé ġabbí hirá*  
*yâ mudîe Dambí Ğigâ*  
*gorrô dumní tuğubâ*

*Nonnô dunní sutumâ*  
*5 ġimmátâ dufú ġirta*  
*rôbí dumnú ġirta*

1 I have bought a calf and paid for it. 2 Abbā Múdā Dambí Ğigâ! 3 Behind the *gorrô*, there is a precipice. 4 Among the Nónnô, death was scarce. 5 Friday you had gone. 6 Wednesday you had ceased (to dwell here).

*Notes.* At the time of the combat in Dilâlô, the *Abbā Múdā* (see Prose, text 5, note), Dambí Ğigâ (v. 2) was in Nónnô, and like almost all the Galla, favored the Godjamians. The last two verses (5–6) concern Râs Darasô and his exceedingly short stay in the country of the Nónnô. Behind the *gorrô*, i.e. the enclosure for calves, in Galla houses are the rooms for the men. Verses 1, 3 make a sound-parallelism with verses 2, 4.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cerulli, 'Canti popolari Amarici,' op. cit., song 20.

<sup>2</sup> At Ğimmā Qadidā, the Godjamian army halted and it appeared probable that they would attack their pursuers. However, Guttátā, son of the king Qadidā, stood by Râs Gobanâ. Darasô withdrew from Ğimmā Qadidā.

## 40

Râs Darasô continued his march toward Goğğâm till he reached Imbâbô, a plain in Gudrú. There he stopped and awaited his enemies, drawn up for battle. After numerous actions favorable to the Godjamians, the king Takla Haymānot himself appeared on the field of battle. The final combat took place on Sunday, December 25, 1875 (Abyssinian era). The Shoans won a great victory. Takla Haymānot was taken prisoner by a negro slave named Sambatô who, therefore, was freed and appointed *fitāwrári*. Râs Mangašâ Atikam recognizing that the prisoner taken by Sambatô was the king of Goğğâm, bought him for ten thalers, and led him to Gobanâ's tent. Gobanâ, seeing the king, cried to him (in Amharic), "*Goğğāmîê, wăččt aswârğîñ*," "O Godjamian, bring to me the plate!" answering thus a boast of Takla Haymānot, who had said that: "After the battle Râs Gobanâ will bear my *mīṭād* during the return journey to Goğğâm!" The *mīṭād* is a plate of iron used by the Abyssinians to bake bread.

*qarabâ šaffisa`ddi*  
*goftâ dağğáč Darasô*  
*ganamân salpisisé Dančt*

1 Shave, O sharpened razor! 2 The lord, Dağğáč Darasô, 3 in the morning has been humbled by (the son) of Dančt!

## 41

After this victory Râs Gobanâ, instead of returning to Shoa, advanced toward the territory of the Čábô Galla to subdue them. But when he reached Wâregô, he was assailed and pushed back by the Čábô; during the battle, the brother-in-law of Gobanâ, Bîrrú Năgawê was killed.

<i>Bîrrú Nagawê</i>	<i>ñatté fiṭammó</i>
<i>soddâ Gobanâ</i>	<i>tulté kēssé</i>
<i>allátti Čábô</i>	<i>čabâ`rbatākó</i>
<i>gullô Wâregô</i>	<i>Čábô dinākó</i>
5 <i>šurrúba Bîrrú</i>	10 <i>dāmé Gobanní</i>

1 Bîrrú Nagawê, 2 brother-in-law of Gobanâ! 3 O eagle of Čábô, 4 O hyena of Wâregô. 5 The hare of Bîrrú, 6 have you (O eagle, O hyena) eaten it entirely? 7 (Or) have you put it away and kept (it)? 8 "A bite of my supper 9 may be Čábô, my enemy!" 10 Gobanâ has said.

## 42

Gobanâ returned, after reorganizing his army, and together with Garasú Bîrrátú defeated the Čábô. During the battle, Liğğ Habta Giyorgis distinguished himself by leading the Amara troops to surround the Čábô. (Habta Giyorgis was a native of the Čábô



country!). He was appointed *fitāwrāri* on account of this exploit. Gobanā revenged his brother-in-law by cruelly massacring the Čabô. Then a Čabô minstrel sang:

*yâ sorîessâ kôrûmā kōrî*  
*yâ hiyēssâ bōûmā bōi*  
*qabanîessâ Dančî*

*Gobanā fārdā qillîessâ*  
 5 *hindûmtu đufá wâl nú qittîessa*

1 O rich, be proud! 2 O poor, shed your tears! 3 The cold (son) of Dančî, 4 Gobanā whose horse is the wind, 5 no doubt he will come and he will make us all equal!

*Notes.* Gobanā by killing all without distinction, abolished the difference between rich and poor.

## 43

After his victory over the Čabo, Gobanā marched toward the Hádiyā Wambîê whose chief, Hasan Ingâmo, a very fanatic Mussulman, had rebelled and declared a holy war against the Christians. Hasan defeated Râs Gobanā four times; then, after a victory gained by Habta Giyorgis over Hasan Ingâmo, Gobanā returned to the neighborhood of Qabiênā, defeated the Hádiyā, and entered the town. Hasan was not found in Qabiênā; it was supposed that he had been hidden by Abbā Ğifâr in Ğimmā. Abbā Ğifâr was summoned by Menilek to Shoa, and, as he refused to surrender Hasan Ingâmo, he was imprisoned for six months on a mountain near Ankobar. Finally he was liberated after an animated dispute between Gôrô Nabî Batō and the Emperor Menilek (see song 30). However, Ğimmā was forced to pay an annual tribute to Râs Gobanā.<sup>1</sup>

Next, Râs Gobanā passed the Gibîê and entered Lîmmu. Conquering Lîmmu in a brief contest, he turned against the Nónnō who tried to cut off his route to Shoa. This time, Morodâ Bakarîê, chief of the Liêqā Naqamtê, intervened in behalf of Gobanā. The Nónnō fought bravely in many engagements but at last they were defeated and their Abbā Mûda, Dambî Ğigâ (see song 39), was taken prisoner and exiled on a mountain (*Ambā*) in Gudâr.

After a short stay in Gudâr, Râs Gobanā renewed his invasions and fearing Morodâ, went to Liêqā. Garbí Ğilô (chief of Liêqā Billô), Tuččo Dánnō (chief of Liêqā Hordâ), and Ğîendâ Bušê (chief of Liêqā Sibû) joined their armies to resist the Amara. Ligdí Bakarîê, the uncle of Morodâ, vexed by the treason of his nephew, making an agreement with Garbí Ğilô and Tuččo Dánnō, prepared the little army of his fief, Bunáyā (near the Wâmā river) to fight against the invaders. The struggle of Gobanā against the Liêqā Galla was concentrated in two great expeditions which devastated the country without forcing the inhabitants to acknowledge the Amara domination. However, after thus gaining victory over the majority of the Galla nation, Gobanā returned to Shoa and established his camp in Fallê. Then a minstrel sang a boasting-song for Gobanā; Loransiyos remembers only the first verse of this song:

*Gobîê sangâ ğinaččátti báti*

<sup>1</sup> See Prose, text 2.

## 1 Gobanâ rides the belly of his steed!

*Note.* This means that Gobanâ, a skilled horseman, was accustomed (to prove his expertness) to bend in the saddle as far as the spear passed under the belly of his horse.

## 44

After the return of Gobanâ to Fallê, the Galla whom he had recently conquered took up arms against the Amara. A league was formed between the Nónnō Roggiê (whose chief was Turî Ġägän), the Nónnō Migrâ (whose chief was Mardásâ Končê); three Liêqâ tribes, — Liêqâ Billô, Liêqâ Sibû and Liêqâ Hordâ; Lîmmu and Ġimmâ Gudayâ. Morodâ with his soldiers (Liêqâ Naqamtê and Wâyú) remained with the Amara party on account of his rivalry with Tuččo Dánnō. Against this Galla confederation, Gobanâ sent the sons of Dağğâč Nādô; Tasammâ Nādô, commandant of the corps, Dastâ Nādô, and Dallánsâ Nādô. The Amârâ were defeated in a battle at Gúrâ Dôbâ near the Wâmâ river. Tasammâ repaired to Shoa; Dastâ Nādô died during the combat; Dallánsâ Nādô was obliged to open a way of retreat for himself by fighting against the Tuqâ, a clan of the Liêqâ Sibû tribe. Here is the triumphal song of the victors:

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Täsämmâ fárdâ luffiêdâ</i>     | 25 <i>dúlâ`lkant dúlâ dúlu</i>  |
| <i>Roggiê gaúnis kuttêdâ</i>      | <i>adalâ`ntútâ funána</i>       |
| <i>Wâyús baqánni kuttêdâ</i>      | <i>essátti fîga Tasîê`no</i>    |
| <i>Ġimmâs dufúnsa kuttêdâ</i>     | <i>nán iğára nán iğára</i>      |
| 5 <i>Ġiëndâ fardîsa šantîdâ</i>   | <i>gibbi bantî`lmâ Wâdâğğô</i>  |
| <i>lafô šantámâ gab`bâse</i>      | 30 <i>anáso gíddi qabêrâ</i>    |
| <i>túmtu lamátu bitêrâ</i>        | <i>ná ñattánis námâ ñâta</i>    |
| <i>miğğú basâ`bbâ biyâdâ</i>      | <i>ná ñattátti ñâtamáni</i>     |
| <i>yó manâ Harangamâdâ</i>        | <i>yâ Bulčâ yâ Bulč`úmnačkô</i> |
| 10 <i>namiččú Täsämmâ dabâ</i>    | <i>saytānni Wāmâ hamâdâ</i>     |
| <i>ġeromsâs malammalínna</i>      | 35 <i>busân Gibiê barbadâdâ</i> |
| <i>korbâs kolú si ġratêrâ</i>     | <i>golfâ saddiêtâma háfna</i>   |
| <i>yâ`ti Basâ yâ`lmâ Nádô</i>     | <i>sambatâ ġimmâtâ dúlle</i>    |
| <i>alfi sangâ lámâ báfta</i>      | <i>banti Wāmâ Gúrâ Dôbâ</i>     |
| 15 <i>mâl si dāmê goftānkriê</i>  | <i>gándâ Čālî`lmâ Wāqrietti</i> |
| <i>ğarsô arrîedâ bukkúru</i>      | 40 <i>dāmannêrâ núf isátto</i>  |
| <i>dúrâ falâfâ dâi húru</i>       | <i>yâ Fatansátt`Ilútt`Ilâ</i>   |
| <i>Ṭâyítú yâ Ṭâyítukô</i>         | <i>balô yâ mâčâ lukkô</i>       |
| <i>nú gaéra dāmsikriêso</i>       | <i>qallún Abbúkkô marâte</i>    |
| 20 <i>yó halkân qabattê bultâ</i> | <i>koromni saddiêtamâfi</i>     |
| <i>gúyâ qabattê muṭṭâ</i>         | 45 <i>gorbâ šantámâ gad`ôfa</i> |
| <i>Täsämmâ yâ Tasîê Nádô</i>      | <i>indú`a abbân dullômâ</i>     |
| <i>dibbiê saddiêtamâ bási</i>     | <i>inğirâta ġirâččô</i>         |
| <i>ğarrî sirrâ nu sodâte</i>      | <i>Wāmâ būsúnkô sūmâfi</i>      |

*abbân bokká dubbatêrā*  
 50 *Nonnôn kannîsā gannāti*  
*sadān Liēqā gungumêrā*  
*Límmu tîstîsā Warāti*  
*Gudáyā wā dībamêrā*  
*kán Dassîē Nādô fakkâte*  
 55 *nú sî garā murannêrā*  
*tokkiččakîēñas qamnêrā*  
*hādāf garā murannêrā*  
*kakanné wā barānā*  
*kîēña guyân gad`adiēma*  
 60 *kîēssân guyân ol adiēma*

*qillîēssî gabbabatêrā*  
*bāta dilî lágā Wāmā*  
*yó mǎčā Nādô sodāte*  
*báfta Hōrā Bidirú*  
 65 *sî ēganîso malkátti*  
*inǎfti dībbîēn kunîsi*  
*Nonnôn kannîsā dimāti*  
*namn`ákka tókko lamāfi*  
*Tîmsā ilmā Šulāfā*  
 70 *goggā saddietāmā`ǵēse*  
*ēssa gaúf qúbā rāsa*

1 O Tasammâ with a sickly horse! 2 The coming of the Roggê is decided. 3 The coming of the Ğímmā Gudáyā is decided. 4 The flying of the Wāyú is decided. 5 Ğîēndā has five horses. 6 He has put down fifty warriors. 7 He has bought two smiths. 8 He will perform the obsequies of the chief of the land, 9 if his (i.e. Ğîēndā's) house is in Harangámā. 10 O useless little man, Tasammâ, 11 we have chosen a heifer for tribute; 12 we have sent a male calf to you. 13 O you, whose mother is Bāsā, O son of Nādô, 14 will the warrior pay to you two oxen? 15 What (word) has your lord sent to you? 16 The poor little old man with a speckled beard 17 hit him on his nose with a piece of wood! 18 O Tāytú, O my Tāytú, 19 your news has reached us. 20 If you take a man in the evening, and lie with him, 21 in the morning, you take and pierce him! 22 O Tasammâ, Tasammâ Nādô, 23 prepare thirty drums! 24 That (man) is more afraid than you! 25 He fights only by night! (lit. fight-fighter of the fight by night). 26 The cat gathers the rats. 27 Where are you running, O Tasammâ? 28 "I will construct, I will construct 29 the residency of the chief, son of Wādāǵô!" 30 I am now distressed. 31 They will eat me, but I will eat (others). 32 He will eat me, but he will be eaten (by me)! 33 O Bulčā, O Bulčā, my strength! 34 The devil of the Wāmā is bad! 35 The fever (malaria) of the Gibê is a destroyer! 36 We, thirty devils, have remained. 37 Friday and Saturday we have fought 38 (led by) the chief of the Wāmā of Gúrā Dôbā, 39 the land of Čálí, son of Wāqîrê. 40 We have sent a message to him (i.e. Fatánsā). 41 O Fatánsā (son) of Ilú, 42 strike, O our kinsman! (lit. O son of my thigh). 43 The sorcerer Abbúkkô has gone out of his mind. 44 "Thirty oxen 45 (and) fifty heifers may be led down by you! 46 The old men will not die. 47 Those who have already lived long, will live on!" 48 For you I have descended to the Wāmā! 49 The Abbā Bokkú has spoken. 50 The three Liēqā have roared. 51 The Nónnô, bees of the season of the rains. 52 The Límmu, flies of the breeze of the autumn. 53 The Gudáyā are a little distressed! 54 O you, who resemble Dastâ Nādô, 55 we have split his belly! 56 Our only son, we have taken him! 57 Also we have split his mother's belly. 58 We have taken the holy oath for this year. 59 Our fortune falls. 60 Your fortune will ascend! 61 The wind



is diminished! 62 Descend to victory by the Wāmā river, 63 if the son of Nádō has been afraid. 64 Go out to the salt springs of Bidirû! 65 We will wait at the ford! 66 The drums will not be absent. 67 The Nónnō, red, stinging bees, 68 men who are doubly valiant (lit. men who are as one and two men). 69 Tímsā, the son of Šulúfā 70 has killed eighty warriors, who had the cloak of skin (lit. has killed eighty skins). 71 Where he reaches, he causes the fingers to tremble!

*Notes.* After mentioning the Orómō allies (Nónnō Roggî, Ğímmā Gudáyā) and the allies of the Amara (Lîeqā Wāyú and Naqamtê) (v. 1–4), the song states that Gîendā, the chief of Sibû (the chief village of Sibû is Harangáma), had “bought two smiths,” i.e. had bought from another Galla chief the right of patronage of two smiths (see song 15, and Appendix). This is a token that the right of patronage might be bought and sold, at least among the western Galla. The smiths constructed the spears necessary for Gîendā to take vengeance for his father, killed by the Amara (v. 5–9). Then follows a taunt at Tasammā, who vainly waits for the tribute of the Galla (v. 10–14) and is a slave to Menilek, the poor old man (v. 15–17) and of Tāytú. As to the Empress Tāytú, the Galla say that she gave herself to a warrior for a few nights, after which she killed him and called to her bed another man. The verses 18–21 allude to this story. The next verses make game of Rās Gobanā who had remained in Fallê (v. 22–24), while the Galla pursued his officer, Tasammā, as a cat chases rats (v. 26–27). The verses 28–29 allude to the *aggāfāri* of Rās Gobanā, Fitāwrāri Bantí Mannê, chief of the Sulú. It was said that he had descended from a family of carpenters and bricklayers. Here the minstrel mocks because the fortune of Bantí Mannê has permitted him to order the construction of his own residence.

Then the singer incites to the combat: even if the strength of the two armies should be unequal and the diviners should have predicted defeat, it would be preferable to die fighting and killing (v. 30–32). Next, he recalls the deeds of bravery performed during the battle. The first warrior celebrated in this part of the song is Būlēā, a slave of the Nónnō (v. 33–35). Although very few in number (“thirty devils”), the Galla of the Wāmā fought valiantly led by their chief, Čālí Wāqî (v. 36–39). The Galla awaited the army of Fatánsā Ilû, the king of Nónnō Ilû (see song 26–27) and Gabbā; but he did not move from his land (v. 40–42). The verses 43–47 refer to the prophecy of the sorcerer, Abbúkkō of Lîeqā Billô. He had predicted that resistance was useless, because the Amara would at last conquer the sons of Ormā. However, comments the minstrel (v. 46–47), this prophecy declares that the life of the Amara shall be eternal and the old men shall never die; yet the Galla have already defeated the Amara in the recent battle, and have made them feeble old men; therefore, in a second combat they (i.e. the Galla) will decisively conquer their enemies, contrary to the prophecy. Since the *Abbā Bokkû* “has spoken” (v. 49) (this probably means “has declared war” and should prove that the *Abbā Bokkû* had the power to make a solemn proclamation of the war decided by the tribe), the allies have come together (v. 49–53); the Lîeqa roaring like lions; the Nónnō, like bees during the season

of the rains (the bees at this season do not attack, if they are not molested in their hives); the Límму numerous and insistent as flies during the autumn; the Guyadâ, a little distressed on account of their casualties in the battle. Then the minstrel celebrates the killing of Dastâ Nâdô, brother of Tasammâ (v. 54-57). The prophecies unfavorable to the Galla, are again quoted after the victory (v. 58-62). The song ends by challenging the Amara to another combat at the salt springs of Bidirû, an hour's march from the Wâmâ river. The Nónnô will enter the new battle, with their chief Tímsâ Šulúfâ (v. 63-71).

Harangamâ (v. 9) is a village in the Liêqâ Sibû territory (clan of the Liêqâ Sibû Diččâ), chief village of the Sibû. Gúrâ Dôbâ (v. 38) is a vast plain near the Wâmâ river. *Málam-malínna* (v. 11) is the Amharic verb *malammala*, "to choose," used principally when the king chooses the cattle for tribute.<sup>1</sup> The mother of Tasammâ Nâdô was a Galla named Básâ (v. 13). Notice in verse 23 the frequent metaphor: *dibbiê*, "war-drum" meaning "army of a chief." A similar metaphor is used in Amharic with the word *nagārit*, "war-drum." *Balô* (v. 2) is the Amharic word *bälāw*, "hit him"! *Tokkíččākîēña* (v. 46), "our only (son)" is an ironically tender allusion to Dastâ Nâdô. *Dimû* (v. 67) is a kind of red bee, which produces excellent honey; the hives of these bees have two queens.

## 45

After the victory at Gúrâ Dôbâ, the Galla began to pursue Tasammâ, who fled toward Shoa. The Nónnô Roggiê advanced as far as the Gudâr River, where they defeated the rear of Tasammâ's army.

<i>ğabbín Tūrî Ğāgān ħēte</i>	<i>ğārsiččô manâ ħmbātu</i>
<i>farsô qadādā dibbāyu</i>	<i>ergāta lōlā lamātu</i>
<i>atô na ñátta silāyu</i>	10 <i>nám ħakka gārā Wāyēssa</i>
<i>wāmi ġārsâ mánākîēña</i>	<i>manāf Salālîerra lōna</i>
5 <i>yó ħka ġiā muđđiēfā</i>	<i>ol ħlēf Gullālîēn as ġlla</i>
<i>ğabbín Tūrî Ğāgān ħēte</i>	<i>wān sodātu ilmi Nádô</i>
<i>salğî gumbî ħabî ġēte</i>	

1 The calves of Tūrî Ğāgān have sucked 2 the beer of the old man's cup. 3 You now (say), "Woe to me!" 4 Call the old man to our house 5 if (the affair) is like the moon of September! 6 The calves of Tūrî Ğāgān have sucked! 7 They have made your necks as broken vessels. 8 The poor old man does not go out of his house; 9 he sends others to war. 10 (Led by) a man with a heart like the heart of Wāyēssâ, 11 we will slip even into the houses of Salālîē. 12 After some time (lit. passed the day, passed the day), we will stay there in the Gullallîē's (territory). 13 The son of Nádô will tremble a little!

*Notes.* The old man (v. 2) is Menilek, whose armies had been defeated by the Nónnô led by Tūrî Ğāgān. If things go badly with Tasammâ (the moon of September is full of ill omen, according to the Galla), it is useless for him to demand aid of Menilek: Menilek

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, *Vocabolario amarico-italiano*, op. cit., *malammala*.

does not go out of Shoa, and sends others to war (v. 3-9). Wāyēssā (v. 10) was a famous Nónnō warrior, native of Galšê between the Nónnō and the Libán Tókko. The Gullalê (v. 12) had fought with the Amara against their compatriots.

## 46

The position of Tasammâ, who had remained at the Gudâr to prevent a Galla invasion of Shoa was precarious. He took refuge on the Ambâ Gudâr, near the river. The Galla sang to him:

*Gudârin, garrê hamâdâ  
Gallânîs, yannî hamâdâ  
atîs dubbinkîê hamâdâ*

1 The ascent of Gudâr is hard. 2 The mind of the Galla is hard. 3 And you, your condition is hard!

## 47

Tasammâ sent messages to Râs Gobanâ, demanding relief. In the meantime, he kept back by the fire of his guns the Galla camped in the plain, who were armed only with spears. Then the Galla, who could not reply on account of the distance, sang songs of defiance.

*yâ Täsämmâ qîensâ budê  
nitinkîê dîengâdda dâte  
muççānkîê êddarra bâte  
nāggādîên qarbatâ gûrti  
5 gārā yābūnkō sūmāfi  
mā wāmtéro Gobanâkîê  
fardîên šantâma gagîgûre  
Gobannî yāddô gayîyâse  
ākka korómto ġāldîessâ  
10 Makân gaúf akkabsáta  
hîdānnāsaîkká dîrá  
mallîsaîkká nađđîêni  
yó dúgna ġágnā tâte  
bú 'i ġôdâsa guddâkâ  
15 yó fārdā istni qabdûre  
qawê fārāngî tumâti  
yó fārāngî durbikîeti  
mālîf sodáttaîsa ġôdâ  
mālîf mukāyê yābda  
20 bú 'i goddâsa guddâdâ  
Billô, farádô šanîdâ  
Garbîn kîessa bakakkâdâ*

*simtarrê mûççâ Ġilôkô  
inđúfa Garbî simtéô  
25 si kienna baddâsa Lîeqâ  
baddâ bisinqâ façâsu  
gamógi bobbê façâse  
Amâraîrarî harçâse  
hindúfa Nágî simtéô  
30 sí mōstsa šānā Lîeqâ  
maqākîê nigúsâîmbâsa  
gómfâ mārāsâ wārquêdâ  
baddén si fîdâînáyu  
yo námā Nágî sodátte  
35 sittîîda kátê òmbêyu  
sí baççîsa okkotêko  
Wāmā adúnsa hamâdâ  
mâtâ urîêîga si dâba  
irrân bûtún islāmâdâ  
40 ġîra Mūsâîlmā Godánâ  
ġôgâ ġabbî çômā tōfô  
hundîên orómōdâîlmókô  
sódâ Rabbî sōmanóyo  
kuđaşān ofîînbađđâte*



45 *šantámā lōlētu bāta*  
*kanáfā qābda yā Góbī*  
*bātu tokkón ġādī ġirtīre*  
*fardī garā ġála bāta*  
*muddī ġalá wā yayóme*  
 50 *robī ganámā yó bāte*  
*kamīsā yó báddu bāfte*  
*si bádda yā<sup>ˆ</sup>mmabiētīkē*  
*sodáččisánni guddāno*  
*ámma kan kīe wān ġirtūre*  
 55 *gāndi Čālk<sup>ˆ</sup>lmā Wāqīēfā*  
*bāqaterrā<sup>ˆ</sup>nni guddāno*  
*yā<sup>ˆ</sup>ggafāri yā<sup>ˆ</sup>lmā Mānnē*  
*dūrō<sup>ˆ</sup>nsodātu ġēđāni*  
*mā bātta<sup>ˆ</sup>ġēlā Gobīēfā*

60 *Tāsāmmān silā duttūđā*  
*mallisa<sup>ˆ</sup>kkā nitittīđā*  
*bāfta obolēssā kan kēyu*  
*gurráččā<sup>ˆ</sup>kkā ġīā muđđīēfā*  
*Garadōn Waldiēs boġāme*  
 65 *đīmā bakkālēā fakkātu*  
*gadi yāftu dallákiē*  
*hinollūnis kuttēdā*  
*bū<sup>ˆ</sup>i ġōđāsa đimtu*  
*wārābsist garadōtā*  
 70 *birrā qūđtīsa<sup>ˆ</sup>ndīfne*  
*lafā<sup>ˆ</sup>nkolāsun kakīēđā*  
*ákka Morī<sup>ˆ</sup>lmā Bakáfā*  
*nāmā<sup>ˆ</sup>nsodānnu<sup>ˆ</sup>nkáku*

1 O Tasammā with long nails, 2 your wife died yesterday, 3 your daughter this night has gone out (of life)! 4 The merchant loads the leather bag. 5 My ascent of the mountain is for you. 6 Why have you called your Gobanā? After assembling fifty horsemen, 8 Gobanā has lost his head. 9 Like a male monkey, 10 he runs to reach Makân! 11 He has the belt (for arms) of a man, 12 the mind of a woman! 13 If you (O Tasammā) are really brave, 14 come on, descend to the great plain, 15 if you have horses (to fight there). 16 The Europeans manufacture guns. 17 If the Europeans are your kindred, 18 why do you fear the plain? 19 Why do you climb trees? 20 Descend to the great plain! 21 Billô has five horse (men). 22 Among these, Garbí is like thunder. 23 He will advance, the son of my Ġilô; 24 he will advance, Garbí, and he will arrive. 25 I will give you the plateau of Liêqā, 26 the plateau where one sows sorghum, 27 the valley where one sows white sorghum. 28 The Amara let fall the cartouches! 29 He will come, Nagî, he has advanced. 30 I will cause you to reign over the five Liêqā tribes, 31 your name will be the name of king, 32 you will have a golden ploughshare for tribute. 33 I will charge myself with it, and I will bring it to you. 34 If you (O Tasammā) fear the men of Nagî, 35 I will bring you the clothes of the negro slaves. 36 I will load you with my pots. 37 The sun of the Wāmā is bad. 38 I will pierce your head; thus I will stop you! 39 The Irrâ Būtú are Musulmen. 40 There is (among them) Mūsā, son of Godanā, 41 skin of a fat calf (fit for) a cup. 42 He is (born) from Galla stock, my son, 43 but he fasts because of fear of the Lord! 44 With fifteen (spears) he has loaded himself. 45 Fifty (others) are brought for him by his servants. 46 Will you catch such a man, O Gobanā? 47 There is a Būtú, soldier of the holy war, 48 who rides his horse under the belly; 49 he plucks something under the waist (of his enemies). 50 If he (i.e. Tasammā) should go out (to fight) Wednesday morning, 51 if he (Tasammā) should be completely defeated, Thursday, 52 I will burden myself

(with presents) for you, O my lady! 53 Even this great man will be frightened! 54 Then there is something even for you! 55 In the village of Čālí, son of Wāqî, 56 even that great man fled! 57 O *aggāfāri*, O son of Mannê! 58 Once it was said that you were not afraid. 59 Why do you bring now the basin of *eġētā* to Gobanâ? 60 Because Tasammâ is angry! 61 His mind is like the mind of a poor little woman! 62 You (O Tasammâ) abandon even your brother, 63 who is black as the moon of September. 64 And Garadô Waldîe also has been taken prisoner, 65 (Garadô) who resembles the red star of Venus. 66 Descend from your compound (O Tasammâ)! 67 We will not be absent; it is decided! 68 Descend to the plain at Dîmtu! 69 Order the servant maids to the water! 70 We will leave off in order to plough during the spring. 71 The country during the dry season is the object of a holy oath. 72 As Morodâ, son of Bakarî, 73 we do not fear any man. It has been sworn with a holy oath!

*Notes.* Uncut nails are, among the Galla, a sign of the low castes (v. 1). The verses 7–10 allude to Gobanâ, superb, but also easily frightened, as the male monkey, chief of the herd. Makân (v. 10) is a place near Hindîebā Gaččî in Liêqā. The verses 21–33 praise Garbí Ğilô, the chief of Liêqā Billô. *Ararî* (v. 28) is the Amharic word *arâr*, “cartouch;” *mārāsā* (v. 32) is the Amharic word *mārāšā*, “ploughshare.” In verse 34, the singer again addresses Tasammâ. *Katê* (v. 35) is the name of a kind of clothes worn by the Sidama slave maids. The verses 37–38 mean: “We have already defeated you at Gúrā Dôbā near the Wāmā; we will now again defeat your army.” The verses 39–49 sing about two warriors of the cavalry corps called *Irrâ Bûtú* (Loransiyos translates this name with the Amharic word, *yām-iddarrabu*, i.e. “those who double”); the soldiers of this corps were natives of Dariṭā. They were Mussulmen; therefore the singer scoffs, as usual, at the Moslem fast (v. 43). “Skin of a calf, fit for a cup” (v. 41) means “white skin” because white cups are most appreciated by the Galla. As to verse 48, see song 43. Verse 49 alludes to the Galla custom of cutting the genitals of their enemies. Notice the Amharic word *immäbriet* (v. 52), “lady” used here instead of the Galla word *giftî*. Verses 53–56 threaten “the great man,” i.e. Gobanâ with a defeat more crushing than that of his officer, Tasammâ. The verses 57–59 allude to the submission of Bantí Mannê, chief of the Súlu Galla to Râs Gobanâ (see song 44, v. 28–29). The *eġētā* (v. 59) is a plant from which the Galla make basins to wash their hands. It was the duty of the valets to hold the basin while the lord washed. The verses 62–63 allude to the rash flight of Dastā Nādô who was brown in color like a negro. As to the moon of September, see song 45, v. 5. The verses 64–65 sing about Fitāwrâri Garadô Wāldîe, famous on account of his light skin color. He was taken prisoner during a combat near the Gudâr, but he escaped. The verses 65–68 defy Tasammâ to descend from the mountain and to engage in battle at Hôrā Dîmtu, a salt spring near the Wāmā. The verses 69–73 add to the challenge the holy oath not to plough the country before victory. *Kolásu* (v. 71) is a kind of ground, which is ploughed more than three times during the dry season; then one leaves off for ten days without



sowing it; after this period, it is planted with chick-peas. Verse 71 cites ironically as an example of bravery Morodâ who many years before had surrendered himself to the Amara.

## 48

During the battle at Gúrā Dôbā, Ligdí Bakarê had taken the horse of Dallánsā Nádô, the famous Rağǧí (*rağǧí* means in Galla "wonder").

*gārí Dallánsā Nádô*  
*abbānkîê btyo gôtê*  
*án abbā btyā gôtê*

1 O fine steed of Dallánsā Nádô, 2 your master had made you ashes. 3 I have made you lord of the country!

*Note.* This means: Your master had humbled you, being defeated; I have accomplished with you glorious exploits!

## 49

At this time, Râs Gobanâ departed with his officers from Shoa to aid Tasammâ and went towards Liêqā by the way of Gîedô. Fitāwrâri Garadô advanced by the way of Tibbê; Morodâ attacked the Sibû tribes, and Wāyzaro Mastāyít, the princess of Wārrā Himânô (who had already fought together with Gobanâ in the battle of Imbābô), marched to assail the Liêqā Billô. Gobanâ defeated Tuččo Dánnô after many undecisive combats at Málka Naggādê on the banks of the Wāmā. Tuččo withdrew to the Tullú Amara; thence, after a year of siege, he escaped and went to the court of the Emperor Menilek II, who, according to his usual policy, appointed Tuččo *fitāwrâri* and gave him the government of his own once independent domain. Mastāyít had conquered, in the meantime, the Liêqā Billô, and the Sibû had been defeated by Morodâ. Thus, after seven years of struggle, all the Liêqā tribes were conquered. Garbí Ğilô and Ğiendâ Šonê were appointed *fitāwrâri* and governors of their former kingdoms.

Râs Gobanâ, fearing a new rebellion of Liêqā, decided not to return to Fallê in Shoa and took up his residence at Hindîébā Gaččí. Then he was obliged to begin a new campaign against the Dervishes of the Mahdī. The Mahdī, during his war against the Emperor Johannes IV ending with the battle at Matammâ, had sent an expedition to Wállagâ hoping that the Mussulmen of that region would be favorable to him. Râs Gobanâ had already fought against the chief of Liêqā Qiellém, Ğotê (a Mussulman), and the Nolê Kabbâ; but he had been obliged to leave off this enterprise on account of the outbreak of an epidemic in his army. When the Arabs of the Mahdī entered Galla territory, Ğotê came to an agreement with them, and his example was followed by the Sibû Gantí, Sibû Wāambarâ, and Šinâšâ. Râs Gobanâ moved against the invaders with Dağǧâč Morodâ and Morodâ's brother, Fitāwrâri Amantê leading the Liêqā Naqamtê and the Tuqâ. The two armies fought at Sombô Darrô, within the territory of the Sibû Wāambarâ. The Mussulmen were defeated



by Gobanâ. Then the dervishes withdrew to the Sudan, and the Galla allies of Gobanâ massacred the fugitives, especially their Galla compatriots, natives of Qïellém and Sibû, who had helped the strangers to enter Wállagâ. However, Râs Gobanâ, in order to avoid the prolongation of this barbarous carnage, ordered his auxiliary troops to bring to him as prisoners all fugitives who yielded, and forbade the killing and the cutting of the genitals of these defenceless prisoners. These orders caused great discontent among the Galla soldiers of Morodâ; Morodâ himself did not execute this proclamation of Gobanâ. A rebellion of the Galla auxiliary troops threatened. However, Gobanâ prevented the rebellion by an energetic action. He surrounded the Galla troops with his Amara soldiers; then called the chiefs of the Galla to a meeting. When an officer of the Liêqâ Naqamtê appeared at the meeting, riding a horse whose bridle was adorned with the genitals of the prisoners, Gobanâ, as soon as he saw him, flung at him the wooden stool on which he had been sitting. Alluding to this fact, a Galla minstrel sang the following song:

- |                              |                               |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Gobannó ġirmā ġigê</i>    | <i>Gobanâ qâba ráġġa</i>      |
| <i>Morîn Diđđiêssâ ġûtê</i>  | <i>Morîn agêċċa ráġġa</i>     |
| <i>Arabâ dútâ`dîemu</i>      | 30 <i>ġarrî môtî Amârâ</i>    |
| <i>Ġotê šantâmâ bulê</i>     | <i>aġġesîf nú wāmāni</i>      |
| 5 <i>Wāmbarîn birâ bule</i>  | <i>aġġefna nú dāndni</i>      |
| <i>ôbô Ġotê`bbâ Iggú</i>     | <i>ururûkā`lmô harrê</i>      |
| <i>atî yó`nkakānne</i>       | <i>otê ġiqî nûtti`māni</i>    |
| <i>ān`nkakānni kakú</i>      | 35 <i>qawê gar tokko mukâ</i> |
| <i>Arabâ`mbaqú ġġêttê</i>    | <i>abbân qawêo qabê</i>       |
| 10 <i>imbaqatāni</i>         | <i>anó`nqabatîn malê</i>      |
| <i>Gobanâ ilmā Danċi</i>     | <i>anó giddî`nqabarê</i>      |
| <i>Morî`lmā Bakarîe</i>      | <i>gangô gar tókko harrê</i>  |
| <i>garadô`bbâ Tālasti</i>    | 40 <i>abbân yābâ yó yābê</i>  |
| <i>Aramnî Túqāyāmna</i>      | <i>anó`yyābatîn malê</i>      |
| 15 <i>Gobanâ tuqāmu dīdê</i> | <i>šammâ gar tókko ġirbî</i>  |
| <i>bātu tullú kanarrās</i>   | <i>kān uffatê huffatê</i>     |
| <i>ġārsiċċâ dufú ġirú</i>    | <i>anó`nuffatîn male</i>      |
| <i>Darrô mandārâ guddāqā</i> | 45 <i>anós giddî`nqabarê</i>  |
| <i>Tullú Wārqê nannēsé</i>   | <i>môtî gar tókko`romô</i>    |
| 20 <i>utú sagālā bulê</i>    | <i>abbân mōā yó mōē</i>       |
| <i>Arabâ dillî gođê</i>      | <i>anî`mmōanî malê</i>        |
| <i>nāmā dilābā gođê</i>      | <i>kān mōmî giddî`nqabarê</i> |
| <i>Gobanân bāsā bāsê</i>     | 50 <i>mîe Disōkô wāmarê</i>   |
| <i>namnî šambô qaraŋú</i>    | <i>mîe`kka`rbâ ċarānure</i>   |
| 25 <i>búnā qarāta malê</i>   | <i>Amārâ gāsi bu`ê</i>        |
| <i>namnî dilālā`mbafnî</i>   | <i>Gállā dugdā dēbîe</i>      |
| <i>Gobîe`lmî Wādāġô</i>      | <i>irrān gadê gaċċisê</i>     |

55 *rarôn bātēm̃mo ġirtī*  
*sagāl balliēsēn*  
*sagāl balliēsā baē*  
*nīēñči Sirfī Odā*  
*yā Gudarīēsā Gumē*  
 60 *Gobanā māl kīēsāni*  
*ġarrō mōtī Salālīē*  
*īsa sirrē kīēsāni*  
*ofī ġalā tīēsāni*  
*bākarattīn kīēsāni*  
 65 *Mīnīlik guyāf mōē*  
*ēbō Morodā ċālā*  
*Wāyūn hā-ċālu Morā*  
*tongō yā nīōtīō ċālā*  
*Šōā Mīnīlik ċālā*  
 70 *garbičči birrī lamā*

*lōkkō nātī ʿergīfatē*  
*mīrgāsā na ʿmbaččīsū*  
*godalā ʿrrē nā godē*  
*dāku nātī baččīsē*  
 75 *ās lallān Tullūn Bāqqō*  
*gandī ġollīē Šānqillā*  
*asīn qīō fakkāta*  
*Gārōn gadī ġūramē*  
*yaddōn tīti tulamē*  
 80 *Adāl Goġġāmīn tīē*  
*Mīnīlik Šōā tītā*  
*Tullū Ġimmātn tītē*  
*Morodān Wāyā tītū*  
*Arabnī dibbīēn tōkko*  
 85 *mīsimmō rātā tālē*

1 Gobanā is a trunk which crashes down. 2 Morodā is the *Ḍīdīēsā* when it overflows. 3 The Arabs have gone away angry. 4 *Ġotē* has lived fifty days. 5 The judge has stayed near him. 6 Lord *Ġotē*, lord of (the horse) *Iggū*, 7 if you have not taken the holy oath, 8 I have not taken the holy oath. 9 "The Arabs will not fly!" you said. 10 (On the contrary) they have fled. 11 Gobanā, son of *Danči*. 12 Morodā son of *Bakarīē*. 13 *Garadō*, lord of (the horse) *Talās*. 14 The Arabs have ascended to the *Tuqā*'s (country), 15 but Gobanā has refused to be touched. 16 Descend from this mountain! 17 The old man has come. 18 *Darrō* is a great village. 19 I have surrounded the *Tullū Wārqrē*. 20 "After I have stayed nine days, 21 I will defeat the Arabs. 22 I will make the warriors merchandise!" 23 Gobanā has done badly. 24 The man has paid the customs duty, one *šambō*. 25 One pays the customs duty for coffee! 26 A man does not become merchandise! 27 Gobanā, whose son is *Wadāgō*, 28 Gobanā (has said), "Take!" O wonder! 29 Morodā (has said), "Kill!" O wonder! 30 This king of the Amara 31 has called on us to kill. 32 We have killed and he hits us. 33 Sleep, sleep, O little son of an ass! 34 If they speak to us about the stubborn (warrior), 35 the gun is wooden on one side. 36 The fusileer has taken it, 37 but I will not take it. 38 This matter does not concern me. 39 The mule is an ass by one side. 40 (Even) if the rider rides it, 41 I will not ride it. 42 The toga is cotton by one side. 43 This man who has worn it may wear it, 44 but I will not wear it. 45 This matter does not concern me. 46 The king is Galla by one side. 47 He who has reigned may reign, 46 but I will not reign. 49 To be governed does not concern me. 50 Come on, I will call my (horse) *Disō*. 51 Come on! like an elephant I will roar! 52 The Amara have descended, marching; 53 the Galla have followed them to the plain. 54 They have caused (the enemy) to come down from above! 55 The horse-cloth has fallen and stands. 56 He has killed nine (warriors), 57 and has shaved his head nine times! 58 The lion (son) of *Sirfī Odā*. 59 O

Gudariêssâ Gumê. 60 What is there for you, Gobanâ? 61 That king of Salâlê? 62 You have kept the throne for him, 63 and you have put yourself down! 64 You have put aside your spears! 65 Menilek has reigned because of good fortune! 66 Among the spears, the filed spear is the best, 67 Among the Wâyú, Morodâ may be the ruler. 68 Among the *tongô*, the *tongô* of Enťóťťô is the best. 69 Let Menilek rule in Shoa! 70 The slave (whose price is) two thalers, 71 has sent me the bridle. 72 He has not burdened me with his trophies. 73 He has made me a male ass; 74 he has loaded me with meal! 75 Seeing there the Tullú Báqqô, 76 the village of the sons of the Šānqillâ, 77 he thought that it was near. 78 He has gone down to the Gârô. 79 He has collected his thoughts! 80 Adâl has ruled in Goğğâm. 81 Menilek rules in Shoa. 82 Tullú has ruled in Ğimmâ. 83 Let Morodâ rule in Wâyú! 84 The Arabs, one drum, 85 dinner has been supper for them!

*Notes.* Gobanâ (v. 1) is similar to a great trunk which falling crushes everything under it. The singer in the verses 4–13 addresses Ğotê, who, during the fifty days of the Dervish invasion, might have believed himself the lord of Liêqâ. The brother of Ğotê, Ašanâ was supreme judge of his brother's dominions. In verse 5, the Amharic word *wāmbār* is used, *wambarí*, according to the Galla pronunciation, instead of the Galla *ābbā firdí*, "judge." Abbā Iggú (v. 6) was the war-name of Ğotê. Ğotê had taken, before the battle, a holy oath that the Arabs would defeat the Amârâ (v. 7–10). In verses 14–15 the singer puns on the double sense of *Tuqâ*, name of a clan, and the verb *tuq*, "to touch." The "old man" (v. 17) is Râs Gobanâ. The verses 19–21 allude to an oath of Râs Gobanâ that he would defeat the Arabs within nine days.

Then the minstrel begins to state his complaints against the *râs's* orders. The verses 22–25 concern the order not to kill the prisoners but to keep them and accept the ransom. Note that Gobanâ had established a tax of one *šambô* for every ten prisoners taken by his auxiliaries, a real deduction from the ransom. Verses 26–34, quoting the contradictory orders of Gobanâ and Morodâ (v. 28–29), allude also to the event which took place before the tent of the *râs* (see introduction to this song). With such a command of the war, says the singer, the warrior becomes similar to an ass; that is, he bears only provisions, not spoils, i.e. genitals of the conquered warriors. The song next rails at Râs Gobanâ, who, although born of Galla parents, has adopted the laws and the customs of the Amara, like a gun, half of wood and half of iron, like a mule, half horse and half ass, like a toga, half cotton and half wool (v. 35–49). Disô (v. 50) is the horse of the singer, Abbā Disô. The Galla warrior, Gudariêssâ Gumê, son of Sirfí Odâ, native of Liêqâ Naqamtê, has killed nine warriors, and then, according to Galla custom, has shaved his head. Why has such a valiant warrior, asks the singer, surrendered himself to the Amara (v. 58–64)? Morodâ must rule the Wâyú according to the Galla laws. Menilek with his laws reigns in Enťóťťô, not in Galla lands (v. 65–69). And Gobanâ, slave of Menilek has ordered that the steed of the singer bear meal and not spoils (v. 69–73)!



Verses 74-79 describe the flight of the Arabs. Each chief may reign in his own kingdom; Morodâ may reign in Liêqâ Wâyû (v. 80-83)! The Arabs, who are only one corps (in verse 84, drum = corps), have flown in such haste that they have not even had time to eat twice in one day (v. 84-85).

Darrô (v. 18) is Sombô Darrô, the field of the battle; Tullú Wârqiê (v. 19) is a mountain near Darrô; Šambô (v. 24) is a measure for corn. Note that verse 50 is found also in song 15, v. 30, and verse 62, also in song 23, v. 90. The *tongô* (v. 67) is a tree, which has a trunk so tough that one cannot split it even with an axe. Near Entôtô (the capital of Shoa at this time, 1889), there is a forest of *tongô*. Mount Báqqô (v. 75) is in the territory of the Maô negroes. Šānqillā (v. 76) is the common Abyssinian name of the negroes. The Gârô River (v. 78) is a tributary of the Diddiessā.

## 50

Waččú Dabalô, chief of the Sibû Gantí, had taken part with the Arabs, and he had aided them in the battle at Sombô Darrô. Once when he had decided to hunt elephants, the sorcerers of the region gave him unanimous counsel not to depart on the appointed day. Wačču did not delay his departure, however. In the night a great storm threw down the sacred sycamore of the tribe; at day-break a thunderbolt killed Wačču's horse, and his uncle was found dead in his bed; when Wačču mounted another horse, a python came out from a thicket and assailed him, but he killed the serpent and departed. Then he killed two elephants and returned happily to his house, contrary to all predictions.

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| <p><i>Dabalô yâ Dabalô Dáymo</i><br/> <i>sómbô qillíessi ġigsé</i><br/> <i>bakakkân guyáf bu 'é</i><br/> <i>wasillân guyá gaé</i><br/> 5 <i>bófti awārā sifáta</i><br/> <i>dábadabân Dabalô</i><br/> <i>Waččútti dólgrê dabalé</i><br/> <i>Morodâ qubâ damná</i><br/> <i>Amantên huddú qābé</i><br/> 10 <i>Túqā tuttuqé lālê</i><br/> <i>Morî qillíessâ daqé</i><br/> <i>Dánnô Gibríetti qîesé</i><br/> <i>Gobanân Šóá galé</i><br/> <i>dábadabân Dabalô</i><br/> 15 <i>Gobîe yo qubâ dabé</i><br/> <i>anós gimbíkô yābé</i><br/> <i>Aramnîs dilí tâte</i><br/> <i>arbîs dilálâ tâte</i><br/> <i>ġabannó ġirâ ġēđú</i></p> | <p>20 <i>ġabanâ málú ġirâ</i><br/> <i>garbiččî gangô yāmnâ</i><br/> <i>túmtu ġanô uffánna</i><br/> <i>Gobîe yâ Gobîe Dančî</i><br/> <i>tumtún gulâ yābáttu</i><br/> 25 <i>búfâ yābátti malé</i><br/> <i>dábadabân Dabalô</i><br/> <i>yói du 'ākôs tâti</i><br/> <i>galanníso hā tá 'u</i><br/> <i>lágā bu 't'bbā Sombô</i><br/> 30 <i>Abbā Sombô sardāi</i><br/> <i>Abbúkkā surrasurré</i><br/> <i>qallú Mandî dalé</i><br/> <i>karāti ġēttés goré</i><br/> <i>yā rîe 'é bíyā badí</i><br/> 35 <i>kán Sambê Soddú hafí</i><br/> <i>yā qallú bíyā badí</i><br/> <i>kán Abbā Disô hafí</i></p> |
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1 Dabalô, O Dabalô (son) of Dáymo. 2 The sycamore has been thrown down by the storm. 3 The thunderbolt has fallen by day. 4 Your uncle has reached his (last) day. 5 The serpent has eaten the powder. 6 The exterminator (son of) Dabalô. 7 Waččú has added an adult elephant (to his former spoils). 8 Morodâ has stopped his fingers. 9 Amantê has stopped his back. 10 The Tuqâ taste and watch. 11 Morodâ has gone off (like) the wind. 12 Dánnô has flown to the Gibîê. 13 Gobanâ has returned to Shoa. 14 The exterminator (son) of Dabalô! 15 If Gobanâ has had news of it, 16 I have ascended to my castle. 17 Also the Arabs have been defeated, 18 and the elephant has become merchandise fit for a huckster. 19 "The time has arrived!" they say. 20 What time have they said? 21 The slave rides the mule; 22 the smith wears the toga! 23 O Gobanâ, O Gobanâ (son) of Dančí, 24 the smith rides the horse! 25 Ride a pitchfork indeed! 26 The exterminator Dabalô! 27 Even if it is my death, 28 praise be to God! 29 Descend to the river, O Abbā Sombô. 30 Abbā Sombô Sardâ 31 has worn the magic shirt. 32 The sorcerer Abbā Mandô is born. 33 I have passed by the way which you have told me. 34 May all the shagoats in the region perish! 35 Let only the shagoats of Sambê Soddú remain! 36 May all the sorcerers in this region perish! 37 May Abbā Disô remain!

*Notes.* Waččú is called by the name of his father, Dabalô. The verses 1-7 enumerate the events of the day which should have been unlucky for Dabalô. The verses 8-13 allude to the sorrow of Dabalô's enemies when they heard of his victory: Morodâ first has been struck by wonder, then has fled (v. 8, v. 11), Amantê has stayed (v. 9); Dánnô and Gobanâ have escaped; the Tuqâ did not believe the news. The verses 19-20 allude to the prophecies which have been denied by events. The verses 21-25 insult Gobanâ by calling him "smith," because he used guns for the first time in these regions. Verses 26-37 again mention the false sorcerers. Abbā Sombô (v. 29-30) and Abbā Mandô (v. 32) were two sorcerers who had predicted Dabalô's death; Abbā Disô (v. 37) another sorcerer, had given to Dabalô the counsel to depart. Sambê Soddú (v. 35) was a rich owner of cattle in Lîêqā Sibû. The verses 34-35 make the usual sound parallelism with the verses 36-37. *Dabadabâ* (v. 6, 14, 26), the title which the singer gives to Waččú Dabalô is the Galla relative form of the Amharic root *dabaddaba*, "to hit," "to massacre." Verse 29 alludes to the Galla belief that the genii live in the rivers. This belief is widespread among all the Hamitic peoples of the Ethiopic plateau. (See Appendix and song 117; I).<sup>1</sup>

## 51

After defeating the Dervishes, Râs Gobanâ returned to his residence at Hinđêbâ Gaččí and remained there for a year. Then he had a struggle with the sorcerer, Abbā Čäffîê (see songs 27-29), ordered that Abbā Čäffîê be arrested, and sentenced him to death. Abbā Čäffîê said to Gobanâ, "I shall die today, but within three days, Morodâ Bakarê will also

<sup>1</sup> As to similar ideas among the Agau, see Carlo Conti-Rossini, 'Note sugli Agau,' (*Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, vol. 18, Firenze, 1905, p. 113-118).

die, and within seven days you yourself will die!" Gobanâ, impressed by the prediction, decided to return immediately to Fallê in Shoa. However, the day of his departure, the news reached him that Morodâ was dead (Morodâ's tomb was found open, and three serpents were twined to his corpse). Gobanâ continued on his way, but, falling from his horse, died exactly as Abbâ Čäffîê had predicted (according to Loransiyos's tale)! Alluding to the life of Dağğâč Wâdâğō, son of Râs Gobanâ, a dandy, not fit for a warrior, this song was sung:

*yâ okkotê damfî gommanâ wâğğîn*

*karân Gibê hafê Gobanâ wâğğîn*

1 O pot, boil with the sprouts! 2 The way of the Gibê has remained with Gobanâ!

*Notes.* This means: there is no one who can follow in the steps of Gobanâ beyond the Gibê!

## 52

Another protagonist of the wars between the Galla and the Amara during the reign of Menilek II was Râs Dārgîê (Galla pronunciation, Dargîê). He was the son of Sahle Sal-lāsê, king of Shoa and brother of Hayla Malakot, the father of Menilek II. His war-name was Abbâ Geršā.<sup>1</sup> After the conquest of Salālê, accomplished with the aid of Gobanâ (see song 39, introduction), Dārgîê was appointed governor of this region. His two residences were at Salālê and Fiččê. As Wâldê Bāseyúm (see song 38) had not helped to conquer the Gurāgîê's land, Râs Dārgîê was charged by Menilek to subdue the Gurāgîê and the Arussi Galla. As to the Gurāgîê, the expedition ended successfully and many inhabitants of this region were taken prisoners and sold as slaves. On the contrary, the Arussi resisted desperately, led by Šêk Nûr Husséyn (Galla pronunciation of the Arabic name, *Šayh Nûr Hussayn*). He had, according to Loransiyos, gone to the Arussi country from Harar, to convert these wild Galla tribes to the Moslem faith. In the beginning, he had little success. Once while he was teaching the Koran, he was assailed by a squadron of pagan horsemen. They rushed upon him; but Nûr Husséyn, making a sign with his hand, turned them all to stone. The pagans, still in the posture of hurling their spears, thus became statues of stone. Even today pilgrims go to admire these statues of Nûr Husséyn's enemies; they are near the grave of Nûr Husséyn in the place which is called "Šêk Nûr Hûsséyn."<sup>2</sup> After this miracle, the Arussi were all converted to Islam. When Dārgîê moved against them, Nûr Husséyn proclaimed a holy war (*ğihād*). An officer of Râs Dārgîê, Fitāwrâri Đufêrâ who was in the vanguard of the invaders, was defeated at Fugug and obliged to withdraw. After some other unfortunate combats, Dārgîê himself was forced to retreat to Shoa:

*yâ ilmā hâdâ matṭêdâ*

*garbôtakê qabdê dâlta*

*dúro ġabbôtâ wâğğîn dâlte*

5 *núso Nûrê gamnêrâ*

*ğabbôtákê ṣsá takálte*

1 O son of a slave mother, 2 first you have gone to war with your calves. 3 Where have you bound your calves? You go to the war with your slaves, 5 and you (go) with Nûr!

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cerulli, 'Canti popolari amarici,' op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> According to Loransiyos' tale.



*Notes.* Râs Dārgîê had taken with him in his expedition his sons Dastâ, Asfâw, and Tasammâ. *Matîrê* (v. 1), like *ṭomborê*, is a Galla insult; it is the name for slaves from Sidama districts.

## 53

Here is the triumphal song of the Arussi after the retreat of Râs Dārgîê:

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| <p><i>goti ná qoččisi ilmôlê</i><br/> <i>biên dūrākîēña adiēmu</i><br/> <i>ákka Gobîelmā Dančîfā</i><br/> <i>ákka Fitîrê Takilîēfā</i><br/>           5 <i>ákka Garádo Wāldîēfā</i><br/> <i>ákka Dallîē`lmā Nādôfā</i><br/> <i>bódā garádîf toláfi</i><br/> <i>dúrā gimǵán adiēmu</i><br/> <i>yā Dārgîê bú`i gamóǵi</i><br/>           10 <i>hinni lōlākîē sodátte</i><br/> <i>dú`a yādî Nūr`usēni</i><br/> <i>anó ilmô Nūr`usēni</i><br/> <i>ǵétta ǵollîen Arussîdā</i><br/> <i>tikîen gay`yáte lōni</i><br/>           15 <i>fardîen Dārgîê bubbisádā</i><br/> <i>fardîen Alêlu qilliēnsā</i><br/> <i>sadî tāné si`nsodānnu</i><br/> <i>báčā`lmā lókō guččôdā</i><br/> <i>nigufní bāčān kúnio</i><br/>           20 <i>ofî Šoā kiēssa ta`é</i><br/> <i>Dārgîê Arussîtt`alîēla</i><br/> <i>Dārgîê guddā nú si`ngône</i><br/> <i>Gobanā nú bararî</i><br/> <i>qilliēssā Gobîē`lmā Dančî</i><br/>           25 <i>Gobîê bókâ maskirómi</i><br/> <i>insodātu inđumtói</i><br/> <i>inđumto Oromtittîdā</i><br/> <i>bú`ā bāā`mballiēssa</i><br/> <i>ǵālâlā ǵollîmā wāli</i><br/>           30 <i>māl amánta yā goftā</i><br/> <i>ofî Šoā tēssantio</i><br/> <i>Dārgîê Arussîtt`alîēlāni</i><br/> <i>būsêra kan nitî bûse</i><br/> <i>inno dāsî lágā bûse</i><br/>           35 <i>bulé Tasámmā si`mbûsa</i><br/> <i>guyā gāfā`rbî ǵabáfā</i><br/> <i>hatún Gullîēlā čābôfā</i></p> | <p><i>ingāfatîn firāsáfî</i><br/> <i>gāfā Šoā galtianio</i><br/>           40 <i>ilmikô ēssa ǵirāre</i><br/> <i>gāfās gāfātu yā ǵársā</i><br/> <i>dú`arusstî baranāo</i><br/> <i>Dārgîen awāǵā murêra</i><br/> <i>Minilik túmā tumêra</i><br/>           45 <i>inolîēssîn yā`lmā`ǵēmi</i><br/> <i>balballî himú ǵēǵêra</i><br/> <i>yā hādā`rússi kan diēsse</i><br/> <i>mîēka durbā gad adiēmtē</i><br/> <i>yā`russî`mmā ǵirāta</i><br/>           50 <i>akkātu Nûru qabdétta</i><br/> <i>Dārgîê dibbê onsistîfte</i><br/> <i>Šoā hundasátt`ogóme</i><br/> <i>Kán Dārgîê guddátte ráǵǵā</i><br/> <i>robî Amárri gad dúlu</i><br/>           55 <i>Arussîn dú`ā`nsodātu</i><br/> <i>mālî ballîēstîttā`lmókō</i><br/> <i>imbái yā`lmôn Salâlîê</i><br/> <i>inčîētē Māččā gamāti</i><br/> <i>kán Abbā Ǵifār guddátto</i><br/>           60 <i>ingáltu Ǵimmā gamāti</i><br/> <i>hāti`lmā tókko qabdétî</i><br/> <i>mîširó kobā bultétî</i><br/> <i>nigufní gáddafatêra</i><br/> <i>yā`russî būsūmā bási</i><br/>           65 <i>inđúfa guyānkîē mánna</i><br/> <i>wāl ilállā wāl ilállā</i><br/> <i>yógga`rfasân kunî ǵîte</i><br/> <i>nigufní sîērā tumêra</i><br/> <i>Gallân awāǵa rukûta</i><br/>           70 <i>Gobîen Fallê qúbā nâta</i><br/> <i>Wāliēn Eǵǵú qúbā nâta</i><br/> <i>Mikân Wállô qúbā nâta</i><br/> <i>gāfa`rfasân kúnî ǵîte</i></p> |
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1 Plough and let me plough, O child! 2 Come on! go before us, 3 as Gobanâ, son of Dančî, 4 as Fitāwrâri Taklê, 5 as Garadô Wâldê, 6 as Dallânsâ, son of Nâdô! 7 Retreat is fit for servant maids! 8 Let the coat of silk go before! 9 O Dārgîê, descend to the valley! 10 If he fears to fight you, 11 the warrior of Nûr Husséyn, he will die. 12 "I am the son of Nûr Husséyn," 13 the child of the Arussi has said. 14 The herdsman leads down the cows. 15 The horses of Dārgîê are breezes. 16 The horses of Alêlu are storm. 17 We are three, but we do not fear you! 18 The proud son of Lókkô Guččô! 19 This proud emperor 20 remains in Shoa, 21 and pushes Dārgîê to the Arussi! 22 Dārgîê, we do not estimate you highly! 23 May God preserve for us Gobanâ! 24 The storm, Gobanâ, son of Dančî! 25 Gobanâ, rain of September! 26 He does not fear and will not leave off (coming); 27 he will not leave off (coming) in behalf of the Oromô! 28 He wastes on the ascent and descent! 29 (Their) love is like a voluble boy! 30 Why do you trust (them), O lord? 31 They remain in Shoa, 32 and push Dārgîê to the Arussi. 33 He has already deserted, he will desert his wife, 34 he has deserted the *dāš* at the river. 35 Within a short time, he will desert you, O Tasammâ! 36 The day of Friday is serious. 37 The brigand Gullîlâ (native) of Čâbô! 38 "Do not question about your relatives!" 39 When you have returned to Shoa, 40 "Where is my son?" 41 if you, O old man, question, 42 "He is dead by the (hand of the) Arussi this year!" (This is the answer!) 43 Dārgîê has issued (lit. cut) a proclamation. 44 Menilek has sanctioned a law (lit. has struck a stroke). 45 "Do not speak, O son of Agêmi! 46 Let the door speak!" you have said. 47 O mother who has given birth to the Arussi, 48 how many girls have you afterwards brought forth? 49 O Arussi, you live now, 50 and justly have taken Nûr with you. 51 You have wasted the drums of Dārgîê. 52 The Shoans have all perished. 53 O wonder of Dārgîê, the great! 54 Friday the Amara have descended for the invasion. 55 The Arussi do not fear death. 56 Why do you ruin yourself, O my son? 57 Do not go out, O son of Salâlê! 58 Pass to the strangers of the other bank, 59 to the land of Abbâ Ğîfâr, the great! 60 Enter Ğímmâ on the other bank! 61 The mother has lost her only son. 62 The bride has spent the night alone. 63 The king has grieved because of it. 64 O Arussi, descend to the attack; 65 your fortune has come; is it not true? 66 We will see each other again, we will see each other again, 67 when autumn shall be ended. 68 The king has proclaimed (lit. struck) a law. 69 The Galla issue (lit. hit) a proclamation. 70 Gobanâ will eat his fingers in Fallê! 71 Wâldê in Yeġġu will eat his fingers! 72 Mikâ 'êl in Wâllô will eat his fingers, 73 when this autumn shall be ended!

*Notes.* The song begins by railing at Dārgîê, who, contrary to the other Abyssinian chiefs quoted in verses 3–6, used to follow his army in the last ranks, rather than fight in the first line (v. 1–9). The coat of silk (called in verse 8 by the Amharic word, *gimǧâ*) is the sign of the rank of *râs* (see song 56, v. 24, 65). Fitāwrâri Taklê (v. 4) was afterwards appointed *ligâbâ*; he died at Ambâ Alâġi, fighting against the Italians.

Then the singer speaks of the Arussi, led by Nûr Husséyn, who has said, "May we die if we fear Dārgîê!" (v. 10–14). Among the Arussi there were the soldiers of Alêlu, an

Arussi village, with their chief, the son of Lókkō Guččō (v. 15-18). After stating that Menilek sends others to war while he remains in ambush in Shoa (v. 19-22), the minstrel appeals to Gobanā, hoping that he will remember his Galla origin and stand by the Arussi. Why does he trust the Amara rather than his compatriots (v. 23-30)? Then the retreat of Dārgîê is described (v. 31-35); verse 35 alludes to Dağğāč Tasammā Dārgîê. Verse 36 alludes to a warrior, Gullêla about whom Loransiyos knows nothing. Râs Dārgîê, to avoid the discouragement of the people in his domain, had forbidden his soldiers to give any news to the civilians about the outcome of the expedition. They were merely permitted to announce to the families of the dead soldiers the death of their kinsman without any details concerning the engagements. The families also were forbidden to celebrate the *tazkâr* of the dead soldiers, i.e. the solemn obsequies. An officer of Dārgîê, "the son of Ağêmi" violated this order and therefore was removed and exiled on the *âmbā* (v. 37-46). "Only the door may speak," says verse 46; that is, without *tazkâr*, only the absence of joy in the families of the dead soldiers may announce their death.

The singer then asks how many girls the mothers of the Arussi had brought forth to counterbalance the birth of such valiant warriors (v. 47-48). The verses 56-60 invite the Galla auxiliaries of Dārgîê, the natives of Salâlîê, who fought against their compatriots, the Arussi, to desert. And after mentioning again the casualties of the Amara (v. 61-63), the song ends by challenging Dārgîê to another combat after the season of the rains. Note the abbreviated form of the personal names in this song: Gobîê = Gobanā; Fitê Taklê = Fitāwrâri Taklê (which itself is the abbreviated form of the name Takla Giyorgis); Dallê = Dallānsā; Mikû = Mikā'êl. Similar abbreviated forms are very common in all Galla songs; I have not mentioned them explicitly each time, as they may be found *passim* throughout the article.

## 54

The soldiers of Dārgîê answered the song of the Arussi with the following verses which announce the arrival of Menilek to aid Râs Dārgîê:

- |                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| yógga birránis baríte    | fidi ġabbôtā ċimdidā      |
| Arússi māl malatétta     | gurbîen saddîetamnî dâlte |
| ġarúmto dîsaf indîsu     | 15 Arússi mālfa kağġlta   |
| atîs dufúnkē kuttēdā     | fidi gomfā mánākiēña      |
| 5 kán hundûmā yó ġrêsse  | gánnā silā mánāmbánu      |
| yó Wâlîê silānankáku     | gánnā dakátti gawwámu     |
| maqân fardása Dağğôdā    | Gurāġîê bišân iññātu      |
| afarfatámā ġagnâti       | 20 Baččî Šabôsa gamáfā    |
| yó Wállô silā sobámi     | baččîsi wārqîêsa díma     |
| 10 yó Gobîen silānankáku | Dāñō silā sínankáku       |
| Arússi wā qabamtétta     | ákka silā sínankákne      |
| Nūrukîê nūrattābātu      | Māryám ġēdē kakatêrā      |



25 *abbātîe Giyórgis ġēdēra**ákka birra kúní báte**dúll`Arusst ganamáďā**fidi yā`rússi ġabbótā**útu naďđienkiē`nqabín*30 *ġabbónkiē`nboġamtn**fidi gomfása wārqēďā**wārqē Šanqillān`ungulāle**fidi gomfā mánā lá`u**kanúmto istn ċālū*35 *Lîeqā šanān gabbarēra**ġān Ģimmā gabbarēra**torbān Gudrú gabbarēra**mā Arusst gómfā didda**Awāšin bóllā fakkátte*40 *gad`dāle bakkīēn imbātu**Dāñō silā`nkakatēra**ákka`nafné Arussini**māl malatétta Arussikō**gomfā fiddúfis imbáte*45 *kána điftúfis badiďā*

1 And when the spring breaks forth, 2 what have you planned, O Arussi? 3 These (i.e. the Amara) will not give up the enterprise. 4 Also for you, your coming is decided, 5 even if you will lead all, 6 because Wálîe will not give up coming! 7 The name of his horse is Taṭṭāw, 8 a furious hero! 9 For even if the Wállō lie, 10 if Gobanā will not give up coming, 11 O Arussi, you will be caught! 12 Let your Nûr be in charge of lamps! 13 Bring calves for the yoke! 14 Let eighty young men descend for the expedition! 15 O Arussi, what do you desire? 16 Bring the tribute to our house, 17 because we will not go out of the house during the spring. 18 During the spring one calls down to the valleys. 19 Let the water take away the Gurāġiē! 20 O Baččí Šabō of the other bank, 21 carry for us red gold! 22 Because Dāñāw will not give up coming against you, 23 and will not give up coming against you. 24 By Mary, he has vowed and sworn. 25 By my father, Saint George, he has vowed. 26 As soon as the spring breaks forth, 27 the expedition against the Arussi is to be made at morning. 28 Bring to us the calves, O Arussi, 29 before your wives be taken, 30 before your sons be prisoners! 31 Bring to us the tribute of gold, 32 the gold which the negro hoards! 33 Bring it and let it be hidden in the coffers. 34 Those who are stronger than you, 35 the five Lîeqā tribes, have paid tribute. 36 The six Ģimmā have paid tribute. 37 The seven Horrō have paid tribute. 38 How can you, O Arussi, refuse tribute? 39 Do you believe that the Awāš is a precipice? 40 He, Menilek, will descend for the expedition and will fight on the plain, 41 because Dāñāw has sworn 42 that he will not give up the expedition against the Arussi. 43 What have you planned, O my Arussi? 44 Bring the tribute, and you will go out! 45 If you neglect this, your end will come.

*Notes.* The verses 4–5 state that the Arussi will come to the court of Menilek to surrender themselves as the other Galla tribes have done (afterwards enumerated in verses 35–37). Verse 9 alludes to the question whether or not Rās Mika 'ēl would fight against the Galla, compatriots of the Wállō and Mussulmen, as he himself once was. Verse 12 puns on the word Nûr, name of the sheikh of the Arussi, and *nûrā*, "lamp" (Arabic, *nûr*). Verse 18 means that, during the season of the rains, they (the Amara) will remain on the hills and thence they will call the Arussi to bring tribute (this is the explanation given me

by Loransiyos); but they will not descend into the valleys (cf. the frequent invitation in the preceding Arussi song, "O Dārgîê, descend to the valley"). Verses 19–21 allude to the Guragîê who were allies of the Arussi against Dārgîê. Their chief was Baččî Šabô, native of the Čâhâ, the chief tribe of the Guragîê. Verses 22–26 quote the oath of Menilek to come against the Arussi. Note the Amharic formula of both oaths: *Māryām* (v. 24) = Mary, *abbātê Giyórgis* (v. 25) = my father, St. George (Galla, *abbākô Giyórgis*). Verse 39 means: Do you believe that the river Awáš is an insurmountable barrier?

## 55

When Menilek decided to conquer Harar, he first of all asked Râs Dārgîê to join this new enterprise, but Dārgîê, who had already been engaged in the war against the Arussi, refused. Therefore Menilek sent to Harar, Dağğâč Wâlda Gabr'êl, governor of the Ittu land, who was defeated and driven back. Again the *negus* made overtures to Dārgîê. Dārgîê refused again, perhaps not wishing to aid Dağğâč Wâlda Gabr'êl, with whom he was not on good terms because of the following incident. A little time before the overtures of Menilek, Dārgîê had ordered his officer, Fitāwrâri Hullumanti, to occupy Čôpâ, an important strategic position on the frontier between the Arussi and Čarçar. But Wâlda Gabr'êl, saying that Čôpâ belonged to his territory, sent there Fitāwrâri Sorí Abbâ Ğambar, who forced Hullumanti to withdraw. Dārgîê was much offended by this affair, and it was said that he afterwards ordered the murder of Fitāwrâri Sorí. Sorí was actually killed in a place on the way to Harar, which is still called *Môt Abbâ Ğambar*, i.e. "Abbâ Ğambar's Death."

After the refusal of Dārgîê, Menilek himself carried out the invasion of Harar (1887), and after conquering the land, appointed Bālâmbārâs Makonnen governor of Harar; on this occasion, Makonnen received also the title of *dağğâč*. He easily reconciled the Harargîê, and his soldiers, comparing the prompt pacification of Harar with the long and unsuccessful wars of Râs Dārgîê against the Arussi, sang:

*Makonnén alelú Dārgîê ḍiessé galé*  
*hagūgaté ñâta sabâsa ḅiēlasé*

1 Forward, O Makonnen! Dārgîê has returned (to his house) flying! 2 He (Dārgîê) eats after veiling his head and causes his men to be hungry!

*Notes.* For the answer by Râs Dārgîê's minstrels, see 'Canti popolari amarici'.<sup>1</sup> The eating with veiled head demonstrates the greediness of Râs Dārgîê (v. 2).

## 56

Liğğ Hayla Māryām Gugsā, son of Râs Dārgîê, who was one of my informants, denies that there had been rivalry between his father and Râs Makonnen. On the contrary, Loransiyos states that the motives of dissension between the two chiefs were anterior even to the expedition to Harar. (Liğğ Gugsā is the youngest son of Râs Dārgîê, and he was only

<sup>1</sup> Cerulli, op. cit.

about fifteen years old at the time of the conquest of Harar). Loransiyos, as a proof of his assertion, cites the following song. Râs Gobanâ at the beginning of his career had led an expedition against the Karrayú and the 'Afar (Danâkil) of Adâl. Makonnen, at this time *ligābā*, was one of the officers of this expedition. According to Loransiyos, the date of this affair was about eight years before the conquest of Harar, that is in 1878-79. Makonnen fought very valiantly and afterwards demanded of Menilek a new feudal title. But Râs Dārgî blocked his promotion. This was the chief motive of the rivalry between Dārgî and Makonnen, and alluding to this opposition of Dārgî, a minstrel of Makonnen's court sang:

- |                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Gobannî wâ malatêra</i>          | <i>motummân kân bodanâti</i>     |
| <i>gōgattî bātê harrêda</i>         | 35 <i>Dārgîe bu 'i gamōgi</i>    |
| <i>kô garâ wâ malatêra</i>          | <i>ǵâlahiessa Makû fûde</i>      |
| <i>Dārgîen ilmā wāǵǵîn dūla</i>     | <i>ǵâlalôkô Makû fûde</i>        |
| 5 <i>Minilik yâ 'lmā wāyēssā</i>    | <i>yô sibillā haddistā</i>       |
| <i>hibbilik mālî balliessa</i>      | <i>maqānsa wāǵigrādā</i>         |
| <i>ungulôliēn tūma nūgi</i>         | 40 <i>adiēmākā akka 'llatti</i>  |
| <i>mošollôliē dīrsi ǵūli</i>        | <i>kāna Makonnentu bāse</i>      |
| <i>dūle gūrbānkîē wāyēssā</i>       | <i>būsi Dārgîe gadî bāsa</i>     |
| 10 <i>kân durî sōbā balliessa</i>   | <i>tistsā sirriē 'sa goftā</i>   |
| <i>dūlile Awāšin gattāte</i>        | <i>motummānu kannisāti</i>       |
| <i>ǵūla mánā kiessa ôle</i>         | 45 <i>sāñî dúftu Guddisāti</i>   |
| <i>gūrān gímalā gag 'gūre</i>       | <i>yâ homî sōfūmā sōfi</i>       |
| <i>ǵūlā mánā kiessa ħisa</i>        | <i>nāmn 'akkā Wāqā dīdte</i>     |
| 15 <i>Ĥisi ǵūlā mánākiēti</i>       | <i>yâ sorî bōúmā bōi</i>         |
| <i>bāli bāi mánākiēti</i>           | <i>gafarsó hóqā funána</i>       |
| <i>Gobannî dāñā ta 'êra</i>         | 50 <i>niēñço karrāsa daččāsa</i> |
| <i>Dārgîem 'molokkustē ta 'êra</i>  | <i>ǵaldhēssis garbū ēǵāfa</i>    |
| <i>Makonnô yâ Guddisákô</i>         | <i>mōtîn motummā kanāti</i>      |
| 20 <i>guddāqdu yâ Guddisákô</i>     | <i>yâ Makû çālūmā çāli</i>       |
| <i>sirriēn kan kiēssān fakkátte</i> | <i>Miniliki dālēi kiessa</i>     |
| <i>ligābā galēi abbatti</i>         | 55 <i>Miniliki horî kiessa</i>   |
| <i>fúddukā rāsā guddāqā</i>         | <i>Garbí Sangô 'bbā Turáfā</i>   |
| <i>uffaqqúkā qamistikē</i>          | <i>Óñço Dasô 'lmā Dagíefa</i>    |
| 25 <i>ákka Dāñ 'ilmā guddāfā</i>    | <i>balāmbārāsi Faysāfā</i>       |
| <i>Gobiē sitti çittēra</i>          | <i>namn 'ákka Fáyō Šuráfā</i>    |
| <i>odē sitti firrikēfā</i>          | 60 <i>kā 'a galā mánākiēña</i>   |
| <i>Makonnēn rāsā ta 'êra</i>        | <i>motummân kan námā tokkóti</i> |
| <i>māl gođú ǵārsā 'ǵǵā búlēi</i>    | <i>sa 'ón kormā 'ngabnére</i>    |
| 30 <i>tiksīsu holótāsa</i>          | <i>gāfā hōrá fokkiftūre</i>      |
| <i>hā iǵārukā Salālē</i>            | <i>namní qamīsi 'ngamnēre</i>    |
| <i>kân çālēisa nó hundāe</i>        | 65 <i>sāñî rāsīsi 'mbāne</i>     |
| <i>ǵēdē Dāñō Miláfā</i>             | <i>ilāl 'ákka 'šen fokkiftūe</i> |



1 Gobanâ has decided upon something; 2 he has worn the skin (i.e. the cloak of skin) and runs. 3 My mind has decided upon something. 4 Dārgê goes to war with his sons. 5 "O Menilek, good child, 6 why do you suddenly waste everything?" 7 I have hoarded the *nug* and I thrash it. 8 An energetic girl has a sluggish husband. 9 The good child has gone to war; 10 he has wiped out the ancient wrong. 11 He has gone to war, he has descended to the Awâš. 12 The sluggard has remained in his house. 13 The brave man has overthrown the camels. 14 The sluggard has slept in his house. 15 Go out of your house, O coward! 16 O cursed man, go out of your house! 17 Gobanâ has become judge. 18 Dārgê has grown pious. 19 O Makonnen, O my Guddisâ, 20 may you increase, O my Guddisâ! 21 Do you believe that the throne is yours? 22 Leave off the title of *ligâbâ*! 23 Take the title of great *râs*! 24 Come on! Wear your shirt of silk 25 like Dāñaw, the great son! 26 Râs Gobanâ has decided in your favor. 27 Your kinsmen speak in your favor. 28 Makonnen has become *râs*! 29 What will you do, O old man with ill-omened eyes? 30 Let him graze his sheep! 31 Let him build the enclosure for them in Salâlîrê! 32 "This will be the chief of us all," 33 has said Dāñaw Menilek. 34 And afterwards, he (will obtain) the sovereignty. 35 O Dārgê, descend to the valley! 36 The love of Menilek is for Makonnen. 37 My love also is for Makonnen! 38 If the iron is new, 39 his name is Wâğigrâ (*Gras*). 40 Come on! Go as a vulture! 41 Such (arms) have been used first by Makonnen! (lit. such arms Makonnen has caused to go out). 42 Descend, O Dārgê, go away! 43 O flies of the lord's throne! 44 His kingdom is the kingdom of the bees, 45 who is born from the stock of Guddisâ! 46 O wood of *homî*, plane tree and plane tree! 47 A man like unto God has approached. 48 Shed, O rich man, your tears! 49 Even as the buffalo collects the grass; 50 even as the lion guards the enclosure for cattle; 51 even as the monkey guards the barley, 52 so the king guards his kingdom! 53 O Makonnen, be even more superior! 54 Among the sons of Menilek, 55 among the cattle of Menilek, 56 (there are) Garbí (son) of Sangô, lord of (the horse) Turâ; 57 Onéo (son) of Dásô, son of Dārgê; 58 Bālabārâs Fâysâ, 59 a man like to Fâysâ (son) of Šurû! 60 Go out of our houses, return home! 61 The sovereignty (must belong) to only one man! 62 Cows without a bull, 63 when (they go) to the salt springs are shameful! 64 A man who does not wear the shirt of silk, 65 a noble man who does not become a *râs*, 66 all this is shameful!

*Notes.* The verses 1-4 explain that while Râs Gobanâ and the singer had planned something (i.e. to demand the title of *râs* for Makonnen), Râs Dārgê was far away in the Arussi land, thinking it would be easier to obtain this appointment from Menilek at such a time. If Makonnen should be appointed *râs*, Dārgê on his return would complain of this to Menilek (vv. 5-6 are supposed to be spoken by Dārgê), but he could not revoke it. Verses 7-16 contain the usual boasts, and the mockery of cowards. With verse 17, the singer begins to demand definitely the title of *râs* for Makonnen. Verse 18 alludes to the fact that about this time, Râs Dārgê had constructed a sumptuous church in Salâlîrê. The church had a pavement of marble, and was considered, therefore, a very wonderful edifice. After a few

years, it was destroyed by fire, so Liğǧ Gúgsā Dārgîê tells me. As to verse 19, remember that Makonnen was son of Guddísā and brother of Dağǧāč Haylê Guddísā (see song 35, v. 4). Most interesting is the verse 34, which, if it is not a recent interpolation, should bear evidence that even at that time (1878–79), there was talk of the probable succession of Makonnen to the throne of Menilek. The verses 30–31 refer to the sons of Dārgîê who always accompanied him. Perhaps verse 31 alludes to Liğǧ Gúgsā, who was fostered by the Galla in Salâlê. The verses 37–41 extol another virtue of Makonnen: he first introduced into Ethiopia the use of guns, *gras*, which he had received from the French government. It is well known that Makonnen,—and today his son,—was a good friend to the French. The verses 42–45 rail at Râs Dārgîê who had not appointed in his army a single officer *dağǧāč*, except his own sons. This court, formed only by *fitāwrâri* and subaltern officers, had caused the Shoans to give Dārgîê the Amharic nickname *yä-zimb dāñā*, (in Galla, *dāñā tisísā*), i.e. “the judge of the flies.” The verses 46–53 praise Menilek who had given peace to his kingdom, even as the lion guards the cattle. The verses 54–60 allude to three warriors who had fought in the expedition: Garbí Sangô, native of the Galân tribe; Fitāwrâri Ončo Dásô whose mother was Dagîê, also a Galan; and Bālāmbārās (today Dağǧāč) Fáysā Šurú, native of Ğimmā Qadídā. The sense of verse 60 is not clear. Verses 61–66 end the song by again demanding the desired title. The verses 7–8, 5–6, 46–48 are connected by sound parallelism.

## 57

The Obórrā Galla, a tribe between Shoa and Wállō, rebelled against the Emperor Menilek. He sent against them Râs Dārgîê, Makonnen, and other chiefs. However, in spite of the boast of the Shoans, the Obórrā together with the Abbiččú clan governed by Tufā Boṭorā, resisted valiantly for an entire year.

<i>Makonnén Guddísā</i>	<i>Ĝātê Harô ġirā</i>
<i>gārā murtí~nqábni</i>	<i>yá~ġólê Minilk</i>
<i>námā dudubbísa</i>	<i>Dārgîê ábbā guddā</i>
<i>ta 'é raró dirá</i>	10 <i>Gārāsú Birrātú</i>
5 <i>billiqā~bbā Golǧā</i>	<i>yōmí wāl agarrá</i>
<i>ġālalā negusā</i>	<i>yógga bonnī batá</i>

1 Makonnen (son) of Guddísā 2 has no colic; 3 he chatters with the people. 4 After some time, I will stitch the horse-cloth. 5 The thunderous lord of (the horse) Golǧā, 6 love of the king, 7 Ĝātê is in Hárō. 8 O sons of Menilek, 9 Dārgîê, the great father. 10 Gārāsú (son) of Birrātú, 11 when shall we meet each other? 12 When summer breaks forth.

*Notes.* Verses 2–3 allude to the boasts of Makonnen and perhaps, ironically, to his weak body. Verses 4 and 7 are connected with sound parallelism. Ĝātê (v. 7) is Liğǧ Ĝātānê, an old officer of the Shoan court, who fought against the Obórrā. As to Grāzmāč Gārāsú, son of Dağǧāč Birrātu (v. 10), see song 64.

After a year of war, the Obórrā yielded. But Menilek, according to his established policy, did not take vengeance on the Obórrā. He simply imposed a tribute and replaced Daḡḡāč Wubîê, chief of the Obórrā, with Liḡḡ Ġātânê. Wubîê, instead of being punished, was appointed governor of the Nónnō. (*Promoveatur ut amoveatur!*)

*gafarsî`ndalú yâ Mîettā*

*ḡabannî`ngalú biêkta*

*kán garâ tálbā fačâfte*

*kan ḡársā Dārrā badâfte*

5 *ḡársā mātā múkā`rrí*

1 The buffalo does not generate sons, O Mîettā! 2 You know that time does not return! 3 You have sown flax for the belly! 4 You have sent us the old man of the Dārrā, 5 the old man with a head, like the tree, *harri*!

*Notes.* The Obórrā, speaking to their allies, Mîettā, complain because Menilek has given them as chief, an old man, Liḡḡ Ġātânê. Dārrā (v. 4) was the native country of Ġātânê. The flax (v. 3) is used by the Galla as medicine for colic. The tree, *harri* (v. 5), called in Amharic *yā-gāmmā inčāt*, i.e. "the tree of the mane" has instead of leaves a kind of thorn of a whitish color, very similar to the hair of an old man.

The Emperor Menilek, having completed the conquest of Liêqā, assembled the principal chiefs of the subdued Galla regions among whom were the Wārrā Biêrā and the family of Morodā. Ligdí, son of Bakarîê and brother of Morodā, was on this occasion appointed chief of the king's guards, after defeating the candidate who was opposed to him by the Wārrā Biêrā, the famous Rumiččô Biêrā (see song 28). Ligdí was always loyal to the Emperor, but he did not discard the spear, the weapon of the Galla nobles, and always refused to arm himself with a gun, the weapon of the Europeans.

*Bakarîê Godánō*

*wâ gamánā tâni*

*ákka ḡollîê`bbā Dāñō*

*ákka ḡollîê`bō Dārgîê*

5 *gamátt`aḡēfatáni*

*mîrgáttí hakkāúrre*

*yâ ḡollîê ḡára`mārā*

*ḡadḡábā`mārā mîtí*

*kán`ātisi búfte mîtí*

10 *gangónni kán ḡítte mîtí*

*írrā ḡibá`bbā fardā*

*námā lafô ḡibbiessé*

*farádō ḡibba ḡuté*

*fida na ḡítte fardā*

15 *yâ ḡollîê Dārgîê guddā*

*yâ ḡollîê Kumsā Morî*

*hir`átu itt`án ḡutá*

*ḡutúf írrā`ndirbāba*

*fida na ḡítte fardā*

1 (The son) of Bakarîê (son) of Godánō 2 remaining on this bank, 3 like the sons of the lord of (the horse) Dāñāw, 4 like the sons of lord Dārgîê, 5 kills those of other bank! 6 I will reckon the spoils. 7 O sons of those Amara, 8 they (i.e. my spoils) are not (spoils) of the



sluggish Amara; 9 they are not (spoils) of (boys) abandoned by their mothers; 10 they are not (spoils) of (fallen warriors) trampled by the mules. 11 I have overthrown horsemen! 12 As to troopers, I have a hundred (spoils of them), 13 and as to the horsemen, I have overcome a hundred. 14 Bring (spoils) of horsemen equal to (the spoils) of mine! 15 O sons of Dārgiê, the great, 16 O sons of Kúmsā (son) of Morodâ, 17 if (my spoils) are small, I will complete (their number); 18 if they (i.e. their numbers) are complete, I will heap up (others)! 19 Bring (spoils) of horsemen equal to (the spoils) of mine!

### C. THE ITALO-ABYSSINIAN WAR (1896)

60

When the Emperor Menilek passed the Abbây and marched toward Tigrê to fight against the Italians, a Galla minstrel sang:

*mōtīn bâr gamâ ççê  
Dāñō faranǵi riēbē*

*Wāqātti˘mattī yā Dāñō  
dūgānkīeti yā Dāñō*

1 The king has crossed to the other bank of the river. 2 O Dāñāw, whip the Europeans!  
3 Appeal to Heaven, O Dāñāw! 4 You are in the right, O Dāñāw!

*Notes.* Dāñāw was the name of Menilek's horse. Therefore, the war-name of Menilek was Abbā Dāñāw (according to the Galla pronunciation, *Abbā Dāñō*).

61

Fitāwrāri Gābāyāhu was chief of Gurāgiê and *asāllāfi*, i.e. cupbearer of Menilek. He fought valiantly during the Italo-Abyssinian war. A little Amharic song runs:

*Ṭilyān bīlo nābbār Šāwā nāw dāmbārīe  
Ṭilyān bīlo nābbār Ṭigrē nāw dāmbārīe  
īmbi alā Gābāyāhu tāṭāmdo īndā bārīe*

1 The Italian said, "Shoa is a territory of mine!" The Italian said, "Tigré is a territory of mine!" 3 "No!" said Gābāyāhu, yoked as an ox.

62

Gābāyāhu was killed in the battle at Adowah. This very beautiful song laments his death:

*asāllāfi Gābāyō  
iddēm garā˘nǵāllattē wāyō  
ūlē dīmtu gallayō  
fārānǵi sī nāttē yā Gābāyō  
5 Gābāyō yāggāmā kufū  
baddē lōlēkō  
lōlēn nigusāf galtī*

*Gābāyō yāggāmā kufū  
baddē yā nitikō  
10 nitts bōr hīerūmti  
Gābāyō yāggāmā kufū  
baddē yā hāqākō  
ǵēḑē Gābāyō*

1 O cup-bearer Gābāyāhu! 2 You have never loved your life, never! 3 Red, supple as a rod! 4 The Europeans have killed (lit. eaten) you, O Gābāyāhu! 5 Gābāyāhu, when he fell, 6 "My poor soldiers!" (he said) 7 The soldiers went in the service of the Emperor. 8 Gābāyāhu, when he fell, 9 "My poor bride!" (he said). 10 His bride after one day has married again! 11 Gābāyāhu, when he fell, 12 "My poor Mother!" 13 has said Gābāyāhu!

*Notes.* That is, only the grief of the mother cannot be consoled.

## 63

Since before the battle, there had been a contest between Rās Makonnen and Fitāwrāri Gābāyāhu about the order of the battle-array of their troops, after the death of Gābāyāhu, a minstrel sang:

*utūm barānā olté*  
*utūm barānā hafté*  
*algā qitūmātt'inirmattāni*

1 If you had lived this year, 2 if you had remained (living) this year, 3 you would have divided the throne in two equal parts (i.e. you, Makonnen and Gābāyāhu, would have become equal).

## 64

In the battle at Adowah, Grāzmāč Garasú Bīrrātu also was killed (see song 57). After an expedition of Rās Gobanā, during the second war of Gobanā against Liêqā, he had received the command to conquer Dānnō Bīērā. (The domain of Dānnō was separate from that of his son, Tuččo.) He gained fame, also, through the aid of Dağğāč Morodā, ancient enemy of the Wārrā Bīērā. This was the only time that Garasú left Shoa. He always remained in the Mīēttā's territory and had his residence near Addis Abebā. He was called, therefore, "yā-Gāllā maskot" (Amharic), i.e. "the window of the Galla," because he limited his activities to looking at the Galla from the window of his territory (Shoa). Here is a song, in which a minstrel laments the death of Garasú:

<i>mōti mālin faǵǵāni</i>	<i>nitisa Ayāntu</i>
<i>yā Gārāsú Bīrrātú</i>	<i>fardātu Daláččo</i>
<i>Gārāsú Bīrrēdā</i>	<i>nigusitti Minilik</i>
<i>fardarra mirrēdā</i>	20 <i>giftin Tāytúqā</i>
5 <i>ābbā bantī Mīēttā</i>	<i>lāfā Mīēttā qobā</i>
<i>yā Gārāsú Bīrrātú</i>	<i>sāñif Mīēttā ġirti</i>
<i>harkī laččú fonī</i>	<i>sassabān Bīrrātú</i>
<i>ākka ġōltē qallī</i>	<i>Dānnō Bīērā Otā</i>
<i>yó Gārāsú wāmāni</i>	25 <i>guddi nfalmā ġēdē</i>
10 <i>nigufni ndubbāta</i>	<i>wārqēn gubbōn kaé</i>
<i>bu 'i kīellā ġūfi</i>	<i>Gārāsūn Bīrrātú</i>
<i>qawēon Gullallīe</i>	<i>ġūto harkāsā kaé</i>
<i>wārqē safarsisē</i>	<i>nigusān gabbaré</i>
<i>Diđdīēssā gamattī</i>	30 <i>mōti mālin faǵǵāni</i>
15 <i>hiyēssā baqāsē</i>	<i>yā Gārāsú Bīrrātú</i>
<i>rībān Bīrrē Golē</i>	

1 What has burned the king? 2 O Gäräsú Birrātú! 3 Gäräsú (son) of Birrātú 4 on his horse whirled. 5 O chief of the Mîettā, 6 O Gäräsú Birrātú, 7 your two hands were (full) of meat, 8 like the son of a butcher. 9 If they called (into another land) Gäräsú, 10 the Emperor spoke: 11 "Descend and close the gate!" 12 For the fusileers of the Gullallî, 13 he has caused the gold to be measured out 14 on the other bank of the Diddiessā. 15 The poor man has grown rich. 16 The hero (son) of Birrātu (son) of Golê; 17 his wife was Ayântu, 18 his horse was Dalaččo, 19 his emperor Menilek, 20 his empress Tāyту. 21 He owned the land of the Mîettā. 22 His stock was Mîettā. 23 "With the men of Birrātú, 24 Dánnō Bîērā Ota, 25 we will have a great dispute." 26 He placed his gold in the pot for corn. 27 Gäräsú (son) of Birrātú 28 has placed his hand in the pot, 29 has paid tribute to the Emperor. 30 What has burned the king? 31 O Gäräsú Birrātú!

*Notes.* Garasú is called in the song *mōtí* (v. 1), "king," and *abbā bantí* (v. 5), a title which in the Galla kingdoms corresponded to the Amara title, *rās*. Verses 7–8 allude to the severed genitals, war-spoils of the Galla. Verses 9–11 relate that the Emperor ordered that the gate be closed to keep Garasú from leaving his residency. The verses 23–29 celebrate the expedition of Garasú against Dánnō Bîērā.

## II. WAR AND HUNTING SONGS

Here are a few songs of the kind which the Galla call *qīērársā*.

65

*hárkā ġiru tiēssūmā ċáfā<sup>ˆ</sup>mbanú*  
*wáddéllo básā basé*  
*mátā ġirú tiēssūmā bóllā<sup>ˆ</sup>ngalú*  
*kārkāro básā basé*  
 5 *ġagní<sup>ˆ</sup>llúttu*  
*qīerránsā básā basé*

*lugní<sup>ˆ</sup>nkōrú*  
*ġāldiēssā básā basé*  
*tumtún kolfán<sup>ˆ</sup>nadiēmtu*  
 10 *qamalē básā basé*  
*naggādīe mūkā<sup>ˆ</sup>yyābdu*  
*wānnātu básā basé*

1 He who has a hand, does not open the door with his back; 2 the bachelor has been shameful! 3 He who has a head, does not go into a hole with his back; 4 the wild boar has been shameful! 5 The valiant does not sneak; 6 the leopard has been shameful! 7 A coward does not become proud; 8 the ape has been shameful! 9 The smith does not go on laughing; 10 the little monkey has been shameful! 11 The Mussulman does not climb a tree; 12 the baboon has been shameful!

*Notes.* The song enumerates the qualities of cowards; shameful behavior (v. 1–4), sneaking (v. 5–6), boasting (v. 7–8), lack of dignity (v. 9–12). Each defect is common to an ignoble wild-beast: the wild boar (v. 4), the leopard (v. 6), the monkey (v. 8, 10, 12). The bachelor is reckoned among the wild-beasts! Among the Galla, great contempt for unmarried men is universal. Then follow examples of dignity; the smith, on account of the belief in the magic powers of the worker of iron (v. 9), and the Mussulman. Here is



perhaps an ironical allusion to the popular comparison between the Mussulmen and the monkeys, "both crying at special hours of the day," a mockery of the Moslem prayers, (see song 142, v. 51-55, notes).

## 66

Loransiyos knows the following version of song 65;

*utú harkísa ġirú*  
*hudduđán ċáfā bané*  
*waddéllo básā basé*

*bosiřettiñ qullā<sup>^</sup>nkātu*  
*5 kamiřetti básā bařté*  
*kán qullā ġagnē simté*

1 Although he has hands, 2 he has opened the door with his back. 3 The bachelor has been shameful! 4 An ugly girl does not rise naked. 5 Has the beautiful girl been shameful 6 who has shown herself naked to the valiant?

## 67

*mōtīñ mūkā wā sadí*  
*gōfā firri bulfatú*  
*wódā ġillí dābatu*  
*tókko mūkā yaítí*  
*5 isén birā ċaranċarētti muká*  
*gottōñ mā táp ingōné*

*mōtīñ ilmā wā sadí*  
*tókko ġagnā đalatá*  
*tókko gámnā đalatá*  
*10 tókko árġā đalatá*  
*isén birā ċaranċarētti lugná*  
*golfāñ mā táp ingōné*

1 The kings of the trees are three: 2 on account of the *gófā*, the family sits up; 3 the sycamore is planted by the *ġillā*; 4 the other is the tree of the meeting. 5 Except these, the other useless trees, 6 why are they not cut down by the axe? 7 The kings of the children are three: 8 one is born valiant; 9 one is born wise; 10 one is born generous. 11 Except these, the other useless cowards, 12 why are they not cut down by the fever?

*Notes.* *Gófā* (v. 2) is the *celastrus edulis* (Arabic, *qāt*, Amharic, *čāt*). Its roots, which are chewed by the Galla Mussulmen, have excitant powers, thus they "cause to sit up." The *ġillā* (v. 3) are those who have made the pilgrimage to the *Abbā Múdā* and have been anointed by him with butter.<sup>1</sup> On returning, they plant a sycamore, the sacred tree of the Galla tribes. (See Prose, text 4, notes.) The meeting or the parliament of the Galla tribes assembles usually on a plain in the shade of a tree, often a sycamore; the tree is called "*múka yaítí*," "the tree of the meeting" (v. 4).

## 68

*gučči adú ġallatté*  
*náqam<sup>^</sup>malká đippāđá*  
*irrá gaté<sup>^</sup>bbā fardá*  
*gunfurá minġē<sup>^</sup>mbutú*  
*5 filā ġalille<sup>^</sup>mmarú*  
*afāñ đungó hirýáđá*  
*bagá<sup>^</sup>ġēřté ġolġēđá*

*wāmiččā kuđafurí*  
*hinolēñi torbaní*  
*10 ás tá<sup>^</sup>i gārā mirgá*  
*ġērársā dadí křesa*  
*ġannató mōrā křesa*  
*aní kanúmā yāđá*  
*hubbukó mālí yāđá*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, 'Strofe e piccoli testi Amarici,' op. cit.

1 The *guččí* loves the sun. 2 I have descended to the narrow valley 3 and I have pulled down the horsemen! My god-father will dress my hair; 5 the beautiful girls will adorn my comb; 6 my friends will kiss my mouth. 7 The children will say to me, "You have killed well!" 8 Fourteen invitations. 9 "Do not leave off (coming) for a week. 10 Sit down here on the right hand!" 11 War-songs mingled with hydromel, 12 necklace within the peritoneum, 13 this is what I am thinking of! 14 As to my life, what have I thought about it?

*Notes.* The song describes the joyous welcome which is given to the valiant warrior when he returns from a successful excursion. The *guččí* (v. 1) is a small variety of vulture with red, transparent wings and tail. The warriors make crests of these feathers, which they place in their hair. The *guččí* is the size of a pigeon. It must not be confused with *guččí* (meaning "ostrich") of other Galla dialects. The valiant warrior adorned with these feathers is called *abbā guččí*, (see song 142) or *bállē guččí qábdú*.<sup>1</sup> The godfather (*minǵē* = Amharic, *mizē*) dresses the hair of the victorious, and anoints them with butter (v. 4); the most beautiful girls of the village place in the warrior's hair a comb, the haft of which is adorned with wire (v. 5). *Bagá ḡēfté* (v. 7), "you have killed well!" is the ritual welcome to the warriors returning from victorious exploits. *Ǵannatō* (v. 12) is a necklace of jet which is ceremonially wrapped up in the peritoneum of the sacrificed victim. This Galla custom of wrapping round the neck the peritoneum of the victim is often described by travelers, and also by Massaja. It is evidently connected with the religious ideas about the peritoneum (see song 23). According to Loransiyos, Menilek had forbidden by proclamation this custom of the *ǵannatō*, as "contrary to the Christian faith."

## 69

*bullô bullô yâ burunqullô*  
*bullô kottêṛfâ muṭâ*  
*námnṛorí qabú bitá*

*ōdolčâ qullú ta 'é*  
 5 *kán lubbukô of yābâ*

1 O bay horse, O bay horse, O light horse! 2 O bay horse with four sharpened hoofs! 3 He who has money, buys it. 4 The white horse has become pure! 5 My mind rises over! (i.e. I desire it).

## 70

*hórfā qotīsā báddā*  
*gamwǵí qubáṇqabú*  
*horfaní qotán malé*

*attamín miḍân ñātú*  
*horfaní lōlân malé*  
*attamín qirárra básu*

1 Hail! field of the plateau! 2 In the valley they have no news. 3 By vigorous ploughing, certainly (they can obtain a harvest); 4 (otherwise) how could they eat the corn? 5 By vigorous fighting, certainly (you can gain renown); 6 (otherwise) how could you distinguish yourself from other men?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, Vocabolario amarico-italiano, op. cit., p. 278.

*Hórfā!* is a war-cry which usually precedes the boasting-songs. It may be compared with the Amharic cry, *zarráf!*

## 71

*sālā buttān dākkútti sālā*  
*čirriqún durbā sālā*  
*sālā lamā bātāni*

*lāmā baččifatani*  
 5 *đirarra đessún sālā*

1 The edge of the sword on the apron is shameful. 2 To spit on a girl is shameful. 3 After bringing two edges (of a spear), 4 after ordering two (edges of a spear) to be brought, 5 the flight from men (i.e. enemies) is shameful.

*Notes.* As it is shameful to assail the peaceful shepherds (v. 1), or to insult a girl (v. 2), so is it shameful to flee when one hears arms (v. 3-5). The Galla warriors used to be followed by their valets, who bore the extra spears. *Dākkú* (v. 1) is a kind of leather apron worn by the Galla shepherds (Amharic, *šřārā*).<sup>1</sup>

## 72

*đurbā qarrē golbōdā*  
*kal 'iččó górbā sāyā*  
*đibbēkē hidī dibbi*  
*fāgākē lola 'āđđu*  
 5 *anī qopāēn đufā*

*qopāi na ēgdu*  
*hāti đirā gowāđā*  
*kán galéf tiessé bōsī*  
*kán du' ēf kūsā kūftī*

1 The girl has a shaved tonsure; 2 (her) clothes are (made from) calf of cow ('s skin). 3 Play on your drum and strike it! 4 Clean your flute! 5 I will come prepared. 6 Prepare yourself and await me! 7 The mother of the warrior is stupid. 8 She sits down and weeps for him who has returned; 9 she makes preparation for him who is dead!

*Notes.* The mother weeps, moved by the return of her son (v. 8); the mother does not believe the news of her son's death (v. 9).

## 73

*afurín binnán búlé*  
*šanín binnán dāfuré*  
*fárdā magālā<sup>ˆ</sup>mbittu*  
*kán bōqā qabú<sup>ˆ</sup>nđīsú*  
 5 *đurbā magālā<sup>ˆ</sup>nđúđu*  
*kán kārú qábdū<sup>ˆ</sup>nđīsú*  
*wāl lōlī walī lamā*  
*tókko matūmā<sup>ˆ</sup>nđaqú*  
*tókko đáqu<sup>ˆ</sup>ndarbatú*  
 10 *bosīttín walī lamā*

*tókko mātā<sup>ˆ</sup>nulattú*  
*tókko uláttu<sup>ˆ</sup>nurgoftú*  
*wāl lōlī māfi ġibbú*  
*ġabbī badé barbádda*  
 15 *duláččā kufé kāsā* (G. S. B.: *kīesā*)  
*mūčā dūtē awāla*  
*boyēn bōrátta mālī*  
*kán takká<sup>ˆ</sup>nčārānini*  
*ilmā<sup>ˆ</sup>bbān đalčē mālī*  
 20 *kán takká<sup>ˆ</sup>nwārānini*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, Vocabolario amarico-italiano, op. cit., *šřārā*.



1 I have wandered for four days; 2 I have not wandered the fifth day. 3 The horse of dark color is not bought. 4 He who has a horse with a white star on his forehead, does not remove it. 5 The girl of a poor complexion has not married. 6 He who has a girl with fine teeth, does not desert her. 7 The (ways of) fighting are two: 8 one does nothing at all but go (to the war); 9 one goes (there) and does not hurl his spear. 10 The coarse women are (of) two (kinds): 11 one does not perfume her hair; 12 one perfumes herself and has no unpleasant smell. 13 Why do you hate the war? 14 Look for the lost calf! 15 Raise the old cow that has fallen! 16 Bury the dead girl! 17 Why does the wild boar howl, 18 if it does not grunt with joy (at least) once? 19 Why is the son of nobles (lit., son of father), born 20 if he does not hurl a spear (at least) once?

*Notes.* The singer commends his own perseverance in the expedition; nevertheless he might not get any prey during the first four days (v. 1-2), but this perseverance, says the singer, is caused by the confidence which the warrior has of his own bravery; just as the knowledge of the beauty of a horse or a girl keeps the love of [the owner] constant (v. 3-6). Verses 13-15 mention the ignoble deeds which cowards perform.

## 74

*gōrô qobí godékā*

*qobí godé yābékā*

1 Make the young elephant (like) a castor tree! 2 Make him (like) a castor tree and climb him!

*Notes.* That is: Cut down the elephant as one cuts down a tree! As sign of victory, the hunter climbs upon the corpse of any large wild beast he has slain.

## 75

The soldiers of Râs Tasammâ, when starting on an elephant hunt, sang:

*ôbô goftê Tasammâ*  
*ağēš kottú dābā*  
*māltú kiellā ná dābā*  
*lōtī wārqū dāqābā*  
 5 *allattī rāsā raqā*  
*hummô rāsā bōkkādā*  
*sī 'ā rāsē ná qabē*  
*gāla galú ná qowē*  
*ballrēs ná ballrēsitti*  
 10 *dārā nāt gingilē*  
*nītī gaddā ná goqē*  
*ballrēs qaqā fūnān*  
*haṭaé gadī fuqē*

*gogoftē Tasammâ*  
 15 *mōtī çuqqallā Bōngā*  
*qīrsā Alīmā 'bbā Foggī*  
*abğūm 'matā na dīga*  
*dāqān dibāqā lātā*  
*abğūqān mūkā yābē*  
 20 *fārdā ná bittā 'ntātu*  
*abğūn dugdī na dīga*  
*kallē natti wwiṭāre*  
*qarē natti wwiṭāre*  
*kātē natti dubbīṭāre*  
 25 *mōtīn ka 'é dubbīsu*

1 My lord Tasammâ! 2 "Come and kill!" he commands. 3 What gate shall be forbidden to me? 4 I have set aside the golden earrings! 5 The vulture moves towards the corpses; 6 the hornbill moves towards the rain; 7 the rash (man) moved and surpassed me. 8 He enters and keeps me from entering. 9 The *ballîesa* has ruined me; 10 he has covered my head with ashes; 11 he has made me (like) a widow. 12 The *ballîesa* taking away the soot, 13 has swept and pulled it down. 14 O my lord Tasammâ, 15 king of the trench of Bóngā, 16 husband of Alîma (daughter) of Abbā Foggí, 17 in a dream my head bleeds; 18 perhaps I will anoint myself with butter. 19 In the dream, I have climbed a tree; 20 perhaps you will buy a horse for me. 21 In the dream, my shoulders bleed; 22 perhaps you will clothe me with the cloak of skin; 23 perhaps you will rise to speak with me; 24 perhaps you will clothe me with the shirt of silk. 25 The king will rise to speak with me!

*Notes.* Verse 4 alludes to the custom of Galla elephant hunters who give their wives golden earrings as a sign of victory (see song 76). The following verses 5–13 allude to the Galla custom that a warrior may not anoint his hair with butter after his first victory. On the contrary, after gaining the first victory, the young warrior is called *ballîesā* (lit., waster) and he is obliged to await his second exploit before anointing himself. According to Loransiyos, the *ballîesā* are much feared in battle, because they do deeds of rash bravery to obtain the right of anointment. In fact, the singer says that he has been preceded in killing the elephant by a *ballîesā* (v. 5–6), who was seeking the booty as the vulture seeks the corpses, and the hornbill the rain (the hornbill during the dry season cries with a hollow note, very similar to lamentation; the Galla say that the hornbill thus implores the rain to fall, see song 135). In verses 10–11 there is an allusion to the custom of the Galla widows who cover their hair with ashes as a sign of mourning. The widow for an entire year after the death of her husband does not cut her hair or her nails. After a year, the old men of the tribes with solemn ceremony cut her hair and nails and thus her mourning is finished. Verse 15 calls Tasammâ, "lord of the trench of Bóngā," because, when these verses were composed, he was in the Máččā kingdom to protect the last Amara conquests against the invasions of the king of Kaffa (Bóngā was the capital of Kaffa). Tasammâ after conquering Gúmā, married Gənnē Alîmā (see introduction to song 24). Verses 17–25 interpret the singer's dreams. The first interpretation (bleeding head = anointing with butter) and the third (bleeding shoulders = wearing a cloak of skin) are made according to the laws of sympathetic magic.

## 76

The hunters who went from Shoa into Wállagâ to hunt elephants under the command of officers desiring renown and honors, sang their songs in Galla more frequently than in Amharic. Here is one of their songs:

arbâ yā`bbâ dīdrô  
dalaččâ Busê Sayô  
gowâ gurrâ wădarâ

*guggufé rāfû bué*  
5 *ğārti barâ fakkâta*  
*gungumé qīēkkâma*

*Wáq`arfasá fakkáta*  
*arbá yá mōtí Lqlô*  
*sí malé namní`ntolú*  
 10 *namní arbá mučolêdā*  
*urursá malé`rrafú*  
*rāsá malé`ndammaqú*  
*arbá múkā`yyābaní*  
*qobí birá`ndarbaní*  
 15 *Gawá Bararê robéti*  
*sammê gadi`ğğagğtété*  
*bombātu ganā balé*

*lōtín gadi`dābaté*  
*niti námā`rbá qabú*  
 20 *ibśáqā lágā`dāgte*  
*ibśá`rkattí damná*  
*lōtín ibsettí galté*  
*niti námā`rbá`ngábne*  
*ibśáqā lágā`dāgte*  
 25 *ibśá`rkattí damná*  
*aččūmā lágā`bulté*  
*dabōrá qabé bulé*

1 O elephant, O ugly father, 2 O old cow of Busê Sayô, 3 the stupid one with long ears 4 stumbles and gathers sprouts. 5 He resembles a decrepit old woman. 6 He grows angry and murmurs. 7 He resembles the sky in autumn. 8 O elephant, king of Lolô, 9 without you, no man can be estimated. 10 The hunter of elephants is like a little boy; 11 he does not sleep without a cradle song, 12 he does not awake without being roused. 13 O elephant, do not climb the tree! 14 Do not pass near the castor tree! 15 It has rained at Gáwá Bararê, 16 the buds have been crushed. 17 The *bombātu* has gone out for the second time 18 and won the ear-rings! 19 The wife of a killer of elephants 20 goes to the river with a lamp. 21 If she puts out the lamp with her hand, 22 the golden earrings shine and she can return. 23 The wife of a man who has not killed elephants 24 goes to the river with the lamp. 25 If she puts out the lamp with her hand, 26 she (is obliged) to stay there during the night. 27 "I have married a coward, and I must remain there."

*Notes.* Busê Sayô is a place in Liêqā Sayô; so are Lólô and Gawá Bararê. Verses 1-7 rail at the old elephant who groans like an old woman or like the sky of autumn (during the autumn thunder is very frequent). He falls to the earth at one blow (ironically the singer says that the elephants do this to gather the sprouts which are on the ground, v. 4). I was not able to get any explanation of verses 13-14. Verses 15-18 sing about the elephant hunters who have had only one victory. They are called *bombātu* and may not give their wives earrings, unless they kill a second elephant (see song 75, v. 4). The verses 19-27 allude to the custom already mentioned, of presenting earrings to the wife of the victorious hunter. The wife of the coward (v. 23-27) has no golden earrings which are a brilliant lamp at the ears of the brave man's wife.

## 77

*gīērará`rbā`ğğsí*  
*gafársā daballádđū*

*fārsítu ílmā`dai*  
*intálā daballádđū*

1 He who sings a boasting-song after killing an elephant, 2 will add (to the elephant) a buffalo! 3 She who sings after bringing forth a son, 4 will add (to the boy) a girl!

*Notes.* "I must not boast too much of my own exploits; perhaps the future will not be so favorable as the past. The buffalo, ignoble animal, after the elephant! A daughter after a son!"



## III. LOVE SONGS

78

*útum án sangá ta 'é*  
*sangāsá didá ta 'é*  
*didāsá bífā ta 'é*  
*nāggādiēn ná bitattí*  
 5 *bitatté ná qalattí*  
*gōgākōti qifattí*  
*gābátti ná bafattí*

*bosēttí ná dōfsisá*  
*kamrēttí ná bitattí*  
 10 *iekō nátti dakátti*  
*wāritti marmán bulá*  
*wārettí marmán olá*  
*namné dú 'āḏā ḡḡḏa*  
*anammo ḡālālā fiṭēra*

1 If I might be an ox, 2 an ox, a beautiful ox, 3 beautiful but stubborn; 4 the merchant would buy me, 5 would buy and slaughter me, 6 would spread my skin, 7 would bring me to the market. 8 The coarse woman would bargain for me; 9 the beautiful girl would buy me. 10 She would crush perfumes for me; 11 I would spend the night rolled up (around her); 12 I would spend the afternoon rolled up (around her). 13 Her husband would say, "It is a dead (skin)!" 14 But I would have my love!

*Notes.* The singer longs to become a cloak of skin to be worn by his sweetheart.

79

*Salālîê Gobanâ ^nmôu Dārgîê malé*  
*ḡālaltitîê fārdā ^mbáttu gangîê malé*  
*yó kutaté biēn yá Berrí*

1 In Salālîê, Gobanâ does not rule, but Dārgîê. 2 I do not buy your love with a horse, but with a mule! 3 If you have decided, come on, O Berrí!

*Notes.* In the Galla lands, mules are valued more than horses (v. 2). Verse 1 makes the parallelism with the second verse.

80

*tolé tolé malot*  
*šurrubá řirā bōrā ḡānoí*

*ás kót yá sóbā liṭá*  
*tolámmo gubbó sí fidá rigá*

1 Yes, very well! very well! 2 Your tresses are (like) the tail of the Emperor's sorrel horse. 3 Come here, O liar! 4 I will give you in return a tooth-brush!

*Notes.* The tooth-brush (Galla, *rigá*; Arabic, *miswak*) may be given to a girl only by her brother or fiancé.

81

*Sulá Sulé Ḣilô obolîessē řorâ*  
*sabbátâ ná ęrgí nán ḡabiēssa garâ*

*mannagašâ gadí Čangariê Sogillîê*  
*án kô garâ rāfé kié gārâ moḡirré*

1 O Sulá (daughter) of Sulé (daughter) of Ḣilô, whose brother is řorâ, 2 send to me your girdle; I will bind with it my sides (lit. my belly). 3 The residency here below belongs to Čangariê Sogillîê. 4 My heart is troubled. And your heart? I do not know!

*Notes.* Čangariê Sogillê (v. 3) was a king of the Mîrêttā, who died a few years ago, when nearly a hundred years old. This verse has no sense connected with the song, as is usual with the popular refrains.

## 82

*hiddi Dāḡḡābāšā baqqê  
kêkku gadi yāsa lēnkō  
likki dāḡḡamāča Dārgiê  
lōmā Dastā fakkāta  
5 lāfā˘kka tābbā čirêra*

*dīmā Tasammā fakkāta  
mamā˘kka dāḡḡāča Haylēdā  
turki haṭiê kâte kâte  
dubbī lafê tâte tâte*

1 The flowers of the plant *hiddi* are the toga of Dāḡḡābāšā. 2 I will lead my cattle down to Kêkku. 3 Surely the *dāḡḡāzmāč* (son) of Dārgiê, 4 the fragrant Dasta, you resemble! 5 I have weeded the ground as far as the ascent. 6 You resemble the red Tasammā! 7 You are a man like Dāḡḡāč Haylē! 8 The Turk of the Emperor runs and runs. 9 The matter of the heart (lit. of the bones) stays and stays!

*Notes.* As to the plant *hiddi* (v. 1), see song 135. Dāḡḡābāšā and Kêkku (v. 1, 2) are two villages in Čäliiyā Ōbô. Dāḡḡāč Dastā (v. 3–4) son of Râs Dārgiê, governed Čäliiyā Ōbô (he died in 1892). As to Dāḡḡāč Haylē, brother of Râs Makonnen, see song 35. The *Gondariê*, a corps of cavalry under the command of Dāḡḡāč Damissîê, were called by the Galla, *turki*, “the Turk.”

This song was composed by a girl who celebrates the beauty of her beloved by comparing him with the governors of the nearby regions.

## 83

*—iê Kúmsā gabbari Ğotê  
ná gúbba maggáli˘lmókō  
—ôbô Ğotê qīta dāma*

*yá˘še kokô˘rrā gaḡáma  
ná kiennitúf ílmā dîsa  
ná dāwātu masîenta*

1 O Kúmsā, pay the tribute to Ğotê! 2 Answer my song, O my little son! 3 Lord Ğotê sends his message in haste. 4 O you, who have drooping breasts, 5 give me (yourself) and you will bring forth a son! 6 If you refuse, you will become sterile!

*Notes.* As to Dāḡḡāč Kúmsā Gabra Igzi 'Abhêr, see song 32; Dāḡḡāč Ğotê is the chief of Liêqā Qiëllém, who killed Captain Bottego (see song 49 and Prose, text 3). The song is an example of the poetical contests between a man and a woman. The woman usually begins by defying the man with a distich; the man answers with verses audaciously gallant. These contrasting songs are called *maggālā*.

## 84

*Minilikiki arbi nâte  
Lofê baúnko bunáfi*

*hibbilikiki ná˘rrā bâte  
bôê dabúnkō sūmāfi*

1 Menilek has been eaten by an elephant! 2 I have ascended to Lofê because of the coffee. 3 You have surprised me suddenly; 4 I weep, I am distressed because of you!

*Notes.* Lofê (v. 2) is a market in Gudrú. The first two verses are the refrain of the song. Menilek is named in verse 1 only on account of the sound-parallelism: “*Minílíki*,” “*hibbílíki*.” This is a proof that the Galla valued beautiful refrains more than reverence for their chiefs!

## 85

The following refrain containing a similar *crimen laesae* was forbidden by a proclamation of the Emperor.

*Wāqô Sibillú marâte*  
*ǵānô iǵǵt dīgú na ñâte*

*Wāqô Sibillú būdāḍā*  
*ǵānô iǵǵt dīgú sūmāḍā*

1 Wāqô Sibillú has gone out of his mind. 2 A toga with red eyes has killed me! 3 Wāqô Sibillú is a sorcerer. 4 The toga with red eyes is you!

*Notes.* Wāqô Sibillú, a chief of a Sulu clan, demanded and obtained a proclamation of the Emperor forbidding this refrain.

## 86

*Gobanní Dančí Wállôḍā*  
*kótt`akká wâtíyo wâl`óna*  
*Garbí Ğilô abbá qawêti*  
*yā`lfi tinnô ilkân ašêti*

5 *Dánnô ġimmátā ga`dulé*  
*yanní sifána na gúle*  
*abbānkîe bára gēgēssa*  
*wā`rgānkîe biēla fakēssa*

1 Gobanâ (son) of Dančí is a Wállô! 2 Come! we will suck each other as the calf (sucks the breast)! 3 Garbí Ğilô, the fusileer! 4 O little lady, whose teeth are (like) the first fruits! 5 Dánnô goes to war on Friday. 6 My mind wanders because of you! 7 Your father accompanies the old woman! 8 Seeing you is like hunger!

*Notes.* The verses 1, 3, 5, 7 are introduced for the refrain. Râs Gobanâ (v. 1) was born from Wállô stock; his mother was, on the contrary, a native of Čálliyâ Ōbô.

## 87

*Morodâ kán Bakarîeti*  
*Oromôt`ammâ sarîeti*  
*ǵālaltán ilmā garbítti*

*tókkô iǵāre tókkô dīga*  
5 *ǵālalô`kka ilmā daltiti*  
*tókkô ilále tókkô fīga*

1 O Morodâ (son) of Bakarîe! 2 The Orómô are like dogs. 3 I was in love with the son of a slave; 4 now he builds up and now he lays waste! 5 Love is like the calf of a cow; 6 now he looks (for you) and now he runs away (from you)!

## 88

*yâ mussiē yā`lmā Saburē*  
*kán harmí bu`é ġilbā dāfuré*  
*yâ Gobanâ yâ soddā*

*atí námā yáddu hínnāsóbda*  
5 *asállāfit galí*  
*as kót yā wāšō bíyā barí*



1 O Monsieur, O son of Saburê! 2 Her breast descends and wanders as far as her knees.  
3 O Gobanâ, O his brother-in-law! 4 You are thinking of another, do not lie! 5 Enter the  
service of the cup-bearer! 5 Come here, O liar! learn the country!

*Notes.* Long breasts are much appreciated by the Galla as a sign of feminine beauty.<sup>1</sup>  
Monsieur Savouré<sup>2</sup> (v. 1) was a French merchant, who emigrated to Shoa. The brother-  
in-law of Gobanâ (v. 3) is Bîrrú Nāgawê (see song 41). The "cup-bearer" (v. 5) is Fitā-  
wrâri Gabayahu (see song 61). Verses 1, 3, 5 are introduced to form the refrain:

## 89

Ĝimmā<sup>ˆ</sup>bbā Ĝifâr dufé  
Addis Ababâ dúbā qubâte

garânkîê hâ gubbātu  
akkûma gârânkô gubbâte

1 I have come from Ĝimmā Abbā Ĝifâr; 2 I have camped behind Addis Abeba. 3 May  
your heart be inflamed, 4 as my heart has been inflamed!

## 90

silā Šaggārā<sup>ˆ</sup>n baá  
yâ qunnā haṭârî šaqqatákîê

igǵā nú wâl agarré  
yâ gúyâ qèdâmiê galatákîê

1 When I ascended to Šaggārā, 2 O qunnā, the huckster bargained for you! 3 We met  
each other with the eyes (our eyes met). 4 O day of Saturday, may you be blessed!

*Notes.* Šaggārā is the Galla name of the region where Addis Abeba has been built.  
The place of the imperial residency (*gebbi*) was called by the Galla, "hêtê ilmân Lālî,"  
"the kosso of Lālî's son." Lālî was an ancient chief of the Gullâlîê (Kosso = *Brayera  
antielmintica*).

## 91

uggúm yâ ôbô Ĝotê  
Ašanâ<sup>ˆ</sup>neṛgattu  
mánâkîeña dufte

afân ná dūngátte  
5 nagâ ta<sup>ˆ</sup>i<sup>ˆ</sup>nǵêttu

1 Very well, O lord Ĝotê! 2 Do not send Ašanâ! 3 She has come to my house; 4 she  
has kissed my mouth; 5 she will not say (to me) good-bye!

*Notes.* Ašanâ is the brother of Daǵǵâĉ Ĝotê (see song 49; Prose, text 3).

## 92

Burayú<sup>ˆ</sup>bbā gôšâ  
môqâ dúwâ<sup>ˆ</sup>nñâtu  
yó faffatô malé

nâ birâ ga<sup>ˆ</sup>tîese  
5 mormâ dúwâ<sup>ˆ</sup>nkâtu  
yó ġânnatô malé

1 O Burayú, chief of the tribe! 2 You do not eat medicines only, 3 but soup! 4 She  
has sat down at my side; 5 she will not have the neck bare, 6 but necklaces!

<sup>1</sup> de Salviac, *Les Galla*, op. cit., p. 15, says that the Galla women are "femmes au teint très clair, dignes de  
figurer à côté de nos élégantes, et qui le céderaient à un petit nombre par leur beauté et leur esprit."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia*, Napoli, 1895, vol. 14, p. 138.

*Notes.* Burayú was the chief of a Liêqā Sayô clan. *Faffatô* is the Galla name of the kind of soup called in Amharic *fiṭfiṭ* (v. 3); *môqā* (v. 2) is a kind of medicine made with a broth of corn.

## 93

*Gurāgiē gommanā`nbutú*  
*gurrā kutté gurgúrti malé*

*gurrattí ġālálá`mbièktu*  
*fuñân butté gungúmti malé*

1 The Gurāgiē do not pluck off sprouts; 2 they cut the ears and sell them (i.e. the sprouts). 3 The dark girl does not understand love; 4 one pulls her nose and she murmurs!

*Notes.* The sprouts of Gurāgiē are famous in Southern Shoa. The "ears" of the sprouts (v. 2) are its leaves (cf. song 22).

## 94, 95, 96

The following songs were inspired by a love-adventure which befell the Liêqā. A girl who was betrothed to a young warrior called Ayānîê, became enamoured of another warrior, Wâq Kiënnê. Ayānîê demanded, according to the customary law, that the girl should be given to him, as he had paid the dower. The two families met to decide whether the paid dower might be returned and the girl thus become free again, or if it were necessary to celebrate the ritual wedding. In the meantime, both lovers implored their judges to show mercy.

*milikkitā dîêrā*  
*yâ dîessā māl dókša*  
*Gârō gadí Bârō*  
*yâ šodarí māló*  
5 *niênčā ċirā ċirā*

*sāwátti`nyāsina*  
*dubbáđdu yâ firá*  
*gargár nú`nbasini*  
*bîeka dubbi fiṭá*

1 O long signal, 2 O you who fly, what do you hide? 3 Under Gârō there is the Bârō. 4 O my sweetheart, what is there? 5 The lion weeds the weed; 6 we will not graze our cows. 7 Speak, O kinsmen! 8 Do not separate us from each other! 9 Decide and end the matter!

*Notes.* The long, flying signal means Ayānîê. The verses 3, 5, 6 are introduced to make the refrain. The lion "weeds the weed" by hitting the grass of the prairie with his tail. The decision of the meeting was that Ayānîê was lawfully betrothed to the girl, and she was obliged to marry him. She protested by singing:

*bisíngā sāñíqā*  
*bōbē`ttam goḍuré*

*ġiġiġsa lammiqā*  
*bōē`ttam gōnaré*

1 The sorghum is (full of) seed. 2 What makes the white sorghum? 3 To cause sorrow is natural to one's relatives. 4 I weep! What can we do?

*Notes.* The first two verses form the refrain. The *bōbē* (v. 2) is a kind of white sorghum very little valued and the people eat it only in times of famine.

Wâq Kiënnê answered his beloved with the following song:

<i>Ayānîe būdāḍā</i>	<i>gāndā Kumsā Morī</i>
<i>kumuntu du' āḍā</i>	<i>gurguddān gobīḍā</i>
<i>barānā sī nāta</i>	10 <i>ṭinnān'ndabē lōlā</i>
<i>Wāq Kiēnnē'bbā Šorrô</i>	<i>biēn Naqamtē'ndāgna</i>
5 <i>gafā riētī ḥabā</i>	<i>gūlāntānkīe ilkān</i>
<i>māl ḡēttē dubbikō</i>	<i>harkikīe hīrbōrā</i>
<i>gāfā reḡḡī ḡalā</i>	

1 Ayānîe is a sorcerer; 2 that is death! 3 He will eat you this year. 4 Wāq Kiēnnē, lord of (the horse) Šorrô, 5 is broken (like) a horn of the goat. 5 What said to you my words 6 that day, under the sycamore? 7 In the village of Kumsā (son) of Morodā, 8 the great (man) is a coward, 9 the small does not go to war! 10 Come! Let us go away from Naqamtē. 11 You will slip on the ivory; 12 your arms will have armlets of ivory!

*Notes.* Wāq Kiēnnē sorrowing compares himself to the broken horn of a he-goat ("broken-hearted," we should say). In the houses of the rich Galla, it is the custom to place on the ground at the side of the chief's bed the teeth of elephants, upon which the lord places his feet when arising. The *hīrbōrā* (v. 13) is an armlet of ivory, (Amharic, *yārborā*).<sup>1</sup> Wāq Kiēnnē's beloved understood the sense of the verses 6–7 alluding to a secret appointment already made, and fled with Wāq Kiēnnē. The decision of the council of the families was therefore useless.

## 97

*yā Gobīe yā gobītti*  
*ñarākīe soddā hāmma yomītti*

1 O Gobanā, O coward! 2 How long shall I fear your eyebrows?

## 98

<i>manguddā ṭobbē'ñḥabsú</i>	<i>magallī qullā'nkātu</i>
<i>lakkī ḡēḍa ḡāldēssān</i>	<i>lakkī ḡēḍa bosīttīn</i>

1 The elder does not break the shoots. 2 "Leave off!" I have said to the (old) monkey. 3 The dark girl does not rise naked. 4 "Leave off!" I have said to the coarse girl.

## 99

— <i>hiēnān ḡēttā dabē</i> (Loransiyos: <i>aččīn ḡīrakō dabē</i> ) (a)	<i>kān yānnī nān safarē</i>
<i>hiēnā ḡēttān nā dabē</i> ( <i>ās ḡīrā mā nā dabē</i> ) (a)	<i>kān billān buttā Sabú</i>
<i>ān entā'u biyanā</i>	10 <i>kān oltēn nāmā sardú</i>
<i>Šonā Ofāt'ān darbā</i>	<i>asī barbādēn dabē</i>
5 <i>wārrā angāfif quṭisú</i>	<i>ān sī batān ḡagaē</i>
<i>wārrā ḡinnī dubbisú</i>	<i>qorō Liṭā Dibbilā</i>
— <i>kān qalbīn nān dabarē</i>	<i>kān fannīsā sī finná</i>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, *Vocabolario amarico*, op. cit., *yārborā*.



15 *án si dukkán dīdīmá*  
*biēkán biyākiē`ngirú*  
*kán gorsé ná diēbisú*  
*geñnēnó čālā daqtí*  
 — *golgānó birá`nafú*  
 20 *čřētānkó`ndrukkušatá*  
*indu`át`odiēsani*

*čřalallíkōtíf isá*  
*kán akká`biddá gubbú*  
*kán akká dīddá dufú*  
 25 *ergūmán sí čřaladdé*  
*darbé tókkó`ngālanné*  
*sitt`indřēbiú tōbá*  
*wān Rabbí`mbřēku malé*

1 (a). 2 (a). 3 I will not remain here; 4 I will go to Šonâ, (the land) of Ofâ, 5 (where) the elder and the younger sons 6 speak with the sons of the genii. 7 My heart has flown from me. 8 My mind has departed from me. 9 The great sword belongs to Sabú. 10 She hastens to say to the people, "How do you do?" 11 I have looked for you here, but vainly. 12 I have heard that you have gone away thither, 13 to the district of Ličâ Dibbilâ. 14 We will pull you with the girths. 15 I have been stopped while following you. 16 Is there no one wise in your country, 17 who gives you counsel to return to me? 18 The lady surpasses (all the others). 19 The veil has not remained aside. 20 My husband (?) is sick. 21 They say that he will die. 22 O my love and his love 23 which burn like fire, 24 which come like colic! 25 After loving you, 26 I had not turned to love another. 27 I fixed (my thoughts) on you only! 28 Your thoughts were not fixed (on me); there were two! 29 I will not return to you, upon my word! 30 But we cannot know the mind of God!

(a) Verses 1–2, according to the version of Loransiyos, may be translated: 1 My stay here has distressed me. 2 Why can I not remain there?

*Notes.* The song is a dialogue between two lovers. The first verses (1–6) are said by the woman who desires to go to another country, to Šonâ, a district in Nónnō land governed by the famous sorcerer, Abbâ Ofâ. The man answers (v. 7–18), lamenting the departure of his beloved. Verse 9 is introduced to make the sound parallelism with the following verse 10. Ličâ Dibbilâ (v. 13), according to Loransiyos, is a district of Ğimmâ Abbâ Ğifâr, where the singer resided. The woman replies in verses 19–30 that she is tired of the infidelity of her lover. I was not able to get from Loransiyos any explanation of the sense of verses 19–21 in connection with the subject of the song. *Tōbâ* (v. 27) is the formula of the holy oath (*kakú*) as it is used by the Mussulmen (see song 143). This song was composed by Mussulmen: this is demonstrated both by the formula *tōbâ* and by the reference to God as *Rabbí* (v. 30). *Rabbí* is the name of the Moslem divinity as opposed to *Wâqā*, the pagan divinity.

*harkākô sí danda'ē*  
*kán gaččā muré gogsú*  
*milākô sí danda'ē*  
*kán Roggiē muré galú* (Loransiyos: *kán Roggiē diēmé galú*)  
 5 *iččākô sí danda'ē*

*kán allátti`ndorgomú*  
*garākô sí dađđabé*  
*fugiččā bállē qabú*  
*kán akká barē čabú*

1 My hands are stronger than yours; 2 they cut and cause the tree *gağğâ* to dry. 3 My feet are stronger than yours; 4 they cut (?) and reach Roggê. (Loransiyos: They go and reach Roggê). 5 My eyes are stronger than yours; 6 they follow the vulture (in its flight). 7 My heart is less strong than yours, 8 my wicked (heart) which has wings, 9 which breaks like a pumpkin!

*Notes.* The *bārê* (v. 9) is an empty pumpkin in which the Galla stir milk to make butter. Roggê (v. 4) is the capital of the Nónnō Roggê tribe on the left bank of the Gibê, opposite Limmú. The *gağğâ* (v. 2) is a big tree called in Amharic *danâ din*.

## 101

*gúbbā guté kuččó*  
*agámsāfi kombolčā*

*lienčillé fón obsá*  
*st obsa ná obsí*

1 Gubbâ is full of *kuččó* trees, 2 of *carissa edulis* and *kombolčā*. 3 Even the lion spares the flesh! 4 I spare you. Spare me!

*Notes.* *Kuččó* (v. 1) is a big tree. *Kombolčā* (v. 2) is a kind of thorny shrub which forms thickets. Agā Mohammed tells me that this *kombolčā* is called in Tigriña ‘āṭ ‘āṭ, a kind of *gymnosporia*.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, Loransiyos tells me that the Tigriña word for *kombolčā* is *maq’í*. Gubbâ (v. 1) is a village in Nónnō Ğibât, the land governed by the Ğennê Disô ḥbō ṛqîê.

## 102

*sokoksinna ġēḍén*  
*sokoksú ḍaḍḍabé*  
*ákka báll^agamsá*

*st obsinna ġēḍén*  
5 *st obsú ḍaḍḍabé*  
*ákka gará ḍalá*

1 “Let us move!” I said. 2 We cannot move, 3 like the leaves of the *carissa edulis*. 4 “Let us spare you!” I said. 5 We cannot spare you, 6 like the belly of a woman at child-birth.

*Notes.* The leaves of the *carissa edulis* are little thorns, therefore they cannot be moved by the wind; and the pangs of child-birth cannot be suffered in silence. Comparisons of child-birth with love are frequent in Galla songs.

## 103

*yâ mánā sorîessá*  
*mát^adurrê qabá*  
*golqîen marraqāḍā*

*yâ gārā ġālalá*  
5 *hárkâ ullê qabá*  
*ḍoksé námā ḍānā*

1 O house of a rich man, 2 you have the head of a wild cat; 3 the pavement is polished. 4 O heart enamoured, 5 you have a stick in your hand 6 which secretly strikes men!

*Notes.* Love strikes men like a stick. Because of the departure of Loransiyos from Naples, I could not get any explanation of the sense of verse 2. Verses 1–3 form the refrain.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Emilio Chiovenda, *Etiopia*, Roma, 1912, p. 89; Carlo Annaratone, *In Abissinia*, Rome, 1914, p. 499–500.

## 104

*ēbôn dīgā malé ēbô mitt*  
*ǵālallī dūngô malé ǵālallâ mitt*

1 A javelin without blood is not a javelin! 2 Love without kisses is not love!

## 105

*wāqnī ǵawê`numté* *kân ǵālalâ umté*  
*bagá gončē`numté (G. S. B.: končēn umté)* *bagá obsâ umté*

1 God has created the python; 2 justly he has (also) created the bark of a tree. 3 He has created love; 4 justly he has (also) created patience.

*Notes.* The Galla use the bark of certain trees as medicine against serpents.

## 106

*naggādīe ǵiēsāni ǵiēsāni* *qēnsāni qēnsāni*  
*Tobbôn gadī būsāni* *5 tōfō šān guttāni*  
*imimān ǵālalâ*

1 They have led, have led the Mussulman; 2 they have caused him to ascend to Tobbô. 3 The tears of love 4 have overflowed, overflowed; 5 they have filled nine cups!

## 107

*yó tǣfi hāmatāni* *gāra čābsa yādāni*  
*ǵaragālčā űātāni* *5 hārkā`fārsā kātāni*  
*yó gārī ǵālattāni* *ākka ambáččā`ādāni*

1 If they reap the *tǣf* (*poa abessinica*), 2 they will eat pudding. 3 If they love a beautiful girl, 4 they expect to ruin themselves. 5 They will move their hands like a pitchfork; 6 they will roar like lions!

## 108

*mar`attān kottē`nqabú* *5 fārdā biččē guddā*  
*qorifātu ǵātāmā* *garān ná rāfamā*  
*ǵālattān onnē`nqabú* *akkūmā fittē gurdā*  
*mar`umāntu rāfāma*

1 The serpent *mar`attā* has no hoof, 2 but he has sixty nails. 3 Love has no heart, 4 but my entrails are troubled (by it). 5 Great horse sick! 6 My heart is troubled 7 as the points of the *gurdā*.

*Notes.* The *mar`attā* (v. 1), according to Loransiyos, is a big serpent with a red head. He has sixty little claws which the hunters cut off and sell for a great price, because the Galla believe that these claws are a remedy for many diseases. "My entrails" (v. 4) means "my heart, my mind." As to the points of the *gurdā*, this kind of girdle worn by the women of most Galla districts (see song 15, notes), moves whenever they walk: even so is the heart of the singer troubled by love (v. 6-7). Verse 5 is introduced to make the sound-parallelism with verse 7.



## 109

*Kuê yâ`dā Dîentā*  
*barčúmmā šán kîesa*  
*dombí sagál kîesa*  
*Kuê láfā tîesa*  
 5 *wāčitti šán kîesa*  
*tuwê sagál kîesa*  
*ñāddé qúfa dabén*  
*čísé`rríba dabé*  
*du`é mál ná égda*

10 *wállú Kuê Gumá*  
*kán fāqiččī dūgé*  
*Adísā Qaqāi*  
*bóllā sī qotáni*  
*anát`ā gatáni*  
 15 *wāyā sī bitáni*  
*anā`namaráni*  
*át`afī qagaí*  
*án aččín kakai*

1 O Kuê, mother of Dîentā, 2 between five chairs, 3 between nine stools, 4 O Kuê, I sit down on the ground. 5 Between five plates, 6 between nine cups, 7 I have eaten and I am not satiated. 8 I have stretched and I have not slept. 9 I am dead. Why do you await me? 10 The clothes of Kuê (native) of Gúmā 11 have been tanned by the tanner 12 of Adísā Qáqā. 13 They have dug for you a hole; 14 let them throw me in! 15 They have bought the shroud for you; 16 let them roll me in it! 17 As for you, remain and hear! 18 As for me, place me there!

*Notes.* The song laments for Kuê, native of Gúmā, mother of Fitāwrári Simā (see songs 4–6) and Dîentā. *The Galla Spelling Book* has placed this among the love-songs, perhaps because it seems to have been composed by a lover of Kuê. The first verses (v. 1–9) express the pain of the singer who cannot calm himself; verses 10–18 state that the singer desires to die in place of Kuê. Adísā Qáqā (v. 12) is a village in Nónnō land.

## 110

*gufú yâ gufú guddā*  
*gufú galí kotiččā*  
*mā qufú qufú diddā*  
*Ĝifār itt`óf gîesitté*  
 5 *Dúlān óf qittîesitté*  
*ğarrí lamān motiččā*  
*nú lamāntu sogiddā*

*dumbulá`kka ġibiččā*  
*gungumá`kka ġinniččā*  
 10 *kán iğğī bōbē baddā*  
*kán ñārī ġimmā čorqîe*  
*kán konkónni fón murú*  
*kán mormí`rkottí bulú*  
*dāfurá`lmā`bbā guddā*

1 O stumbling, O great stumbling! 2 O stumbling (as if) the pavement were pitch! 3 Why do you refuse to come, to come? 4 Have you made yourself equal to Ĝifār? 5 Have you become like Dúlā? 6 They are two kings; 7 we are two (bits of) salt! 8 Ingenuous as a calf, 9 murmuring like a spirit. 10 Her eyes are like the white sorghum of the plateau; 11 her eye-brows are like *ġimmā* not yet ripe; 12 her cheeks are like pieces of pierced flesh; 13 her neck is a support to pass the night. 14 Sons of nobles go mad for her.

*Notes.* Verses 4–5 refer to Abbā Ĝifār, the king of Ĝimmā, and to the Abbā Dúlā, i.e. the king of Gúmā, who had this title, (see Prose, text 1, note 14). Verse 7 alludes to

bits of salt used as money by the Galla. Verse 10 mentions the *bōbē* (see song 95, v. 2, notes). The *ǧimmā* (v. 11) is a plant with red ears. It can be eaten, but the Galla use it principally as a remedy for infection of the eyes.

## 111

*kán qalán dulaččā*  
*rīēttin dāfi dūti*

*kán bōē gārāḍā*  
*lappēn nāsú dūti*

1 That which they have killed is the old cow; 2 the shegoat has died suddenly. 3 That which weeps is the mind; 4 the heart has died because of sorrow!

*Notes.* Here the song distinguishes between the mind and the heart: the former is still living and weeps; the latter has died after an unhappy affair of the singer's.

## 112

*Ǧimmā gāmā fardarra<sup>^</sup>ntā 'u*  
*mōti Wārqiē fardātu kāsē*  
*kōtīf kankiē wāq<sup>^</sup>arkā tā 'u*

*dirma námā gargár nú bāsē*  
5 *wāq<sup>^</sup>arkā ta 'é badā<sup>^</sup>nfakkātu*

1 Do not let Ǧimmā of the other bank ride horses. 2 The king of Wārqiē has moved his horsemen. 3 Let my affair and yours be in the hands of God. 4 The wickedness of men has divided us. 5 As it has been (placed by me) in the hands of God, let it not seem that it is lost.

*Notes.* Ǧimmā Wārqiē is a little Galla state, north of the Gibiē, according to Loransiyos. The oath *wāq<sup>^</sup>arkā tā 'u* (v. 3-5), "let it be in the hands of God," is very common. The Galla always swear "by the hand": their formula for the *fītm* (the legal oath of the Ethiopic law) is *hárkā mōtitti*, "by the king's hand." The singer says (v. 3-5) that, although the slander of the people has divided him from his sweetheart, he still hopes that matters can be adjusted.

## 113

*Rīēbúf abbān Rīēbú*  
*galgālā dūlāni*  
*gāččānā gurāni*  
*Lālô balliēsāni*  
5 *kottē sangā bōqā*

*bariēdā fulākīē*  
*baqqālā būsāni*  
*ǧuôn bariēsāni*  
*ḍofīē<sup>^</sup>kka ilmán holā*  
10 *obisēn wārrā tolā*

1 Rīēbú and Abbā Rīēbú 2 last evening, made an expedition. 3 They have collected shields (as spoils); 4 they have wasted Lālô. 5 Pawing of the horse with a white star on his forehead! 6 Your forehead is beautiful. 7 They have gathered togas; 8 they have stitched draperies (for her). 9 Innocent as the little lambs, 10 she is compassionate and benign to everyone.

*Notes.* The first verses of the song (1-4) concern Sayô Garbā, a warrior, native of Hānnā Abbā Bārā, who made an expedition against Lālô Qilē, a village west of Hānnā. Rīēbú

(v. 1) was the name of the horse of Sayô Garbâ; thus Abbâ Rîēbú (lord of Rîēbú) was the war-name of the warrior. In the second part of the song (v. 5–10), the minstrel praises his beautiful sweetheart. Perhaps the word *fúlā* (v. 6), “front,” “forehead” should be more exactly translated “aspect.”

## 114

*Rîēbúf abbân Rîēbú*  
*gafársā ʾǧēsāni*  
*nūrī wāl sāmāni*  
*sarǧāmā ʾkka Gāččô*  
 5 *qallú ʾkkā Dagāgô* G. S. B.: *qālú*  
*kanāfā dāksisú*  
*dāksisāni nātu*  
*ṭurī wāllālāni*

*dallāsā ʾbbā Ofā*  
 10 *dúgdā dubnī mukā*  
*fuldurī bubbukā*  
*dinkī ǧāl adiēmā*  
*dúgdā dubnī du ʾá*  
*fuldurī dullūmā*  
 15 *firditti ān adiēmā*  
*kanāf ān bubbutā*

1 Rîēbú and Abbâ Rîēbú 2 have killed a buffalo, 3 have contended on account of the *nūrī*. 4 Swift as the (torrent) Gāččô, 5 a sorcerer like Dagāgô. 6 These order to grind, 7 order to grind and eat; 8 they do not know impurity. 9 The enclosure of Abbâ Ofâ, 10 the foremost part is wood, 11 the back is incense. 12 A dwarf serves him (Abbâ Ofâ). 13 Behind us there is death; 14 before us there is old age. 15 I will come to a decision: 16 therefore, I will win (her).

*Notes.* Verses 1–3 refer to Abbâ Rîēbú (see song 113). *Nūrī* (v. 3) is the trophy of the Galla buffalo hunters, made from the skin of the buffalo's head, and its horns. Verses 4–5 praise the sweetheart of the singer. The Gāččô (v. 4) is a torrent in Gabbâ. Abbâ Dagāgô is a sorcerer of the Doranní. Verses 6–8 concern a family of girls, so rich they eat only bread made with meal ground by slaves (cf. song 15, v. 67–69). This is a sign of great wealth among the Galla because usually the women of the family grind the corn. Verses 9–16 contain a graceful comparison. The Galla sorcerers used to build the front of their compound of aromatic shrubs. The singer says that as the front of Abbâ Ofâ's (sorcerer of the Gabbâ Ilû) enclosure is aromatic wood, while the rest is of wood without perfume, so the life of the two lovers is beautiful at present, but afterwards it will have as its foremost part, old age, and as an end, death. He has therefore resolved to make the most of his youth and win his beloved. Loransiyos translates the word *bubbutā* (v. 11) with the Amharic word *ṭān*, meaning “incense.” However, perhaps the true sense of the word is some aromatic plant. Verse 12 alludes to the custom of the rich Galla (the sorcerers are the richest men in these regions) of having dwarfed slaves who usually are the buffoons of these little courts. Also at the court of Menilek II, there were dwarfed buffoons called *yā-negus aččāwāč* (“Emperor's jester,” in Amharic). Among the Galla the court dwarfs are called, according to Chiarini, *sattô mōtī*, “king's whip” (see song 21, v. 10, notes).



115

*čočopé ruda 'é*  
*rōbé bu 'ú gaé*

*gaddákiē rura 'é*  
*bōé du 'ú gaé*

1 It falls; it clouds (the sky); 2 the rain is about to fall. 3 Because of your pain, I dote;  
4 I weep, I am about to die.

*Note.* Loransiyos explains that "your pain" (v. 3) means "the pain for you," "the pain which you cause me."

116

*daldččo ḡalêrā*  
*qarmitt̃an gad̃ofá*  
*iğğān sí qabêrā*  
*namáf sí ḡabêrā*

5 *wārrā ḡgartú ḡallîē*  
*wārrā gatú ḡḡabné*  
*rabbitt̃an gad̃odá*  
*rabbí ḡttam ná gōtá*

1 The white cow has brought forth; 2 I have led it down to the stubble field. 3 I have caught you with my eyes; 4 I have lost you on account of the people. 5 The apples of her eyes are jet. 6 There have not been lacking people to drive (me) out. 7 I have recourse to the Lord. 8 O Lord, what will you do for me?

*Notes.* The singer complains that he has lost the love of his sweetheart because of the malignity of others. Notice in verse 5, *wārrā ḡgartú*, "the fellow of the eye-apple" = "the two eye-apples fellows." Loransiyos thus explains the words, and denies that they mean "the fellow," "he who looks." This construction would be similar to the Amharic phrase, *yāyn māmmitto*. The song was composed by a Mussulman; for God is called *Rabbí* in verses 7-8 (see song 96, v. 30 notes).

117

*The Galla Spelling Book* places the following love-song among the pastoral songs.

*naggādîē naggādūmā*  
*kán tullú Burê ḡirtú*  
*iğğātó qottó ḡabé*

*garātó murtó ḡabé*  
5 *kán tullú muré ḡigsú*

1 O merchant of the merchandise 2 who is at the mount Burê! 3 The eyes have no axe; 4 the mind has no sickle 5 to cut and throw down mountains!

*Notes.* This is the lament of a woman separated from her lover. Burê (v. 2) is perhaps the capital of Gabbâ Ilû.

#### IV. NUPTIAL SONGS

When the date of the wedding ceremony has been fixed (if the wedding is to be celebrated according to the rite of the *rákō*), the bridegroom, accompanied by an elder of his tribe called *ḡársā durâ*, by four godfathers called *minḡîē* by the Shoan Galla and *marrí* by the Máččā, by his father, and the train of his fellows armed with wooden spears, goes to the girl's house, driving before him the sheep and the oxen to pay the price to the girl's

father. Reaching the bride's enclosure, if an ox is to be sacrificed for the *rákō*, the bridegroom slaughters it. The bride's brother leads his sister by the hand to a hut expressly constructed, and anoints her on the abdomen and the pudenda with the blood of the sacrificed victim.<sup>1</sup> Then the bride's brother cuts the ends of her hair and keeps this hair as a sign of the bride's blood-relationship after her marriage; this ceremony is called *qarrê murâ*. The *rákō* and the *qarrê murâ* may not be celebrated unless the entire bride-price has been paid. Otherwise, they simply perform the *qarrê murâ* after the birth of the first son. However, a wedding without the *rákō* is not considered complete according to the law of custom.

After the *rákō*, the bridegroom, aided by his godfathers, catches the girl with feigned violence and placing her on his horse, flies across the plain with his fellows until he reaches running water (a river or torrent). He crosses this stream; on reaching the opposite bank, he recrosses it, and returns at a gallop to his father-in-law's house. Ideas of magic connected with running water are very common among the Galla and also among the Agau. After returning to the compound of his father-in-law, the husband leaves the girl, who enters the hut with her friends, after placing a piece of wood before the door, almost an obstacle to hinder entrance. Then the friends of the bride begin to rail against the husband, and to sing to the bride all the advantages of remaining in her father's house, and all the misfortunes which marriage brings.

## 118, 119

Here are two examples of these songs:

<i>bisingâre</i> Grêdô muré	<i>yâ dîerô soddâ</i>
<i>yâ soddâ</i> ^sî hîetô ^ndügné	<i>çirráččâ</i> ^nsêe
<i>wârrâkîes</i> ^intu lannemó	<i>irrá</i> ^ğge ^nčêe
<i>harkâkîe</i> qabaté ^ndügné	20 <i>haftîtti</i> ^nganté
5 <i>šáf</i> gođá qawê ġalattî	<i>hâđâše</i> yâbdé
<i>qaléo</i> ġġttá	<i>anáfo</i> aná
<i>yâ dîerô soddâ</i>	<i>yâ dîerô</i> gurbâ
<i>mêri</i> qôllağġî	<i>ñâđđú</i> fôn namá
<i>qîerô</i> ^fin ġġttá	25 <i>egá</i> ^mmas ġrêssé
10 <i>yâ dîerô soddâ</i>	<i>mîeká</i> ^ndaqîessé
<i>mêri</i> fôn maddî	<i>handáqâ</i> ^rmîkîe
<i>homí</i> fannisé	<i>ñâđđú</i> nitîkîe
<i>hâđâsa</i> ñâté	<i>garbâtittîkîe</i>
<i>wállú</i> fannisé	30 <i>qîrsî</i> dutâđâ
15 <i>gamánâ</i> dâppú	<i>kunú</i> bûđâđâ
<i>gamátt</i> ^utalé	<i>hinnú</i> sí ñâta

<sup>1</sup> de Salviac, op. cit., p. 216, says that this unction is made by the bridegroom himself, but according to Loransiyos, the Galla do not permit the bridegroom such liberties with the bride before the wedding.

1 O sorghum which Gêdō cuts! 2 O the son-in-law who does not drink the *kosso*!  
 3 Does not your family hoard it (the *kosso*) for you? 4 Do you not catch it with your hand  
 and drink it? 5 Knock him down with the gun! 6 "I have slaughtered!" you have said.  
 7 O ugly son-in-law, 8 where is the skin? 9 "I am a fine young man!" you have said.  
 10 O ugly son-in-law, 11 where is the flesh of the cheeks? 12 I have driven in (the ground)  
 the wood of *homí*. 13 I have ruined his mother. 14 I have suspended the dress. 15 Stop  
 on the other side! 16 Jump on this side! 17 O ugly son-in-law! 18 He has thought that  
 they were pebbles! 19 He has passed, trampling upon it! 20 The spinster has become old;  
 21 she has covered her mother. 22 As to me, 23 O ugly son-in-law, 24 eat the people's  
 flesh! 25 Then you have reached (middle age). 26 How many times have you gone into the  
 forest? 27 The forest of Handaq is your terror! 28 Eat your bride, 29 your leather bag!  
 30 The husband is angry. 31 This is a sorcerer; 32 he will eat you (O girl)!

*Notes.* Verses 1–5 deride the husband, who, according to the singer, has a tapeworm  
 and does not drink *kosso* (*brayera antielmínthica*), the usual remedy for worms. Verses  
 6–11 mean: The husband says that he has slaughtered the ox for the *rákō*, but where  
 is the skin of the victim, proof of the sacrifice? Likewise, he says untruthfully that he is  
 a fine young man, but he has such a weak face! Verses 12–21 mention a ceremony which  
 must be gone through by the husband before entering the house of his father-in-law. The  
 friends of the bride suspend a woman's dress on the peg of wood of *homí*, placed by the  
 bride (see introduction to the song), and two of them hold in their hands the two outer  
 edges of this dress. The husband, before going into the house, must jump over this  
 obstacle, and must not trample upon it with his feet. Verses 20–24 abuse the husband's  
 sister who has not found a husband, and say to the husband, "Marry her whom you  
 desire! Ruin her whom you desire!" The song ends by again mocking the "ugly son-in-  
 law" of the bride's father. The forest of Handaq is between Lîêqā and Wallagā.<sup>1</sup>

<i>hiññādun sōbā</i>	<i>manāyó alló kīēstsā foqā</i>
<i>ḍoksén kutáddā</i>	<i>mānāyokīēti čačabsā ñānnā</i>
<i>ḍurbē yā<sup>~</sup>ryākō</i>	<i>manāyó alló čačabā ñānnā</i>
<i>sí<sup>~</sup>nyádun sōbā</i>	<i>mānā<sup>~</sup>lló qarqā</i>
5 <i>ḍoksén gubáddā</i>	15 <i>qárqā yābáddū</i>
<i>hiñnān (nāmaboli?)</i>	<i>yābáddū bu 'i</i>
<i>hiñnā ḡabbinkīē ñātué</i>	<i>allón gālīēsa</i>
<i>sīñnān (ḍāmaboli ?)</i>	<i>ḍaú<sup>~</sup>nlalīēsa</i>
<i>sīñnā qabbinkīē rāsúé</i>	<i>ga<sup>~</sup>qabí bulí</i>
10 <i>mānāyokīēti kīēstsā bōkā</i>	

1 He does not eat; it is a lie! 2 He cuts secretly! 3 O girl, my friend, 4 he does not think  
 of you; it is a lie! 5 He is enamoured secretly! 6 The passion <sup>2</sup> . . . 7 The passion has  
 ruined your calf! 8 The thought <sup>2</sup> . . . 9 the thought has moved your heart! 10 Your

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jean Duchesne-Fournet, *Mission en Éthiopie*, Paris, 1909, vol. 1, p. 236, map 3.

<sup>2</sup> Loransiyos does not understand the word *nāmaboli* of *The Galla Spelling Book*, nor the word *ḍāmaboli*.



house, its interior is hydromel; 11 the stranger's house, its interior is filth. 12 In your house we have eaten soup; 13 in the house of the stranger we will eat bits of bread. 14 The house of the stranger is an ascent. 15 Climb up it and then down! 16 Climb the ascent. 17 The father-in-law is a cursèd man. 18 His touch causes sickness. 19 Lay down your head and sleep.

## 120

In the evening, the husband and his band of friends demand entrance to the bride's father's house. The friends of the father-in-law reply by railing at the band; sometimes they actually scuffle with wooden spears. The husband jumps over the wood and the dress suspended at the door of the hut, and enters the inner room (*dinqâ* in Galla, *ilfin* in Amharic). Here is the bride and round her, all her friends. They feign again to resist the husband; the two parties, the bride's and the husband's, assail each other by throwing egg shells. Then the bride's dearest girl friend pulls the ears of the husband and leads him by the hand to his place by the bride. As soon as the husband has sat down, the songs expressing pain at the bride's departure begin again. In the meantime, the boys of the village come to the door of the hut, demanding to enter and see the feast. They sing:

<i>yâ soddâ õbõ sorëssî soddâ ná dabarsî</i>	<i>gilgilî fitté</i>
<i>soddâkîê nán argá</i>	<i>mánâ`bbâyokô</i>
<i>dinqâkîê nán darbâ</i>	<i>mánâ`bbâ gurbâ</i>
<i>mánâ`bbâyokô</i>	10 <i>gólfân asîente</i>
5 <i>mánâ`bbâ`ntalâ</i>	<i>sinkirî dîgté</i>
<i>hólân asîente</i>	

1 O father-in-law, my lord, O rich father-in-law, let me pass! 2 I will see your son-in-law, 3 I will pass into your inner room! 4 In the house of my father, 5 in the house of the girl's father, 6 may sheep enter 7 and empty the baskets! 7 In the house of my father, 8 in the house of the young man's father, 8 may fever enter, 9 may all perish!

## 121, 122

Here are some examples of the songs of the bride's friends after the entrance of the husband into the inner room.

<i>aylê durbâ</i>	5 <i>mukú galgalâ</i>
<i>gufú balbalâ</i>	<i>ka`i ganamá</i>
<i>anó`nqābanné</i>	<i>anó`nqālanné</i>
<i>sittó qābaté</i>	<i>sittó qālatté</i>

1 O beautiful girl, 2 the obstacle at the door 3 has not been placed for me; 4 it has been placed for you! 5 Slumber in the evening, 6 rise in the morning! 7 He does not love me; 8 he loves you!

*durbîe yā riākô*  
*wān it nan sí dāmú*  
*awárrā tūtē*  
*buddîenā čabde*  
 5 *ambān galfadđú*  
*wān it nan sí dāmú*  
*iğāğgi alā*

*ēbô balbalā*  
*kolfá wārsādā*  
 10 *manā nārsiní*  
*moqáttu tātá*  
*matá ndāmsiní*  
*bosiṛetti tātá*

1 O girl, O my friend, 2 these things I recommend to you: 3 to take away the dust (from him); 4 to break the bread (for him); 5 to help (him) at the table. 6 These things I recommend to you: 7 to stay out of the court-yard; 8 the spear at the door; 9 not to laugh with the sister-in-law. 10 Do not perfume (your body) in the house; 11 (otherwise) you will be a coquette. 12 Do not leave off (the dressing of) your hair; 13 (otherwise) you will be a coarse woman.

*Notes.* Her friends advise the bride to do three things (v. 1-5): to brush her husband's clothes, to prepare his bread, and serve his dinner. Then they advise the girl not to do three other things: to go out of the house to gossip (v. 7); to permit or to invite strangers to enter the house when her husband is not there (v. 8), (When a Galla enters another's house, he leaves his spear at the door); or to discourse too freely with her sister-in-law, who is, even among the Galla, the natural enemy of the bride. Verse 10 alludes to the perfumes used by the women of Abyssinia.

## 123

The morning after the wedding, the bride, together with the husband, depart for her new house. The band is preceded by the cattle which the father-in-law gives to his daughter as a dowry, even as the bride-price had preceded the train of the husband's friends (see song 118, introduction).

*gogsinna ġēdētān* (G. S. B.: *gogsinnā*)  
*gogsú dāđdabé*  
*gogsí yā adūkô*  
*šunkúrtā bāllān kiñēé*  
 5 *obsinna ġēdētān* (G. S. B.: *obsinnā*)  
*obsú dāđdabé*  
*obsí yā garākô*

*gurgurtān ġalá ġiṛsseé*  
*hođi yā mutākô*  
 10 *ribú qabā*  
*obsí yā garākô*  
*sí dūgā qabā*  
*gugubanné mā tiñēé*

1 "Let us dry up!" they say. 2 Drying up has been impossible. 3 Dry up, O my sun! 4 The onions have hidden their leaves! 5 "Have patience!" they say. 6 Patience has been impossible. 7 Have patience, O my heart! 8 The sold girl has been led down! 9 Stitch on my bodkin, 10 you who have the rope! 11 Have patience, O my heart, 12 you who have the right! 13 We have been assembled; why have we stopped?

*Notes.* As the sun cannot dry up the leaves of the onion, which are already shrunk, so it is impossible for the bride's relatives to console themselves after the departure of the girl they love (v. 1-8). "Sold girl" (v. 8), means she has been married to her lover after the payment of the bride-price. The last verse alludes to the stopping of the train at a fixed point on the road, where the bride's relatives and friends take their leave from the husband's relatives and friends, and return to their homes.

## 124

<i>çallakî çallîe naggâdiê qabâ</i>	5 <i>ammâ gâbité bōsâ</i>
<i>qannanî qarrîe manâyê qabâ</i>	<i>alagân râtiûdâ</i>
<i>durbîe gâdisîekō</i>	<i>dunnî marâtûdâ</i>
<i>qarrîen gâdisîedâ (Loransiyos: qarrîen gadîsîedâ) gargâr nû basûf hōrâ</i>	

1 The most beautiful necklaces of jet, the merchant has them. 2 The most beloved girl, this house has her. 3 O girl, O my shadow, 4 the tonsure is shadow (Loransiyos: the tonsure has been left off (by you)). 5 Then you will weep. 6 The stranger is a stupid (man); 7 the angry (man) is a fool. 8 We will separate from each other at the salt springs.

*Notes.* Verse 4, according to the version of Loransiyos, alludes to the ceremony of the *qarrê murâ* (see song 118).

## V. CRADLE SONGS

## 125

<i>sîmbinné yâ sîmbinné</i>	<i>itillên hubângabú</i>
<i>sâni morâ sîmbinné</i>	<i>hatâé sî afêra</i>
<i>çollîen gôllâ sîmbinné</i>	<i>mûçâkô mâtû dāné</i>
<i>garâ tolé sî bitté</i>	<i>qannanî dāné malé</i>
5 <i>garâ tolé hâ tolú</i>	15 <i>kôrâ bōsisé malé</i>
<i>Wâqâ kiënne hâ kiennú</i>	<i>kôrâ bôu lakkisî</i>
<i>'anânî bōsú dūgî</i>	<i>qannanînlakkisîni</i>
<i>qabén qammanângabú</i>	<i>ñinnâyó námâ qubâ</i>
<i>qōrāsé sî naqêra</i>	<i>urgâ dāmâ qumbitti</i>
10 <i>hirribâ bōsú rafî</i>	20 <i>mi'â dāmâ sogiddatti</i>

1 I have not bought for you. O you for whom I have not bought, 2 I have not bought the cow of the enclosure for you; 3 I have not bought the steed of the stable for you; 4 I have bought for you that which your heart desires. 5 Let him present that which his heart desires! 6 Let him give what God has given! 7 Drink the milk when crying! 8 I have taken it; there is no straw in the milk. 9 I have smoked it and I have kept it for you! 10 Lie down, cry, and sleep! 11 The bed has no straw. 12 I have swept and spread it down. 13 O my boy, what has beaten you? 14 The great love has beaten you; 15 pride



has made you cry. 16 Cease crying because of pride! 17 Do not cease your great love! 18 O my little, little finger of a man, 19 who exhales the perfume of myrrh, 20 who possesses the softness of salt!

## 126

## URURU TITINNA

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>ururá yá muččākô</i>                  | <i>abôtê bisân galmá</i>                                   |
| <i>muččākô yá tinmayokô</i>              | <i>diēdēsú múččā galmá</i>                                 |
| <i>hâti mûčā simbirâ</i>                 | 40 <i>ağēsâ fáččā galmá</i>                                |
| <i>abôrô kâtê wâččî</i>                  | <i>abôtê algâ qāmú</i>                                     |
| 5 <i>barî kâtê dubbati</i>               | <i>Dingārê ġarsâ<sup>^</sup>nsêne</i>                      |
| <i>hâdâ mûčâ ná godî</i>                 | <i>sôî wâlgâ Bîeramâ</i>                                   |
| <i>abôrô ná damaqsî</i>                  | <i>guddô gudurú riērâ</i>                                  |
| <i>wârrâ guddâ ná godî</i>               | 45 <i>guddô qômâ gororâ</i>                                |
| <i>wârî nátti dîrêšî</i>                 | <i>kal 'iččô biētiētiēdâ</i>                               |
| 10 <i>hâti guddayô<sup>^</sup>nqâbne</i> | <i>mudanmuddî turîdâ</i>                                   |
| <i>bâddu barbâdâ<sup>^</sup>nqâbdu</i>   | <i>muddîn sônâ goromsâ</i>                                 |
| <i>dâtu awâlâ<sup>^</sup>nqâbdu</i>      | <i>tiksîtú ulê riērâ</i>                                   |
| <i>hâti guddayô qâbdu</i>                | 50 <i>ēlemtú gâdî riērâ</i>                                |
| <i>bâddu barbâdâ<sup>^</sup>nqâbdu</i>   | <i>qâbdu okkolê riērâ</i>                                  |
| 15 <i>dâtu awâlâ<sup>^</sup>nqâbdu</i>   | <i>diēdēsú mûčâ riērâ</i>                                  |
| <i>guddayô mältú dāné</i>                | <i>intalâ bonnú gatú</i>                                   |
| <i>qannanî dāné malê</i>                 | <i>bonní ġiēñân nân gatê</i>                               |
| <i>kôrâ bōsisê malê</i>                  | 55 <i>gannân ġiēñân nân gâbê</i> (G. S. B.: <i>gatân</i> ) |
| <i>kôrâ bōú lakkisî</i>                  | <i>gatānsîē mûkâ ġalâ</i>                                  |
| 20 <i>qannanî<sup>^</sup>nlakkisîni</i>  | <i>kađānsîē kârrâ durâ</i>                                 |
| <i>qannan 'â ilmâ lûbâ</i>               | <i>kûrâ bāsê sí<sup>^</sup>mbinnê</i>                      |
| <i>kôrâ ilmâ qondâlâ</i>                 | <i>garâ tolê sí bitê</i>                                   |
| <i>adamô kiēsa rōbê</i>                  | 60 <i>garân tolê mālîmmâ</i>                               |
| <i>dâku lummuttú dâē</i>                 | <i>mālîmmâ orobayú</i>                                     |
| 25 <i>somayô ġağalisê</i>                | <i>sānî kân Abbâ Bōnê</i>                                  |
| <i>ēlmâ kiēsa rōbê</i>                   | <i>sānî kân Dađî Golġê</i>                                 |
| <i>gâdî lummuttú dâē</i>                 | <i>ga<sup>^</sup>baē dargú gōsê</i>                        |
| <i>okkolê ġağalisê</i>                   | 65 <i>gâle ôkkolê gōsê</i>                                 |
| <i>kiēnnatú námâ kiēnna</i>              | <i>sānî kân Abbâ Eġú</i>                                   |
| 30 <i>wâqtu námâ guddisâ</i>             | <i>sānî kân Gumâ Sambô</i>                                 |
| <i>kiēnnan galatâ mitî</i>               | <i>ga<sup>^</sup>baē dargú gōsê</i>                        |
| <i>guddisâtto galatâ</i>                 | <i>gâle ôkkolê gōsê</i>                                    |
| <i>galatâkiē<sup>^</sup>mballîēsú</i>    | 70 <i>sānî kân Abbâ Dâġô</i>                               |
| <i>tólâkiē<sup>^</sup>nrānfaddú</i>      | <i>sānî kân Tullú Guddô</i>                                |
| 35 <i>yâ kiēnnâ anâ kiēnnî</i>           | <i>ga<sup>^</sup>baē dargú gōsê</i>                        |
| <i>yâ Wâq anâ guddisi</i>                | <i>gâle ôkkolê gōsê</i>                                    |
| <i>sôî yabalô galmâ</i>                  |  |

## THE CRADLE SONG OF THE LITTLE BOY

1 Sleep, sleep, O my boy! 2 my boy, O my little (one)! 3 The boy's mother is a bird; 4 at morning she rises chirping; 5 at day-break she rises chattering! 6 O boy's mother, give me this pleasure: 7 tomorrow, awake me! 8 O great tribe, give me this pleasure: 9 prolong for me the night! 10 A mother who has not a little son, 11 if she is lost, there is no one who seeks her, 12 if she dies, there is no one who buries her! 13 The mother who has a little son, 14 if she is lost, there is one who seeks her, 15 if she dies, there is one who buries her! 16 O my little son, what has beaten you? 17 Great love has beaten you; 18 pride has made you cry. 19 Cease crying because of pride! 20 Do not cease your great love! 21 Great love is fit for the sons of the *lūbā*; 22 pride is fit for the sons of the *gondālā*! 23 In the country it has rained; 24 the meal has been struck and dampened; 25 the canes have been bent. 26 During the milking it has rained; 27 the ropes have been struck and dampened; 28 the pot of osier has been bent. 29 O giver who gives to the people! 30 O God, make men grow! 31 Giving (a son) is not (a reason for) thanks-giving; 32 his growing up is (a reason for) thanks. 33 My thanks to you will never be ended; 34 your presents will never be forgotten! 35 O giver, give to me! 36 O God, make him grow for me! 37 The guardian of the sacred enclosure, the *gálmā*! 38 The pot with the water for the *gálmā*! 39 The mother with the boy for the *gálmā*! 40 The hunter with the spoils for the *gálmā*! 41 The pot is on a bed of *qāmú* grass. 42 Do not think that Din-gārîê is an old man! 43 The guardians of the sacred enclosures, their meeting is in Bîrámā. 44 The little son with his head dress! Sleep, sleep! 45 My little man slobbers over his breast; 46 the skin clothes are short; 47 the groin is dirty; 48 the waist is like (the waist) of a young wasp. 49 The shepherd with the stick! Sleep, sleep! 50 He who milks with the ropes! Sleep, sleep! 51 He who takes the milk with the pot! Sleep, sleep! 52 The girl whom I abandoned, 53 when the winter has come, I have wept for her! 54 She had abandoned her under the tree; 55 she now prays for her before the enclosure! 56 I have not bought for you that which has gone out of the enclosure! 57 I have bought for you what your heart desires! 58 What is it that the heart desires? 59 What is ( . . . )? 60 The cows of Abbā Bônê, 61 the cows of Dađí Golgê, 62 they have gone out and made the grass crack; 63 they have entered again and made the pot crack. 64 The cows of Abbā Egú, 65 the cows of Gúmā Sambô, 66 they have gone out and made the grass crack, 67 they have come in again and made the pot crack. 68 The cows of Abbā Dāgô, 69 the cows of Tullú Guddô, 70 they have gone out and made the grass crack, 71 they have come in again and made the pot crack.

*Notes.* As to verses 21-22, see Prose, texts 4, 5. The Galla bind their cows before milking them (see song 33, notes). Verses 37-43 allude to the *gálmā*. The *gálmā* is a Galla religious ceremony which is performed as follows: in each Galla tribe, there is an enclosure expressly constructed which is guarded by an elder of the tribe, called (according

to Loransiyos) *soi yabalô*. The tribe goes there in days of calamity to offer prayers to God, which are followed by sacrifices. Those who celebrate the *gálmā*, which continues usually for four days, are obliged to eat all the meat of the victims. Thus they feast in the sacred enclosure. This is the rite of *gálmā gabārô* (see song 141). On the contrary, some foods, e.g. the bread of *dāgussā* (*eleusine tokosso*), and the beer of *dāgussā* are forbidden during the *gálmā*, according to the rite of the *gálmā bōrantiččā*.

Biērámā (v. 43) is a village between Ğimmā Abbā Gifâr, Límму, and the Nónnô, where every year there is a great market of spices (ginger and coriander), and coffee; after this market they celebrate solemnly within the *gálmā*, a *wădâġā* (see song 135). Another village, called Biērámā, is in the Galla Azabo's territory. Verses 53–57 allude to the barbarous custom, today almost extinct among all the Galla tribes, of abandoning the daughters whom the father considered superfluous. The rejected baby was called *gatâ*, "thrown away." She was usually adopted by another family; otherwise she was given over to the slave merchants. The abandoning of daughters was permitted by the law of custom for forty days after birth and again on the second birthday of the baby. I cannot vouch that the translation which Loransiyos has given me of verse 42 is exact. Dingārî, according to Loransiyos, was "probably" a sorcerer or the guardian of a sacred enclosure in Límму. Wărrā Bayú is a clan of the Lîeqā Naqamtê tribe, another clan of the Wărra Himânô, and a tribe in Shoa. Its meaning, "large tribe," makes it a very general name for Galla clans and tribes. *Qamu* (v. 41) is a plant, the stem of which is like sorghum; its roots are sweet like sugar, and are chewed by the Galla.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. FESTIVE AND RELIGIOUS SONGS

### a. PAGAN

The greatest holiday of the Galla pagans is the feast of Atētê, the goddess of fecundity. (As to the name Atētê, cf. the Amharic word *atêt*, "fortune," "wealth"). Atētê is much venerated by the Galla tribes and even the Mussulmen celebrate the holiday. She is called in the songs *ayô*, "the mother," often with the diminutive *ayôlîe*, "the little mother," and also (which may seem, perhaps, strange to those who are unfamiliar with the Galla) *Māryâm* or *Mārām*, i.e. "Mary." Here we see the usual mixture of Christianity and paganism; perhaps it has been occasioned by a pagan assimilation of the survival of the worship of the Virgin Mary in the countries conquered by the Galla. It is interesting that the Holy Virgin should have become the goddess of fecundity. The Galla also celebrate the holiday of the Cross, and many localities recognize the feast of the Abbô, that is Saint Gabra Mánfas Qeddus.

The feast of Atētê usually begins with the *gálmā* of four days' duration (see song 126). On the last day, the *abbā gálmā*, chief of the meeting, sits down before two great leather

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, *Vocabolario amarico*, op. cit., *qamo*.



bags, one of which is filled with hydromel, the other with beer. On the bags there is placed a rod of *abbasûdâ*. During the days of the *gálmā*, the women sing songs asking the goddess to grant them fecundity and lamenting the woes which are caused by sterility.

## 127

*Atētiyó wāggātú gaú gaé*  
*wāggān gēñān wāl gēñéé*  
*haré wāmnān harí`nolé*  
*ḍagṛēsá yá Mārām*

5 *ililēn wāqī akká*  
*ililēn wāqīn kaḍá*  
*gabá šaqqātu fāqī*  
*anó saggādu wāqī*

1 O Atētē, the time has come; 2 since the time has come, we have met; 3 since we have called everyone, everyone has passed the day. 4 Hear us, O Mārām! 5 A cry to Heaven, 6 a cry will invoke God! 7 It is the tanner who hawks in the market. 8 It is God whom I adore!

*Notes.* The hawker is considered ignoble by the Galla and the Somali; therefore all the Galla hawkers are born in low castes.

## 128

*lomē qorān karrā`*  
*yomirré wāl agarrá*  
*bōr guyá`fān wārē*  
*lōné wāl agarrá*  
 5 *garbú kabālā tókko*  
*manṭēssún akkāwaté*  
*kán masēntittí`nhorté*  
*kán diēsé lakkāwaté*  
*diēsūn akkāna`ngētté*  
 10 *muččākō`nargín gētté*  
*gollākō`ndarbi`gētté*  
*ḡabbisé gollá miti*  
*muččāsé ḍōrá miti*  
*yá ḍābdu aná nātu*  
 15 *ulfofté gūmā`nñānne*  
*diēsé gumātā`ndūgne*  
*ḍágā kakatá guttú*  
*rārētú wāl baččísé*  
*ḍabdún daú`ngībne*  
 20 *Mārāmtu wāl čālčísé*  
*yá diēsú wāllú kobé*

*ayānní bōrō gomfé*  
*yá ḍabdú wāllú mošó*  
*ayānní bōrō sokké*  
 25 *yá ḍabdú masó ḍirsá*  
*ḍirsattú sottōn hawé*  
*yá diēsú masānu ḍirsá*  
*ḍirsattú daán hawé*  
*yá saré egīe dabbāsā*  
 30 *kán qūfé wāqīn darbáta*  
*kán Mārām namá gottú*  
*hattofí namá`ngottú*  
*sibillá mutá guté*  
*kán ḍīgá muččā gōté*  
 35 *baddān qullubí`ngabú*  
*muré lágā ḍābatá*  
*kan kīe ḍukkubí`ngabú*  
*turté namá yādatá*  
*arārfané yá Mārām*  
 40 *sirrā diēñé*  
*ga`ḡēḍén ṭāfi hāmá*  
*ól ḡēḍén wāqīn wāmá*

1 The wood of the enclosure is fragrant. 2 When shall we meet? 3 Tomorrow at mid-day, 4 by stealth we shall meet! 5 A handful of barley 6 the concubine has toasted. 7 That

which the sterile woman has hoarded, 8 the fertile woman has gained! 9 The fertile woman has said: 10 "Do not enter my enclosure!" she has said. 11 "Do not look at my sons!" she has said. 12 Her calves are not an enclosure (which may not be passed); 13 her sons are not the werewolf (which may not be seen)! 14 O she who has no (sons), woe to her! 15 (Like) the pregnant, she does not eat fruits; 16 (like) the confined woman, she does not drink the relatives' gifts. 17 The stones and the pebbles are abundant, 18 the dirt is heaped. 19 The sterile woman has not hated child-birth; 20 Mārām has been against her! 21 O she who has (sons), beautiful clothes; 22 the beneficent genius has adorned her room! 23 She who has no (sons), dirty clothes; 24 the beneficent genius has flown away from her room! 25 She who has no (sons), (even if) most dear to her husband, 26 the husband looks for a whip (to hit her). 27 She who has (sons), (even if she is the) second wife of the husband, 28 the husband looks forward to the confinement. 29 O dog with a shaggy tail! 30 He who is satiated, hurls spears to the sky! 31 Mārām creates the man; 32 the mother alone does not create the man. 33 The iron for nails is abundant. 34 You have made the boy with blood. 35 The plateau does not produce onions; 36 one cuts them and plants them by the river. 37 You, O Atētē, do not produce despair; 38 after a short time, you have compassion on the people. 39 By praying, O Mārām, 40 we have obtained (grace) from you. 41 One bows to reap the *tiēf*; 42 one rises up to pray to God.

*Notes.* The song begins by inviting the women to go into the enclosure of the *gálmā*. Verse 4 is important because it confirms what had been vaguely mentioned by some travelers concerning the secret character of the feast of Atētē, reserved only for the women. Verses 7–8 mean, as may easily be understood, "the sons of the fertile wife will be heirs to the wealth of the sterile wife of the same man." Verse 15 refers probably to the gifts which must be presented during the pregnancy; verse 16 alludes to the Galla custom that the husband's relatives must give to the confined wife special presents called *gumātā*. These presents usually are pots of milk and hydromel; therefore, the words, "drinks the relatives' presents." Verses 41–42, which are found in many Galla religious songs, indicate the Galla custom of rising up to pray; this custom distinguishes the pagan religious ceremonies from the Christian and Moslem ceremonies, the genuflections of which are scoffed at by the pagans.

129

*abiētukō arāramikā*  
*arārā wayā*  
*hāti~lmā tókko~nkortú*  
*saggadā rabbī~noltú*  
 5 *anáf naggārō kiēnni*  
*būdāf qabarō kiēnni*  
*masiēnā masō qīrāā*  
*masiēnā fōlīn bōkā*  
*galgalā bultīn mōgā*  
 10 *yā~bbākō yā~bbā umā*  
*kān qīgā mūčā gōtú*

*yā~yōkō yā~yō úmtu*  
*kān hīkā qīgā gōtú*  
*masiēnā qīrsī~ngībū*  
 15 *itillīē urqīēstīti*  
*lammīdā tinnīēstīti*  
*garbū kabalā guttū*  
*mantrēssūtīti akkāwatē*  
*ǵabbī masiēnī kiēssē*  
 20 *gumbī masiēnī kiēssē*  
*dīēsutīti lakkāwatē*

1 O my Lord, be merciful! 2 Mercy is good! 3 The mother of an only son 4 does not fail to adore God. 5 Give me your grace; 6 give the jackal to the werewolf! 7 The sterile woman most dear to her husband, 8 the sterile woman, perfume of hydromel; 9 to pass the night with her is bad. 10 O my father, O father creator, 11 make the boy with blood! 12 O my mother, mother creator, 13 give us a safe delivery! 14 The sterile woman does not hate her husband; 15 she perfumes the bed 16 (but) she weakens the relationship. 17 A handful of barley 18 the concubine has toasted. 19 The calves which the sterile woman has kept, 20 the bags of corn which the sterile woman has planted (in the ground), 21 the pregnant woman has gained them!

*Notes.* The song repeats the usual invocations already made in the preceding song. Loransiyos thinks that this song was composed by Mussulmen; in fact, God is called *Rabbí*. The Mussulmen of the Galla countries celebrate the feast of Atētê, another proof of the strange religious tolerance of the Galla who have been converted to Christianity and to Islam only superficially, and still retain their pagan religious conceptions.

## 130

<i>dubartín wālāltúḍā</i>	<i>ilmôn dabōrāyu mitt</i>
<i>illamón killiēḍā ḡētté</i>	<i>dabōrān maqāsi tolčé</i>
<i>ilmān dabōrāḍā ḡētté</i>	10 <i>ḡirsó ḡiēkkamayú mitt</i>
<i>ḡirsān ḡiēkkāmāḍā ḡētté</i>	<i>ḡiēkkamān ḡirust tolčé</i>
5 <i>illamón killēyú mitt</i>	<i>yā wulē yā ḡbasūdāé</i>
<i>hiḍanān qāni daé</i>	<i>yó ḡḡiréf námā suqá</i>
<i>tolfanān martú tolčé</i>	<i>yó ḡḡiruf námā muḍá</i>

1 The girl is foolish! 2 She has said, "The plates are porringers!" 3 She has said, "The sons are cowards!" 4 She has said, "The husband is violent!" 5 The plates are not porringers; 6 by force or voluntarily she has brought forth; 7 in dressing, she has dressed her tresses. 8 The sons are not cowards; 9 and (even) the coward makes good the name of her (i.e. of the mother). 10 The husband is not angry; 11 and (even) the violent makes good the conduct of her (i.e. of the bride). 12 O rod of *abbasūdā*! 13 While it (the rod) lasted, it was suspended for the people; 14 to cause it to last, one makes it pointed.

*Notes.* The song derides girls who do not desire to be married, fearing to have cowardly sons, or an angry husband. The minstrel says ironically (v. 8-11) "the cowardly son, as he does not go to war, remains in the house and helps his mother to clean and adorn the rooms; and the violent husband improves his bride, even if he has to use force. Verse 2 means: This girl mistakes things absolutely different, as earthen-ware plates for wooden porringers; likewise, she mistakes marriage and its real advantages for the dangers which result only in a few cases. The translation of the word *qāni* which, according to Loransiyos, means "voluntarily," "spontaneously," appears to me uncertain; Loransiyos hesitated in



translating it. The last verses of the song (v. 12-14) allude to the custom that, after the ceremony, the rod of *abbasûdā* (see song 127, introduction) is kept till a new ceremony (see song 134).

## 131

*ḡabbanā`nkorní*  
*ḡabanní grēsá duma*  
*barí nanníesa duma*  
*bultidān babadāni*

5 *mānā`bbān kabē kabú*  
*wātt`undā kabā mití*  
*kān garān naéf naú*  
*wātt`undā naá mití*

1 The coffee-pot does not boil. 2 The time has just arrived (lit., its arrival finishes).  
 3 The year accomplishes its cycle. 4 On the day (fit for the holiday), they have been dispersed. 5 The house which its owner has covered with grass, is covered, 6 but all houses are not covered with grass! 7 He whose heart is moved, is moved, 8 but all are not moved.

*Notes.* The song rails at those Christians or Mussulmen who do not celebrate the feast of Atētē. The first verse forms a sound-parallelism with the second.

## 132

*dubbín wāqayó furdaé*  
*ḡabān mēdiččān galé*  
*ḡabdún dāttidān galé*  
*qabá ḡētté`nkōrní*  
 5 *ḡabé ḡētté`nbōiní*  
*yá ḡabdú aná nātu*  
*'angōst afān nāté*  
*ulfofté gumā`nñāné*  
*diēsé gumātā`ndūgné*  
 10 *ariērté`mbusiēsíné*  
*tolčíté ḡabā`mbāfné*  
*diēsu nakaró ḡirsá*  
*masiēnā masó ḡirsá*  
*yá namā moyé tolčú*  
 15 *akkani ta 'é tolčú*  
*yá isí ilmōn`nqabné*  
*akkastn tiēsé čoptú*  
*yá isí ilmā diēssé*  
*handúrā fonā tiēssé*  
 20 *gomost garā grēssé*

*yá isí durbā diēssé*  
*handúrā dingā tiēssé*  
*wāndabbó lafān grēssé*  
*dāwanā ḡilbān grēssé*  
 25 *handúrā dingā tiēssé*  
*alagá garā grēssé*  
*gomost garā nāté*  
*diēsu inčilālākó*  
*muččānkite nátt`urgófteé*  
 30 *yá diēsú kalēssa nafá*  
*kalēssó nafá*  
*édda wá rafté lātaé*  
*kān Mārāmi kiēssee*  
*éga diēsse kiēnnié*  
 35 *guračči wāllú`ntolú*  
*guračči wāq síf há naú*  
*sambatā 'abbón dubbisa*  
*Atētē ayón dubbisa*  
*gaḡ`ḡēdén midān bubbisa*  
 40 *ḡēdén wāqin dubbisa*

1 The word of God is providence (literally, is fertile). 2 She who has no (children) obtains the *mēdiččā*; 3 She who has no (children) receives the umbrella. 4 Do not be

proud (then) if you have (children). 5 Do not weep if you have none. 6 O the woman who has none, poor thing! 7 The bed destroys her strength! 8 Pregnant she will not eat fruit; 9 in confinement she will not drink the gifts of childbed; 10 having made the *ariêrā*, she will not make use of it; 11 having made bread, she will not make loaves of it. 12 The fruitful wife, the love of her husband! 13 The sterile wife, torture of her husband! 14 O the people who make mortars! 15 Thus do they make them? (literally, standing thus do they make them?) 16 O she who has no children! 17 Thus is she weeping? 18 O she who has brought forth a male child! 19 She has placed the firstborn (literally, the navel) in the enclosure. 20 She has made her family happy. 21 O she who has brought forth a daughter! 22 She has placed the firstborn (daughter) in the nuptial house; 23 she has pushed the garment to the earth; 24 she has pushed the bells to the knees. 25 She has placed the firstborn (daughter) in the nuptial house; 26 she has made strangers happy; 27 she has saddened her family. 28 O fruitful one, O my perfume! 29 I smell the perfume of thy children. 30 O fruitful one, yesterday thou wert suffering (on account of the pains of childbirth). 31 Thou who didst suffer yesterday, 32 this evening perhaps thou wilt fall asleep. 33 What you kept for Mārām, 34 now that you are delivered, give it to her! 35 The black dress is not beautiful; 36 may the black heaven give thee gifts! 37 Sing the festival of Abbô! 38 Sing for Mother Atētê! 39 Bending, sift the wheat! 40 Standing upright, pray to God!

*Notes.* The song begins by saying: The providence of God brings it about that the one who has no children has other consolations, e.g. riches (v. 1-5). The *mēḍiċčā* (v. 2) is a bracelet of goatskin which may be worn only by those Galla who have a certain number of heads of cattle; the umbrella (v. 3) is another sign of wealth because in Abyssinia only great chiefs or great ladies can have one. Verses 6-17 bewail the lot of the sterile woman who will not have the gifts of childbirth, *gumâtā* (see song 128, notes); who will not prepare *ariêrā* or loaves of bread, because she has no children for whose nourishment she must plan. *Ariêrā* is a drink made of the whey of milk mixed with water, much used among the Galla. Verses 14-15 serve to form a parallel in sound and sense with verses 16-17. Then the song bewails also the lot of one who bears female children, destined to be married and therefore to go out from the paternal house to "make strangers happy" (v. 18-27). The Galla call "navel," *handûrā*, the firstborn. The song ends by inviting the fruitful woman, who with the aid of Atētê has avoided the two misfortunes above-mentioned, to come to the festival (v. 28-40). As to verse 37, observe that the Galla call the sky "black"; they have no word to indicate the color blue. On the other hand, "black" by metonymy is equivalent to "sky." Verse 38 would make one think that with these ceremonies to Atētê there are also mixed celebrations to Abunā Gabra Manfas Qeddus, the well-known Abyssinian saint.

## 133

- arārí yá arbí*  
*manānkō rōbé*  
*arbtín arbá ġēsé*  
*arārí yá arbí*  
 5 *arbtí manā ħyōlē*  
*arārí yá arbtí*  
*mānā ħyōlē lamā*  
*Mārām ġēdē ħmbiēkú*  
*yó dāḍdabē ħmbiēkú*  
 10 *arārí yá arbtí*  
*imānānkō rabbí, Māryāmē*  
*yá ħyōlē yá dākō, Māryāmē*  
*ól utalé tantí, Māryāmē*  
*múkā ħrattí dāē, Māryāmē*  
 15 *sāmā yādē tantí, Māryāmē*  
*áfārātí ta 'é, Māryāmē*  
*karā gubbā ħnfīgá, Māryāmē*  
*yādán mūčā dimā, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
 20 *hólā Dingīe Bofō, Māryāmē*  
*kuḍānī nán bité, Māryāmē*  
*ayó gurbā dūlú, Māryāmē*  
*ayó gurbā ġēsú, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
 25 *kottē fardā dimā, Māryāmē*  
*gottē bollā fūtā, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
*ayānā ħbbā Gurrā, Māryāmē*  
*Mārām Ġiğgō Gabē, Māryāmē*  
 30 *arār, Māryāmē*  
*yá hólā bisollē, Māryāmē*  
*ġālālāktē ħnolé, Māryāmē*  
*wāqō Gošú Garbā, Māryāmē*  
*wāqārre nú kaḍḍú, Māryāmē*  
 35 *arār, Māryāmē*  
*bodīn saddīetamā, Māryāmē*  
*Māryāmīf án galčē, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
*lōkō fardā dimā, Māryāmē*  
 40 *qōšān galmā ħngīrú, Māryāmē*  
*fīgá Ġiğgōn Báččō, Māryāmē*  
*sambātā ħbbā Kormā, Māryāmē*  
*Abbúkkō goromsā, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
 45 *yó ayānā ħnfagá, Māryāmē*  
*yó maggāññā ħnlagá, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
*kankīe guddā rabbí, Māryāmē*  
*yá nuró nurīe, Māryāmē*  
 50 *ḍīgās muččā gōté, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
*kán kiēssa gārāḍā, Māryāmē*  
*Mārāmtu ergatē, Māryāmē*  
*ergá wāqā guddā, Māryāmē*  
 55 *Mārāmtu adīēmā*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
*nú arār yá ħyōlē, Māryāmē*  
*galātāktētu ħsā, Māryāmē*  
*šāšī nurrā qabde, Māryāmē*  
 60 *gabbarí Wāqayó, Māryāmē*  
*Mārāmīf arbídā, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
*ilmān Hāğğī Mūsā, Māryāmē*  
*Medīna ħñčālčīsú, Māryāmē*  
 65 *Medīna duttuḍā, Māryāmē*  
*maggāññā buttuḍā, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē*  
*gadullīesī ħnnāḍú, Māryāmē*  
*Mārām ġiftí guddó, Māryāmē*  
 70 *yá ġiftí yá ħbiētó, Māryāmē*  
*manāktē ħttām bulé, Māryāmē*  
*arār, Māryāmē,*  
*balbalátti kufé, Māryāmē*  
*bōrō ħttām adīēmā, Māryāmē*  
 75 *arār, Māryāmē*  
*Mārām háḍā dimā, Māryāmē*  
*ṭomborīe hanḍurā, Māryāmē*  
*kalīessasā ħnolé, Māryāmē*  
*ḍīēngáddasā ħnolé, Māryāmē*  
 80 *aqábukō du 'é, Māryāmē*



*arâr, Māryāmê*  
*utún sí kaḍaḍḍú, Māryāmê*  
*namní Māryām kadé, Māryāmê*  
*oggúrrattí ^nargú, Māryāmê*  
 85 *ēbôn inwārānú, Māryāmê*  
*bakakkān inḍāú, Māryāmê*  
*arâr, yâ giftí*  
*giftí ġartí dulô, Māryāmê*  
*giftí ġársā gutú, Māryāmê*  
 90 *arâr, Māryāmê*  
*Māryāmê, yâ ^yôlê, Māryāmê*  
*arbāwôn takaltá, Māryāmê*

*nēnčá sí ^ngāḍítá, Māryāmê*  
*mōtí si ^naġġēftá, Māryāmê*  
 95 *hiyēssāsí ^nbaḍāfta, Māryāmê*  
*arâr, Māryāmê*  
*namní gadí ġġēḍé, Māryāmê*  
*ḍangalāsé buú, Māryāmê*  
*nú hundūm ^ol ġġennán, Māryāmê*  
 100 *Māryāmí ^nkaḍanná, Māryāmê*  
*arâr, Māryāmê*  
*arâr yâ ^yôlê*  
*arâr, yâ giftí*

1 Be propitious, O Friday! 2 It has rained in my house. 3 Friday has slain the elephants.  
 4 Be propitious, O Friday! 5 Friday, house of the little mother; 6 be propitious, O Friday!  
 7 There are two houses of the little mother. 8 Mary is never prayed to 9 unless one is in  
 trouble. 10 Be propitious, O Friday! 11 My faith is in God, O Mary! 12 O little mother,  
 O my mother, O Mary! 13 I have leaped up, O Mary! 14 I have struck (with my head) the  
 wood of the shelf, O Mary, 15 because I was thinking of thee, O Mary, 16 after having  
 stretched myself out on my bed, O Mary! 17 I run upon the road, O Mary, 18 because I  
 am thinking of the red maiden, O Mary! 19 Be propitious, O Mary! 20 Sheep for Dingê  
 Bofô, O Mary! 21 I have bought ten, O Mary! 22 Mother of the young warrior, O Mary,  
 23 Mother of the valiant youth, O Mary, 24 be propitious, O Mary! 25 Hoofs of a red  
 horse, O Mary! 26 Thou diggest and causest to rise from the tomb, O Mary! 27 Be propi-  
 tious, O Mary! 28 O beneficent genius of Abbā Gurrâ, O Mary, 29 Mary of Ġġġô Ga-  
 batâ, O Mary, 30 be propitious, O Mary! 31 O sheep with the black wool, O Mary!  
 32 Thy love is lacking to none, O Mary! 33 O God of Gošú Garbâ, O Mary! 34 We will  
 pray to God, O Mary! 35 Be propitious, O Mary! 36 Thirty pieces of salt, O Mary, 37 to  
 Mary I have made as an offering, O Mary! 38 Be propitious, O Mary! 39 O headstall of  
 a red horse, O Mary! 40 Jests are not suitable in the *gálmā*, O Mary! 41 Hasten to Ġġġô  
 Báččô, O Mary! 42 Sunday belongs to Abbā Kormā, O Mary! 43 A cow to Abbúkkô, O  
 Mary! 44 Be propitious, O Mary! 45 If thou art a beneficent spirit, descend, O Mary!  
 46 If thou art an evil spirit, go to the river, O Mary! 47 Be propitious, O Mary! 48 The  
 powerful Lord is yours, O Mary! 49 O trophy, O trophy! O Mary! 50 Thou hast  
 made the child of blood, O Mary! 51 Be propitious, O Mary! 52 What is within the  
 womb, O Mary, 53 Mary has sent it, O Mary, 54 from the great heaven, O Mary! 56 Be  
 propitious, O Mary! 57 Be propitious to us, O little mother, O Mary! 58 Behold thy  
 thanks, O Mary! 59 Thou hast placed thy veil upon us, O Mary! 60 Pay the tribute to  
 God, O Mary! 61 Friday is Mary's, O Mary! 62 Be propitious, O Mary! 63 The children  
 of Hāġġi Mūsā, O Mary, 64 prefer Medina, O Mary! 65 Medina is angry, O Mary; 66

she brings bad fortune, O Mary! 67 Be propitious, O Mary! 68 The black ants do not speak, O Mary! 69 Mary, great lady, O Mary! 70 O lady, pity, O Mary! 71 How has thy house passed the night, O Mary? 72 Be propitious, O Mary! 73 I have fallen at the door, O Mary! 74 How shall I be able to reach the rooms, O Mary? 75 Be propitious, O Mary! 76 Mārām, the red mother, O Mary! 77 The negro of my heart (literally, of my navel), O Mary! 78 Yesterday again I passed the day (fasting), O Mary! 79 Day before yesterday again I passed the day (fasting), O Mary! 80 From fasting I am dead, O Mary! 81 Be propitious, O Mary! 82 Thus I pray thee, O Mary! 83 He who prays to Mary, O Mary, 84 evil does not find, O Mary! 85 The lances do not smite him, O Mary! 86 The lightning does not strike him, O Mary! 87 Be propitious, O Lady! 88 O Lady of our decrepit old women, O Mary! 89 O Lady of our old men with the *gutú* hair, O Mary! 90 Be propitious, O Mary! 91 O Mary, O little mother, O Mary! 92 Thou bindest the elephants, O Mary! 93 Thou bindest the paws of lions, O Mary! 94 Thou killest the kings, O Mary! 95 Thou makest rich the poor, O Mary! 96 Be propitious, O Mary! 97 The man who stoops, O Mary, 98 gathers what he has sown, O Mary! 99 We all gazing aloft, O Mary, 100 will pray to Mary, O Mary! 101 Be propitious, O Mary! 102 Be propitious, O little mother! 103 Be propitious, O Lady!

*Notes.* Loransiyos knows this song by heart, having learned it at a festival held among the Lîeqā Nagamtê in honor of Atêtê (Loransiyos was at that time a Mussulman and bore the name of 'Abdallāh). The song begins with an invocation to Friday (verses 1-6). The pagan Galla believed that every spirit had a day sacred to him, on which he should be honored (see song 27); the day sacred to Atêtê was Friday. Verse 3 is, as usual, introduced into the song in order to obtain the play on words of *arbā*, "elephant," and *arbī*, "Friday." Verse 7 seems to mean that, beside Friday, there is another day sacred to Atêtê, but Loransiyos cannot explain it to me. Dingê Bofā (v. 20) was a magician of the Lîeqā Naqamtê; Abbā Gurrā (verse 28) a magician of the Čālliya Ōbô; Ğigġô Gabatâ (verse 29) a magician of Shoa; Gošú Garbâ (verse 33) was also a magician; for Ğigġô Báččō (v. 41), see Prose, texts 7, 8, 9, 10; Abbā Kormâ (verse 42) was a magician of Hindîebā Gaččí; for Abbúkkō (verse 43), see song 24, v. 113. Verse 46 alludes to the well-known Galla belief that the rivers are the seat of malevolent spirits. In verse 49, the trophy which is alluded to is the *nūrí*.<sup>1</sup> Verses 54-55 are noteworthy, giving as they do, the pagan Atêtê the Christian name of Mary, and also attributing to her the power of intercession with God in favor of mortals. Verse 59 also seems to me to have a trace of Christian ideas. Verses 63-67 jeer at some uncompromising Mussulmen who do not take part in the festival of Atêtê, preferring to prepare themselves for a pilgrimage. Verses 73-75 say that the help of Atêtê is necessary to a weak mortal, just as one who has fallen on the threshold needs aid to enter the interior of the house. In verses 78-80, the singer says he has performed a *gálmā*, fasting four days in honor of Atêtê. Verses 94-98 are the paraphrase of Proverb 20

<sup>1</sup> See song 113.



in this article. Verse 77 calls Atētê, "the negro of my heart." Perhaps it is a sort of intimate term of caress, or perhaps it alludes to the magic beliefs as to the color black which are diffused among all peoples. Verses 25, 31, 39, 49, 68 are introduced into the song in the usual way in order to obtain correspondence of sound with the respective verses which follow.

## 134

Having finished the songs in honor of Atētê, the *Abbā Gálmā* rises to his feet and says:—

(Abbā Gálmā) *farsô farsô sambatâ*  
*farsô kún kán sambatâ*  
*sambanní ná tíksu*

(Chorus) *sambanní nú tíksu*

(Abbā Gálmā) *bōká bōká sambatâ*  
*bōká kún kán sambatâ*  
*sambanní ná tíksu*

(Chorus) *sambanní nú tíksu*

(Abbā Gálmā). 1 The beer, the beer of the festival! 2 This beer belongs to the festival!  
 3 May the festival protect me!

(Chorus). 4 May the festival protect us!

(Abbā Gálmā). 5 The hydromel, the hydromel of the festival! 6 This hydromel belongs to the festival! 7 May the festival protect me!

(Chorus). 8 May the festival protect us!

*Notes.* Then the *Abbā Gálmā* spits into the two vessels containing according to song 127, beer and hydromel; then he takes the wand of *abbasûdā* and hands it to the head of the family or to the head of the tribe. In the festivals celebrated by all the tribes, it is an elder of the tribe itself; in the festivals celebrated by a single family, it is the head of the family itself, or an elder invited for the occasion, if the head of the family is not *lúbā*, because a man cannot be *abbā gálmā* who has not been through the first two degrees of the initiation (see Prose, text 4). The wand of *abbasûda*, until the next festival of Atētê, remains hanging from the ceiling of the house, and is regarded as a sacred object. They give it a point and usually hang on it glass necklaces and amulets (see song 130).

## 135-139

The true Galla prayer, which, according to the beliefs of the pagan Orómō, places man in contact with the Divinity, is the *wâdâǵā*. From the same Kushite root is derived the Somali *wâdâd*, which once indicated the magicians of paganism and now is used to designate the Mussulman priests. Thus, in a special sense, *wâdâd-ki*, the *wâdâd*, is the well-known Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh, the "Mad Mullah" of the English. The Galla *wâdâǵā* usually consists of the sacrifice of a sheep, preceded and followed by propitiatory songs. A *tufâ* (blessing by means of spitting) of beer or hydromel, followed by libations, may be substituted for the sacrifice. The *wâdâǵā* is directed, like the festivals of the *gálmā*, by the father of the family, or by an invited elder. Here are some of the songs of the *wâdâǵā*.



	<i>dinqí! dinqí!</i>	(Chorus)	<i>nagá nú bulči</i>
(Chorus)	<i>māltf māl dinqí?</i>		15 <i>biēlā kán dúte</i>
	<i>wā ḡāā dinqí</i>		<i>qáfā kán gabbáte</i>
	<i>hummo ḡukkubā malé 'āddu</i>		<i>yā wāq ná olči</i>
5	<i>hiddi sōrā malé gabbātu</i>	(Chorus)	<i>yā wāq nú olči</i>
	<i>bisān ofiččā malé yā 'u</i>	(Head of the <i>wādāḡā</i> )	<i>dubbī abbā qabú</i>
	<i>láfā ḡisā malé ḡirtru</i>		20 <i>fáte kēnni</i>
	<i>wāqā utubā malé ḡābātu</i>		<i>yā wāq ná olči</i>
	<i>wāqā šumburā samāy fačāse</i>	(Chorus)	<i>yā wāq nú olči</i>
10	<i>kanātu ná dinqa</i>	(Head of the <i>wādāḡā</i> )	<i>argité himi</i>
	<i>wāqā 'nkaḡanna hundūmā</i>		<i>ḡūḡā sōbāti ná basí</i>
	<i>wāqní kan ná olči</i>		25 <i>yā wāq ná olči</i>
	<i>nagá ná bulči</i>	(Chorus)	<i>yā wāq nú olči</i>

(Head of the *wādāḡā*): 1 O wonder! O wonder!

(Chorus): 2 What are the wonders?

(Head of the *wādāḡā*): 3 The wonders are six: 4 The hornbill complains without being sick; 5 the plant *hiddi* flourishes without nourishment; 6 the water runs without being urged; 7 the earth is fixed without pegs; 8 the heavens hold themselves up without supports; 9 in the firmament He (God) has sown the chick-peas of heaven. 10 These things fill me with wonder. 11 Let us all pray to God! 12 O God, who hast caused me to pass the day, 13 cause me to pass the night well!

(Chorus) 14 Cause us to pass the night well!

(Head of the *wādāḡā*): 15 From the hungry one who grows angry, 16 from the satiated who grows proud, 17 O God, deliver me!

(Chorus): 18 O God, deliver us!

(Head of the *wādāḡā*): 19 From the one who meddles with others' affairs; 20 from (the one who says) "you took, and now give," 21 O God, deliver me!

(Chorus): 22 O God, deliver us!

(Head of the *wādāḡā*): 23 From (the one who says), "thou sawest and now tell"; 24 from (the one who says) "bear false testimony for me!" 25 O God, deliver me!

(Chorus): 26 O God, deliver us.

*Notes.* For the hornbill, see song 75. The *hiddi* (verse 5) is a little plant which produces flowers similar to the lily; it grows in the form of thorny clusters, even in arid places and during the dry season. In Amharic it is called *imbābo*. The "chick-peas of heaven" (v. 9) are, as is clear, the stars. Verses 20–21 and 23–25 give the direct discourse in the Galla, where we should prefer to say: "From my creditors, O God, deliver me" (v. 20–21) and "From being called to bear witness, from being asked to bear false witness, O God, deliver me!" (v. 23–25). Being called to bear witness was in the small independent Galla kingdoms no slight annoyance. The king or the head of the tribe in cases in which it suited

him to condemn the accused, procured for himself the necessary witnesses without too many scruples and silenced those witnesses opposed to him by any means whatsoever. This especially was the case in trials instituted directly by the king on some futile pretext but really with the sole intention of condemning the innocent accused to slavery and selling them to the merchants.

*karâ wâq darbé*  
*éñ`abbân argé*  
*yâ qarâ ěbô*  
*wâq qarâ běkô*  
 5 *sunsumtĭ`nfilú*

*yó filé`nbaquí*  
*imán inġilú*  
*yó ġilé`ndabú*  
*ararfāné yór`argané*

1 The ways by which God has passed, 2 who can ever see? 3 O edge of the lance! 4 God knows the mind (of men). 5 The head is not combed, 6 unless, after it has been combed, it is oiled. 7 I shall not weary of speaking, 10 if by growing weary, I shall not fail (to obtain). 11 We have prayed: when shall we ever find (favor)?

*húmbā húmbā yâ Wâq*  
*húmbā húmbā yâ Wâq*  
*umté nu`ngàtini*  
*húmbā húmbā yâ Wâq*

5 *dagatté nú`nbūsini*  
*húmbā húmbā yâ Wâq*  
*'abābāyĕssā nuċulekiēti*  
*arārfané yor`argané*

1 *Húmbā! Húmbā!* O God! 2 *Húmbā, Húmbā,* O God! 3 Thou hast created us, do not cast us away! 4 *Húmbā, Húmbā,* O God! 5 Thou hast shown us favor, do not abandon us! 6 *Húmbā, Húmbā,* O God! 7 <sup>1</sup> 8 We have prayed; when shall we ever find (favor)?

*Notes.* According to Loransiyos, *húmbā* is a word which has no meaning, used in these invocations to *Wâqā*, because a magic force is attached to it.

*iġārté nú`ndigĭn, yâ Wâq*  
*kabdé nú`nbugqistĭn, yâ Wâq*  
*iġġā bōú nú olċi, yâ Wâq*  
*garâ naú nú olċi, yâ Wâq*

5 *gargār baú nú olċi, yâ Wâq*  
*ná dābikā, yâ Rābbi*  
*ákka mūkā, yâ Rābbi*

1 Thou hast raised us up, do not cast us down, O God! 2 Thou hast covered us with grass, do not destroy us, O God! 3 From weeping of the eyes, deliver us, O God! 4 From grief of heart, deliver us, O God! 5 From being separated from one another, deliver us, O God! 6 Plant us, O God, 7 like a tree, O God!

*Notes.* The first verses compare, metaphorically, man created and protected by God with a hut built and covered with grass by the hand of man.

In the second volume of Cecchi's account of his travels occur some phrases which are in reality a little song of the *wādāġā*. As the transcription is very incorrect, and the trans-

<sup>1</sup> Loransiyos could not translate this verse for me.

lation in many respects inexact, I introduce here the song written and translated as Loran-siyos, who knows it by heart, has corrected it.

<i>ǵársā Wāqayó ɖagái</i>	<i>ǵārtí Wāqayó fuḏí</i>
<i>ǵārtí Wāqayó ɖagái</i>	<i>sí hárkā qábda</i>
<i>sí gúrrā qábda</i>	10 <i>fárdā gārí yó ǵallátta fuḏí</i>
<i>ǵársā Wāqayó argí</i>	<i>nítí gārí yó ǵallátta fuḏí</i>
5 <i>ǵārtí Wāqayó argí</i>	<i>garbiččā gārí yó ǵallátta fuḏí</i>
<i>sí íǵǵā qábda</i>	<i>ɖagái Wāqayó</i>
<i>ǵársā Wāqayó fuḏí</i>	<i>Wāqayó ɖagái</i>

1 O old God, listen! 2 O decrepit God, listen! 3 Thou who hast ears, 4 O old God, look! 5 O decrepit God, look! 6 Thou who hast eyes, 7 O old God, take! 8 O decrepit God, take! 9 Thou who hast hands, 10 if thou lovest beautiful horses, take them! 11 If thou lovest beautiful women, take them! 12 If thou lovest beautiful slaves, take them! 13 Listen, O God! 14 O God, listen!

*Notes.* In verses 2, 5 and 8 the feminine *ǵārtí*, “old” is used in a disparaging sense, which makes superlative the adjective *ǵársā*, “old.” Thus, for a decrepit old man, in Amharic the feminine *bāltiēt* is used. The translation of Cecchi,<sup>1</sup> “old women who are near to God” is certainly erroneous.

## 140, 141

In the paganism of the Galla, as in so many other primitive religions, there exist special ceremonies for asking the divinity for rain. One of these ceremonies is that of the *rayá*, which is a solemn procession of women and children who go in search of a special grass, out of which they then weave wreathes. It is a part of the ritual to eat a barley pudding before the procession. On such an occasion, songs are sung invoking rain. Here are two of them:

<i>kusurrú Gibê</i>	<i>éssa sí qibé</i>
<i>húrsā Mandiyó</i>	<i>rōbí rōb</i>

1 O grass *kusurrú* of the Gibê! 2 O storm of Mandiyó! 3 Where art thou shut up? 4 Rain! Rain!

*Notes.* The *kusurrú* is a kind of grass which grows on the banks of rivers, and which the Galla use to cover their huts; Mandiyó (v. 2) is the diminutive of Abbā Mandô, a *čāmsitu* (see song 7). Perhaps it is the same Abbā Mandô, magician of the Sibú Gantí, referred to in song 50, who has held back the rain now invoked by the singer.

<i>bókkāē 'āno</i>	<i>dīgá badāsó</i>
<i>'āno gabbārō</i>	5 <i>gāđí dīrēsó</i>
<i>dulláččā kāsó</i>	<i>bókkāē rōbí</i>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 33.



*rōbī lāfā gaí*  
*lafé lafá fuḍú*  
*ǵársā dinqá fuḍú*  
 10 *ǵārtí gollá fuḍú*  
*máḥā uká fuḍú*  
*bokká gamá Wáddiēssā*

*diddibé galliḥḥā*  
*sīērā naggādiḥḥā*  
 15 *bókkāē`bá garbú*  
*bokkēñ`ára`ndarbú*  
*rōbúmā rōbī*

1 O rain! 2<sup>1</sup> . . . Gabbárō! 3 It will make the old cow rise; 4 it will make rich the poor; 5 it will moisten the pots; 6 it will lengthen the bonds. 7 O rain, rain down! 8 Rain down, reach the earth! 9 It will take the bones away from the ground; 10 it will bring out the old man from the *dinqá*; 11 it will bring forth the old woman from the room; 12 it will take the children from the arms (literally, from the armpits) (of their mothers). 13 The rain of the other bank of the Wáddiēssā, 14 let the magician beat the drum (to obtain it). 15.<sup>2</sup> . . . the Mussulman. 16 O rainy blessing of the barley! 17 The rain will not pass by today (without falling here). 18 O rain, rain down!

*Notes.* Verse 2 probably refers to a division of the Galla clans into *bōránā* (sing. *bōrantiḥḥā*) and *gabárō* (sing. *gabartiḥḥā*). The sudden departure from Naples of Loransiyos (see Prose, introduction) prevented my obtaining further particulars as to this interesting point of the constitution of the Galla tribes. Such a division into *gabárō* and *bōránā* is apparently adopted by the Galla of all regions. The eastern Galla (the *Bōránā* in the geographical sense of the word) are ignorant of it. Among the Liêqā on the other hand, it is in use. It seems that, as among the Liêqā tribes, those of Billô have a position inferior to the others (today not as to actual rights, but only in public estimation) on account of less noble genealogical traditions, so within each tribe there is a distinction made between the *bōrantiḥḥā* who boasts of his origin from Babbô, the ancestor of the Liêqā, and the *gabartiḥḥā* who cannot prove such an origin by means of genealogies. The *gabárō* do not go to *Abbā Múdā*, but on the other hand they possess among the Liêqā equal rights with the *bōránā*. D'Abbadie,<sup>3</sup> speaking of this distinction does not specify the Galla tribes among whom he has observed these customs, and says that the *gabárō* claim to be children of Adam (?) while they say that the *bōránā* are children of Satan; the *bōránā* on the other hand say they are the children of Sapîrā (the son of Máḥḥā). It is probable that the *gabárō* are people of servile origin (either Sidama subjugated by the Galla at the epoch of their recent invasion of Ethiopia or slaves of the Kushite race afterwards liberated), who by degrees have acquired a legal status almost equal to that of their former masters. One is led to such an hypothesis by the name *gabar-ō* itself, which seems to be an ancient plural from the root *gabar* which probably has the same meaning as the Ethiopian *gabara*,

<sup>1</sup> Loransiyos cannot translate for me the word 'áno.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the word *sīēra* in this verse is not clear to me.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine d'Abbadie, 'Sur les Oromo, grande nation Africaine,' (Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles, 1880, vol. 4, p. 189).

"to work," whence *gabr*, "slave." Such a root still exists today in Galla in the word *garbiččā*, *garbittī*, masculine and feminine singular forms of the less used *garbā*, "slave." A similar development as to legal status has been attained by the *Cawā*, former military colonies of the Emperor of Ethiopia, made up of corps of troops recruited among the Galla tribes and the frontier populations, who afterwards acquired all the rights of their former chiefs, also making legendary genealogies for themselves.<sup>1</sup> The Waddiessā (v. 13) is a river of Limmu. The singer invokes rain, which will bring everyone out upon the threshold of the hut to see it and rejoice, even the old men and children (v. 10-12).

## 142

The greatest festival of the pagan Galla is that of the *buttā*, called *ǵārā* by the Borana and the southern Galla. This festival is very important in connection with the social life of the Galla, because it is the last ceremony of the second as well as the third degree of initiation (see Prose, text 4); that is, it marks the acquisition of the right to be present and take part in the deliberations of the assembly of the tribe. Every *gādā* (see Prose, text 4) after the second period of initiation is called on to sacrifice an ox for the *buttā*. The *buttā* is celebrated every eight years. Beside the sacrifice of the ox, at the *buttā* the account is given of the victories obtained by the warriors of the tribe in wars and hunts, followed by the assignment of decorations (see song 15, notes). The account is given by a widow chosen from the tribe; the assignment of decorations is made by an elder of the tribe who puts in his hair for the occasion some feathers of the little red bird called *gučči* (see song 68). The warrior whose victims are to be reckoned up comes forward toward the elder and enumerates his deeds one by one, prefacing every statement with the cry, "*Sarararā!*" which has, perhaps, a magic force (see song 137). Here is one of these songs for the reckoning up of victories recited during a *buttā* celebrated by the Gullallê a little after the victory over Rās Wāldî Bāseyûm (see song 38).

<i>Sarararā! . . .</i>	<i>ḍabāmtu akka kīettu</i>
<i>ābbā gučči nān tūmtu aǵēsé</i>	<i>kān ṭobiēdān farrā</i>
<i>nāggādî sōmā ōltu</i>	<i>kān sī fakkātu ṭaddē aǵēsé</i>
<i>fuqurā mukarrātti aǵēsé</i>	15 <i>sarararā! . . .</i>
5 <i>kān sī fakkātu wānnī aǵēsé</i>	<i>ābbā gučči nān ḍuḡdu aǵēsé</i>
<i>sarararā! . . .</i>	<i>hāttu māčā sā 'ā</i>
<i>ābbā gučči nān čānō aǵēsé</i>	<i>kān sī fakkātu ḍuḡdu aǵēsé</i>
<i>holqā kīessa ḍūftū</i>	<i>sarararā! . . .</i>
<i>kān sī fakkātu čānō aǵēsé</i>	20 <i>ābbā gučči nān amā ḡḡēsé</i>
10 <i>sarararā! . . .</i>	<i>mukarrātti kannīsā fiṭṭū</i>
<i>ābbā gučči nān ṭaddē aǵēsé</i>	<i>kān sī fakkātu amā ḡḡēsé</i>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell' Eritrea*, Roma, 1916, p. 89-90.

- sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči nán bōngā ǵǵēsé  
 25 kán akkākīē gurrā gurguddātu  
 kán sí fakkātu bōngā ǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči nán gafársā ǵǵēsé  
 budé budá bosoqqá  
 30 kán gurri gurrākīē fakkāta  
 kán sí fakkātu gafársā ǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči qīerránsā ǵǵēsé  
 luttú hattú čakká  
 35 kán sí fakkātu qīerránsā ǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči amakīetā ǵǵēsé  
 ǵára gamā utalá  
 kán sí fakkātu amakīetā ǵǵēsé  
 40 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči nán giččō aǵǵēsé  
 námā kuḍafuritti lakkámtu  
 ábbā gučči giččilá aǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 45 ábbā gučči nīenčā ǵǵēsé

- nīenčā ǵǵēsé aǵǵēsú  
 kán ná fakkātu nīenčā ǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči lafō aǵǵēsé  
 50 namiččā kallē nīenčā ūfatú  
 kán ná fakkātu lafō aǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči lafō aǵǵēsé  
 figá kallē qīerránsā  
 55 kán ná fakkātu lafō aǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči ábbā fárdā ǵǵēsé  
 gōtá ḍowā dēbiyu  
 kán ná fakkātu ʔbbā fárdā ǵǵēsé  
 60 sararará! . . .  
 ábbā gučči Arússi aǵǵēsé  
 tiksítu lōn Arússi aǵǵēsé  
 kán ná fakkātu Arússi aǵǵēsé  
 sararará! . . .  
 65 ábbā gučči Amārā ǵǵēsé  
 Wáldiē agabú olčé  
 kárrā čūfán olčé  
 ábbā gučči Amārā Wáldiē aǵǵēsé

1 *Sararará!* . . . 2 O thou with the vulture's feathers, I have killed a blacksmith,  
 3 a Mussulman who was keeping a fast. 4 I have killed a Mussulman missionary on the  
 tree! 5 A monkey who looks like thee, I have killed! 6 *Sararará!* 7 O thou with the vul-  
 ture's feathers, I have killed a great baboon 8 who was emitting farts in his den! 9 A  
 great baboon, who looks like you have I killed! 10 *Sararará!* . . . 11 O thou of the vul-  
 ture's feathers, I have killed a porcupine, 12 wicked like thee, 13 who was injuring the  
 budding plants! 14 A porcupine who resembles thee have I killed! 15 *Sararará!* . . .  
 16 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a wildcat, 17 thief of the young of the  
 herd! 18 A wildcat that resembles thee have I killed! 19 *Sararará!* . . . 20 O thou of the  
 vulture's feathers, I have killed a wildcat 21 which destroys the bees on the trees! 22 A  
 wildcat that resembles thee have I killed! 23 *Sararará!* . . . 24 O thou of the vulture's  
 feathers, I have killed an antelope 25 who had ears longer than the ears of thy grand-  
 mother! 26 An antelope that resembles thee have I killed! 27 *Sararará!* . . . 28 O thou  
 of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a buffalo, 29 a full-grown buffalo with long horns,  
 30 who had ears like thy ears! 31 A buffalo that resembles thee have I killed! 32 *Sararará!*  
 . . . 33 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a leopard, 34 the insidious robber  
 of the forests! 35 A leopard that resembles thee have I killed! 36. *Sararará!* . . . 37 O thou



of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a big leopard 38 that was leaping on that bank there! 39 A big leopard that resembles thee have I killed! 40 *Sarararâ!* . . . 41 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a panther 42 who is equal to fourteen men! 43 O thou of the vulture's feathers, a panther have I killed! 44 *Sarararâ!* . . . 45 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a lion! 46 I have killed a lion and I shall kill more! 47 A lion that looks like me have I killed! 48 *Sarararâ!* . . . 49 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a footsoldier, 50 a warrior who wore a lion's skin, 51 a footsoldier who resembled me have I killed! 52 *Sarararâ!* . . . 53 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a footsoldier, 54 a strong warrior who wore a leopard's skin, 55 a footsoldier who resembles me have I killed! 56 *Sararara!* . . . 57 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed a horseman, 58 a valiant man, an obstacle that made people draw back, 59 a horseman who resembles me have I killed! 60 *Sarararâ!* . . . 61 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed some of the Arussi, 62 two shepherds of the Arussi herds, 63 some Arussi who resemble me have I killed! 64 *Sarararâ!* . . . 65 O thou of the vulture's feathers, I have killed some Amara! 66 I have made Wâldîe spend the day fasting! 67 I have kept the fold closed! 68 O thou of the vulture's feathers, the Amara of Wâldîe have I killed!

*Notes.* The slayer, as one sees, begins by boasting of the easiest victories and by degrees enumerates the more difficult. He begins with the victories over animals which are considered ignoble (monkeys, porcupines, wild cats, antelopes, buffaloes, leopards), and after having mentioned the panther, an animal which stands between the noble and ignoble prey, he passes to the lion and men. The ignoble animals are compared to the elder who listens to the account, the noble animals to the victorious warrior who recites the song.

In verses 1-5, the warrior relates his first victory over a monkey. The latter is called ironically "the blacksmith" (see song 65), as, in the same way, it is called "the Mussulman," because the Galla say that monkeys go without eating for several days (thence the usual comparison with the fast of the Mussulman), and also, they utter cries only at certain hours of the day (thence the comparison with the *mueddin* who calls believers to prayer at certain hours). In verse 4 I have translated the Galla *fuqurâ* by "Mussulman missionary"; that is, that kind of Islamized magician who among the Galla reads the Koran, and also foretells the future by the ancient rites, and makes amulets. The Somali call these holy men *wâdâd*.

In verses 15-18 and in verses 19-22, the hunter boasts of the killing of two wild cats of different species, one called *qûgdu*, literally "drinker," and the other *amâ*. In verses 27-31, the hunter boasts of the killing of the buffalo, which from very ancient times has been regarded as an ignoble animal by the Galla<sup>1</sup> (see song 34). In verses 36-39, the hunter boasts of the killing of a large species of leopard called in Galla *amakiêtâ*, and in Amharic *sîdîččâ*. It is related that the *amakiêta* is the one of the lesser felines most like the lion, be-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Guidi, ed., *Historia gentis galla*, op. cit., p. 206.

cause when the lioness, to test the strength of her nine children, made them leap across the ditch, according to the wide-spread Galla fable,<sup>1</sup> the *amakîêta* succeeded in clinging with its claws a little below the opposite side of the ditch and therefore only a little behind the lion. Verse 42 about the panther alludes to the calculation tables of the spoils which are made use of in the *buttâ* (see song 15, notes). Verses 64–68 sing of the slaying of the hostile Amara. It is noteworthy that such slaying should be reckoned up at the end, perhaps not so much because it is more glorious (it is to be remembered, on the contrary, that among some Galla tribes the killing of Amara is not worthy of being included in the *buttâ*, cf. song 34), but because it was the last victorious undertaking of the tribe, and therefore the one most present in the memory of the hearers. The festival of the *buttâ* is the most significant ceremony of Galla paganism; thus the Chronicle of Gúmā (see Prose, text 1) relates that Adam when he wished to convert Gúmā to Islam, first of all forbade the *buttâ*. In like manner, the Emperor Menilek forbade the *buttâ* to the Galla converted to Christianity, but a terrible drought having come upon them, this misfortune was attributed to the abandonment of the ancient ceremonies, and Menilek was obliged to revoke his prohibition.

## 143

The solemn oath of Galla paganism is a special and most interesting rite. Rather than an oath, it should be called a "sworn renunciation," because in it one does not swear to do a thing, but *not to do* the opposite thing. Thus, Menilek in song 54, v. 24–26, swears that "they will not abstain from going among the Arussi," according to a negative formula; thus, the mother of Túfā Rôbā in song 15, v. 74, swears "not to take a husband," and therefore to consider all men forbidden to her by oath. The oath is called by the Galla *kakâ* or *kakú*; the Amara who border on the Galla use to indicate such a Galla oath the word *ǵǵzzit* which really is equivalent to excommunication. The thing or person who is the object of the sworn renunciation by which one binds oneself not to do a certain act, is also called *kakú* (in Amharic *yä-tagazzâ*). The oath is taken with the feet resting on the skin of a wild boar, and, at the conclusion, a four-pronged fork is hurled into the air. It is noteworthy to find the skin of the wild boar (regarded from most ancient times as an unclean animal among the Semito-Hamites) as a property of this ritual. This feature must certainly be very ancient. Here is a stanza which is recited as the fork is hurled:

*ná darbí ǵǵǵé*  
*murtutǵǵé kakú*  
*hó ūbayáy*  
*ǵǵkō boyēn ʿā dāltu*

5 *badí baddú baí*  
*balbalá šán badí*  
*hó ūbayáy*

1 "Hurl me," has said 2 the *murtutǵǵé* of the oath. 3 *Hó! ūbayáy!* 4 May the wildboar inherit my house! 5 Perish! Destroy thyself! 6 O five doors, perish! 7 *Hó! ūbayáy!*

<sup>1</sup> Also collected by Tutscheck.



*Notes.* The *murṭuṭṭê* (v. 2) is a bush which provides the four-tined forks necessary for the sacred promise. *Hô! ūbayäy!* (v. 3, 7) are magic syllables without any lexical meaning. Perhaps the "five doors" (v. 6) have also a magic sense which Loransiyos cannot explain to me.

## b. CHRISTIAN

144

The Galla celebrate with special solemnity the festival of the Cross. After great bonfires (in Amharic *dāmîṭērā*) preceded and followed by salutes of guns, there takes place between the warriors the traditional tourney with lance and shield (Amharic, *gugs*). The male cattle are crowned with flowers as a sign of rejoicing. The boys of the region, led by one who bears a flower in his hand, go to the doors of the huts and sing:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>yqô darâr! yâ`babô darâr!</i>           | <i>bararî harçāsê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>      |
| <i>kēña mannî sirbé, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    | 15 <i>hindanqô baḏāsê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>  |
| <i>bararî harçāsê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>      | <i>abbâ wārrâ sirbé, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    |
| <i>mäsqäl äbbâ kormâ, yâ`babô darâr!</i>   | <i>faffatô harçāsê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>     |
| 5 <i>îbsâ korômmîḏâ, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    | <i>iğğollê baḏāsê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>      |
| <i>anî koftî`ngumî, yâ`babô darâr!</i>     | <i>darārâ ēbiččâ, yâ`babô darâr!</i>       |
| <i>Ligdî Bakâ gubbê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    | 20 <i>kannifnî marsitê, yâ`babô darâr!</i> |
| <i>gubbî nattî ḏāmê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    | <i>dararâ bisingâ, yâ`babô darâr!</i>      |
| <i>anô koftô`ngumnî, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    | <i>simbirô marsitê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>     |
| 10 <i>Rorrô Bakâ gubbê, yâ`babô darâr!</i> | <i>dararâ masqalâ, yâ`babô darâr!</i>      |
| <i>gubbî nattî ḏāmê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    | <i>iğğollê marsitê, yâ`babô darâr!</i>     |
| <i>hâ gubbû Bōranâ, yâ`babô darâr!</i>     | 25 <i>yqô darâr! yâ`babô darâr!</i>        |
| <i>abbâ wārrâ sirbé, yâ`babô darâr!</i>    |  |

1 Come, blossom! Blossom, O little flower! 2 Our family has sung; blossom, O little flower! 3 It has made the gnats fall; blossom, O little flower! 4 The Cross of the one rich in oxen; blossom, O little flower! 5 The light of the young bulls; blossom, O little flower! 6 Not I alone have made the fire; blossom, O little flower! 7 Ligdî Bakarîḥ has made the fire; blossom, O little flower! 8 "Do thou make the fire, too!" he sent me to say; blossom, O little flower! 9 Not I alone have made the fire; blossom, O little flower! 10 Rorrisâ Bakarîḥ has made the fire; blossom, O little flower! 11 "Do thou, too, make the fire!" he has sent me to say; Blossom, O little flower! 12 Let the *bōranâ* make the fire; blossom, O little flower! 13 The chief of the people has sung; blossom, O little flower! 14 It has made the gnats fall; blossom, O little flower! 15 It has made the hens rejoice; blossom, O little flower! 16 The chief of the people has sung; blossom, O little flower! 17 He has had the soup set on the table; blossom, O little flower! 18 It has made the boys rejoice; blossom, O little flower! 19 The flowers of the verbenâ; blossom, O little flower! 20 The bees make a circle; blossom, O little flower! 21 The flowers of the sorghum; blossom, O



little flower! 22 The birds make their circle; blossom, O little flower! 23 The flowers of the Cross; blossom, O little flower! 24 The boys make their circle; blossom, O little flower! 25 Come, blossom! O little flower, blossom!

*Notes.* Verses 2–3 and 13–15 jestingly say that the song has made the gnats which were clinging to the ceiling fall, because it has so stirred the air of the hut. In verses 6–12 the boys say that all are celebrating a festival for the Cross, making the bonfires, referred to above; also the warriors like Ligdí, son of Bakariê, and his brother Rorrisâ; also the noble *bōrāntiččā* (see song 141, notes); also the head of the tribe, who sings and by making the gnats fall feeds the hens.

### SONGS OF THE CARAVANS

145–146

When the caravans of the merchants left the regions of the Gibrê and by way of the Gudrú and of the Goğgam went to the Red Sea, the caravaners used to sing songs in praise of commerce along the way. Here are two of them:

<i>stā bonā yó kuttō kāsán malé</i>	<i>mōfā námatt`uwisá</i>
<i>stā gānnā yó dōqirē dītán malé</i>	10 <i>dōfā námā tāsísá</i>
<i>magālān odán malé</i>	<i>gēččā gádratt`ambisá</i>
<i>dímtu boqorán malé</i>	<i>námā dīērā gababsá</i>
5 <i>dīēgní námā`llakkisú</i>	<i>gababá baddú basá</i>
<i>dīēgā maggāññā kormá</i>	<i>hátti dīese`ngallattú</i>
<i>luqqiēttú námā litá</i>	15 <i>abbān umé`llellisú</i>
<i>lummirē námā ḡallisá</i>	

1 In summer they even make the dust rise; 2 in winter they even trample the mud! 3 If they talk with the dark maiden, 4 and smile upon the red maiden, 5 poverty will never leave them. 6 Poverty is a terrible disease; 7 it penetrates the sides, 8 it bends the vertebrae, 9 it dresses one in rags, 10 it makes people stupid; 11 it makes every desire remain in the breast; 12 those who are long, it shortens; 13 those that are short it destroys wholly. 14 Not even the mother that has borne (the poor man) loves him any longer! 15 Not even the father who has begotten him any longer esteems him!

*Notes.* The *maggāññā* of verse 6 is the Amharic *maggāññā*.<sup>1</sup> *Maggāññā kormá* means literally “the male of the disease,” “a terrible disease.”

<i>stā`rfasá yó awarrā saqán malé</i>	<i>uffaná mōfā godá</i>
<i>stā gānnā yó dōqirē dītán malé</i>	<i>wāmiččā bodé godá</i>
<i>attamín dīēgā bāú</i>	10 <i>nitt námā dīēgāqá</i>
<i>ámma dīēgni hamāqá</i>	<i>wāmiččā malé dagté</i>
5 <i>námā dīērā gababsá</i>	<i>ás ta`i malé gálté</i>
<i>gababá baddú basá</i>	<i>gálté dīrsāsē`nkorté</i>
<i>ta` umśá dombí godá</i>	<i>ákka wān dīrsá dāné</i>

<sup>1</sup> Guidi, Vocabolario amarico, op. cit., *maggāññā*.

1 Even in the autumn season they walk on the dust! 2 Even in the winter season they trample the mud! 3 How can one escape from poverty? 4 For poverty is a misfortune. 5 Tall men it shortens; 6 short ones it destroys wholly. 7 Of the chairs it makes little stools; 8 of clothes it makes rags. 9 It sends away invitations. 10 The wife of the poor man 11 goes away without invitations. 12 Without "sit down here," she returns to her house. 13 She goes home and quarrels with her husband, 14 as if he had beaten her!

## PASTORAL SONGS

147-151

*óbā dúrá durēssākó**obāsé<sup>ˆ</sup>bân durá**tiksé<sup>ˆ</sup>bân durēssá**obāsén borēssé*5 *tiksén barbadēssé**obé obé**obá lamú lámaččākó**obāsén borēssé**tiksén barbadēssé*10 *obé obé*

1 The first watering, my first one! 2 I have had them drink the first watering, 3 I have led to pasture for the first watering. 4 I have had them drink, I have had them make muddy (the watering place). 5 I have led to pasture, I have had them eat (all the grass). 6 It has drunk! it has drunk! 7 The second watering, my second one! 8 I have had them drink, I have had them make muddy (the watering place). 9 I have led to pasture, I have had them eat (all the grass). It has drunk! it has drunk!

*Notes.* The Galla take the cattle to water twice a day. Both the first and the second waterings are preceded by grazing.

*adú bosó**bosēttikó**bosó galé**holá qalé*5 *rāfú irbé**birá sirbé**sirrē dimbílálá**ól ġēdén st<sup>ˆ</sup>lálá**mē līt<sup>ˆ</sup>lāl*

1 O ugly sun! 2 O my ugly one! 3 The ugly one has gone in. 4 He has cut the throats of the sheep, 5 he has supped on sprouts, 6 then he has danced. 7 The bed is of fragrant grass. 8 By raising (my glances) I see thee. 9 Come! enter! look!

*Notes.* The shepherds sing this when they lead back the cattle to the fold at sunset.

*adú kottú kottú**kará hōrá čančō**qorātti ēgatá**ūlē dāḍabatá*5 *diddibbisá kottú*

1 O sun, come! come! 2 On the road of the rising salt pit of Čánčō, 3 beware of the thorns, 4 lean upon the staff! 5 Come singing!

*Notes.* The shepherds sing this when at dawn they lead the flock forth from the fold.

*hurri yâ hurri*  
*abbân fardâ dufé*  
*bokká harkâ qabá*  
*bokká sittî çabsá*

5 *qarábā<sup>ˆ</sup>rká qaba*  
*gurrâ sittî murá*  
*gārā yābî yâ hurri*  
*gārā yābî yâ hurri*

1 O mist! O mist! 2 The horseman has come. 3 He has a stick in his hands. 4 With the stick he will crush thee! 5 He has a knife in his hands; 6 he will cut off thy ears! 7 Go up on the mountain, O mist! 8 Go up on the mountain, O mist!

*Notes.* A playful song of the shepherds in misty weather.

*abbâ fardâ çollê*  
*gabābâ boŋollê*  
*boŋitô ñāqitá*  
*boŋitê galtá*

5 *sombô guddâ ġalâ baí*  
*bodê dīnâ durá baí*  
*mîe dāwaččisí*

1 O master of the swift courser, 2 short, little, 3 thou eatest sprouts, *boŋitô*. 4 Thou wilt return a prisoner! 5 Come forth under the great sycamore! 6 Come forth before the lances of the enemies! 7 Come, gallop!

*Notes.* This is a song of contempt of the shepherds for the horsemen who gallop passing near the flocks. *Boŋitô* (v. 3) is a green vegetable similar to the sprouts, also a food of the poor.

## PROSE

**Introduction.** I had begun the collection of various kinds of Galla popular literature in prose, and, as may be seen, had succeeded in gathering a number of texts, when by the order of the Italian military authorities, my assistant, Loransiyos Wálda Yasus (see Introduction to this article), was sent back to his country, or rather, sent to his last residence at Keren in Eritrea. This sudden return of Loransiyos to his country not only prevented my completing the collection of prose texts, but left me without explanation, or at least without all the necessary explanation, of some texts which I had already gathered; for instance, several songs, the remainder of the Chronicle of Gúmā, and another long historical text relating to the cruelty of King Fáysā Lamú.

### I. PROSE WORKS ON HISTORICAL SUBJECTS

#### 1. The Oral Chronicle of the Kingdom of Gúmā.

As among all primitive people historical and genealogical traditions abound, so in the independent Galla kingdoms such traditions assume the form of genuine chronicles. Since writing does not exist, these chronicles are handed down orally from father to son. Their existence has been hitherto unknown. Yet they are not without importance for the special history of the kingdom with which they deal, and for the general history of Ethiopia, as



one can obtain from it references to the condition of the region which is at present Galla, before the invasion of this people into Ethiopia, and at the same time receive information as to the relations between these Galla kingdoms and Christian Abyssinia. Nor should one show himself skeptical of the possibility that oral tradition constitutes a fount of information of importance concerning ancient events. For example, Conti Rossini<sup>1</sup> observed that in the oral historical traditions gathered by Bieber in Kaffa,<sup>2</sup> there was reference to a Sipenhao, i.e. Sapehi, governor of the Innāryā under the rule of Malak Saggad, also recorded in the written Ethiopian chronicle of this king. In this work I have collected proof of the preservation through the centuries of the legends about the Emperor Theodore I; and in the course of my studies of the Kushite peoples, I have frequently had the opportunity to observe that the genealogies of their tribes which the natives know, are a source of information not to be despised. Unfortunately, however, as I have said, among the chronicles of the Galla kingdoms, this of Gúmā is the first which has been published. And the Amharic conquest, by destroying the independence of the Galla kingdoms, has resulted in these chronicles becoming less known day by day among the Galla people themselves, because there is now lacking one of the principal reasons for the existence of the chronicles: that of exalting the noble origin and the deeds of the reigning dynasty. (Observe that the chronicle of Gúmā mentions only the family of Adam.) These chronicles stopped at the Amharic conquest. The struggles of the Amharic chiefs, their rise and fall, and their disagreements, are not, Loransiyos says emphatically, subjects dealt with in the stories of the sons of Ormā. Now the chronicles are known only to the elders. It would, therefore, in my opinion, be of great scientific interest to collect them soon, before the remembrance of them is lost and these unique historical documents fall into oblivion.

The present chronicle has the title *Dubbí motúmmā Gúmā*, which Loransiyos translates in Amharic, *Yā-Gúmā mangíst nāgār*, "Chronicle of the Kingdom of Gúmā" (the Galla *dubbí*, from the root *dubb*, "to speak," corresponds exactly in sense to the Amharic *nāgār*, "account," "thing," "contest"). The chronicle begins with the account of the way in which the Adamite dynasty got possession of the kingdom of Gúmā. It should have ended with the cruel death sentence of the last king, Abbā Foggí, decreed by Rās Tasammā; however, as I have said above, I was unable to finish my work, and, unfortunately, was prevented from publishing the last fragment gathered of this chronicle, because many points in it are obscure to me. Therefore, I have published only a summary of it, reserving the publication of the original until, with the aid of some native, I have revised and cleared it up.

<sup>1</sup> Carlo Conti Rossini, 'Studii su alcune popolazioni dell' Etiopia,' (Rivista degli studii Orientali, 6th year, pt. 2, p. 416).

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich J. Bieber, 'Das Land Kaffa und seine Bewohner,' (Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques, Paris, 1909, p. 225-249).

**Dubbi motúmmā Gumā.**

I. *Adám ċákkā turé. Eḃiċċā Taló kiēssátti turé. Ċákkā kána kiēssa wāšātu ġirá. Adám wāšā dāgādán ċūfē, gafársā gadí eḷma, gafársā kormāsa qalé nātu. Adám námā akkána turé. Arbā boqú qabétti kuffisá. Adám námā akkanáti. Gáfā Dagoyén adamó bu 'é, Adám inargé. Isán arginán baqatáni. Namiċċi kuní biniēnsā ġēdáni baqatani. Abbā alā Dagoyén egdútti kiēnné. Kán namiċċi kuní ġēdú ilála! Ġēdē Dagoyén egdiċċi kún ta 'é ēgē. Gafarsí digdāmā ta 'é dufé. Adam ká 'é, ēbô nqabú. Hárkā qullā dúkā fiġēti tókko qabaté. Yadi guddiċċā sa gafársā mogolē qabé. Bitátti dīēbisé kuffisé. Hadú qabá galé. Gáfarsā kána baté qaġġēlē wāšátti galé. Dāgā kána hárkā tókko nqabé balbalāsa bané. Gafársā kána fuḡatē galé. Gafársā kána otú ṭinnó hinturín marummāni gaté. Matā gáfā malé gōgar-ráttu nbasín nātē fiṭé. Egdún galté ábbā alátti himté. Attám godé? Ġēdén. Gafarsí ġadi hárkā nqabé qalé. Qaléti sá matáfi marummān gaté. Ġēdáni ábbā alátti himáni. Abbán mílā galéti mōti Dagoyēti himé. Mōtín Dagoyē Sarbōraddó turé. Hinní ábbā mílátti: miē ēgdu kána fidí! ġēdē. Egdú kána wāmē. Sarbōraddón. Ammánán: atí ġurbá! ġēdē. Dubbín kún dūgádā? Ġēdē gáfate. Dugumā, geftākó! ġēdē. Ákka atí argité kaná, namní birá yó argé, fárdā án sí kiēnna! ġēdē. Yó dubbí kún sōbā ta 'é, ákka korbiēssa holá nán sí qalá! ġēdē. Dubbí kaná wult godé. Námā kúdálamā lakkāē Sarbōraddó egdútti kiēnne. Agarsísi! Ġēdē. Tolé! Ġēdē fuḡatēti adamó bu 'é. Ġára kuḡalamā kaní iláláni Adám inargani. Yá namá! yá namá! Ġēdáni wāmáni. Mílāsa mīrgā ól fuḡatē ilálē. Namiċċi adídā. Namón biniēnsā! Ġēdáni sodatáni. Kána mbaqatani. Ammánán mál gallé mōtitti himná arginéo; haráf bōrí hinégna! Ġēdáni marē godáni. Kanán ġuyā lamá ēgáni. Gafársā solanēssā dufé, gafársā kána itti utalé qabé. Hinqalé nāta. Utumā iláláni fiṭé. Namní kún bóda nú nāta! Ġēdáni sodatáni. Irráċċi baqatáni ta 'ani. Ammánán isáni yōgga ṭinnó turáni gafarstín daltín dufé. Gafársā kána qabé, qabéti qunċi qunċisitti luká sa lamáni hiḡé. Hiḡéti afān ġalá qabaté eḷmaté. Anán gafársā kána dūgē, qunċi kána írra hiké ġadi ġēdāsa. Gafarsí ilmōsa fuḡatē adīēmé. Ammánán ġára manátti qaġġēle wāšāsatti galé; balbalá wāšāsa kána hárkā tokkón írra fuḡé galé ċufatē ċisē. Ammánán ġarri tti dufaníti Sarbōraddótti himáni. Dubbín dūgaté, yá goftākó. Ġēdáni Sarbótti himáni. Sarbón ēga dubbín dūgaté ġēnáni daqéti án qabá! Ġēdē. Dagoyē daċċasé moggá kána ábbā bu 'é, daqéti argé. Ċákkā kiēssa sa dābaté: mál gōna qamna? Ġēdē! Namā arbā gadí eḷmú, gafársā qabé qalú máltú danda 'é qába? Ġēttu. Dāgā hinní balbalá itti ċūfē kána hundúmti dūlā harkísa! ġēdē. Harkisáni daḡḡabáni. Kúni námā mīti Saytāni malé! Ġēdáni. Ammánán dīsé galé. Gáfā Sarbón dīsé galú, durbí Dagoyé! Aní nán qabá! ġētté! Attám goté qábatta? Ġēdani. Durbí: nán qabá namiċċá! Ġētté! Ġēdani Sarbótti himáni. Intálā kána nátti fidá! Ġēdē. Ega intálā kána Sarbótti fidán. Attám gōté qábda yá ntálakó? Ġēdē. Ġessí, aċċi ná kaí manán itti galú sa balbalá, ibiddá ná kiēnni, minán ġuyā tórbā kán nāttu ná kiēnni! Egdú námā tórbā ná kiēnni. Gáfā ġuyā tórbā nán qaba! Ġētté. Ammánán ēgdu tórbā gáfā ġuyā tórbā kiēnné ergé Sarbōraddó egdún kárā tókko ċákkā buláni, isēn kopāsē raftí. Intálā ġiēssáni balbalá mánā kaáni. Hinní námā baé turé Adám. Yōgga intálā balbalátti tiēssu, yadā gafarsátti gatitti baté dufé. Gafársā kána láfā kaé. Málí kán nátti aġáu? Ġēdē. Námā námā kán ġēdú kún! Gafársā kána láfā kaé galéti nāti. Wá tókko mánā nbulċiné fiṭé. Ganamá yoggá láfā intálā kán ilálē wá itti ndubbánni, bírā darbé adīēmé. Ċákkā daqé gafársā qabé dufé qalaté nāté. Nāté yōgga fiṭú wāšátti galé bulé. Gáfā lamáffā intalátti láfátti ilálē qabé durbúmmāšē fuḡatē. Intála kán qabaté halkán kaná buléto borúmti ċákkā daqé. Gafársā guddā daḡḡabé, ilmó gafársā qabaté dufé. Gáfā lamáffā gafársā kánā nātétti bulé, nitti godatē manátti galċé. Manátti galċé adamó dīēbié bu 'é. Gafársā daḡḡabé, wārabbo qabate galé. Galéti intálā wāġġín ċisē. Gáfā sadáffā balbalá harkisé ċūfámu didé ákka duri; ammánán balbalātu*



ċuſin ċákkā daqé. Ēgdú suni indúftu. Hinni manná<sup>ˆ</sup>nġirú. Intaláti kópā argáni. Ēga mālin ta'á? Ġēdaní. Balbalá afán baná bulé, harkisé daqđabé. Dúra gafársā guddā fidēti, bulettio ilmō gafársā wārabbō fidé. Kanán ganamā bōrō bōr kottu! Ġēttēti. Ammanán ganamān dufáni. Kuruppē<sup>ˆ</sup>nni qabaté galēti, wālakkāšē nātē, wālakkā daqđabé bulé. Ammanán fuđatāni galáni. Ēgdu ganamā halkani<sup>ˆ</sup>ndúfte, mánā banán, ól galáni qabatāni Adamín. Qabatāni fuđāni galáni, manátti galčáni. Fidāni mōti Dagoyētti kiēnnán. Mōtín Dagoyē mánā kiēnnēf intalátti fuđé galé, niti gođatē. Yógga isēn ulfóftu intallí, ċbónsa dundúmā kuđafuri bité. Maqānkō ábbā Balótti! Ġēđé. Ammanán Sarbōraddō gárbā kudaśán fuđatē: aní sí dufá! ġēđé. Garbí ċákkā boġé máláná góda? Ġēđé Sarbón, ammanán wállitti<sup>ˆ</sup>máni; firrisūmā ganamā Adamín Sarbō aġšé. Gáfā Sarbón du'ú, wārqīe qubárra bafatē Sarbō; gáfā lamáffā Dagoyēn Sarbō awālame. Namni kún baláda! Wārqīe ėga qubárra bafatē há mōu! Ġēđáni mōsisán.

II. Ammanán hinni Gumáin mōé. Gáfā barċúmā Gumá barċúmā Dagoyē yābú, akkasitti motúmmā fuđatē Adamín. Adamín Saytānárre dałatē, namárre dałatú nú<sup>ˆ</sup>mbiēgnu. Fón hinni<sup>ˆ</sup>nñātín<sup>ˆ</sup>nġirú, darbatē<sup>ˆ</sup>ndabú, dubbatē<sup>ˆ</sup>ngolú. Ammanán asallamí! ġēđé Gumáda. Gumán Oromō turé; buttāsa ballīse; motúmmā kán motúmmā islāmāti! ġēđé. Akkána dafé asallamē Adamín. Gáfā hinni du'ú, ilmisa Gúmā itti mōé, maqānsa Ġílčā kán ġēđámu. Ġílčā biyā Dagoyēti kopāsa mōé.

III. Gáfā Ġílčā du'ú, ilmisa mōé Ónčo kán ġēđámu. Ončón Ġímmā Gómmā Ġiērā itti lōle, Hanná daččafatē, Nónnō Gačči daččafatē. Kanáf maqānsa ábbā dūlā ġēđamē. Waranní Adám dúr Baló ġēđáni. Waranní Ónčo akkasitti Baló ġēđamté. Maqānsa Ábbā Baló ġēđáni. Hinni intálā Gommā hīerumsisē! Fón námā barbaddé qalčisé. Nitínsa diddēti fón sarē gōtē: bilčatēra fón namāti! Ġēttēti kiēnnitē. Hinaġáa! gatí! ġēđé. Kanán fón namā dīsiftē. Ammanán: hundúmā gođēra! ġēđé! Dađi daqá ná hafé! ġēđé. Bidirú soksisé, dađitti naqsisé gūtē. Ličētti (dankatti) dūgatē. Dūgā kaná qomāsā d'áe aġšé.

IV. Gáfā hinni du'ú, ilmisa mōé Ġawē kán ġēđámu. Maqán wārānisa Ábbā Baló ġēđáni ákka wārānā ábbasátti. Hinni digdāmi tōrbā nađđēni qabé. Ábbán Bōqā mōtín Ġímmā marí torbā ėrgé. Torbán marín kún daqtēti ó manátti galté. Doksé harrē qalčisé dādať sogiddátti naqsieséo itti kiēnnē. Namni torbā kún nātāni buláni. Bóda kanátti ganamā yógga ta' é námā ġāa kaní daksisé torbaffāti gáfā<sup>ˆ</sup>tti ġiēssáni. Maqānsa Ábbā Malatē turé. Daqé dāgā kúrre ta' é. Biśán fidí! Ġēđé garbittída. Ábbán Baló barċúmā dābatē ta' é ilála. Biśānitti dāgā dīqé. Málitti dāgā dīqta? ġēđé. Námā Gúmā ġabáda, minán Gumá ġabáda; biśānitti yó aní dāgā dīqa, lāfā ta' á láta! ġēđé. Kanán daksísa! ġēđé. Ēga dađi ġēnnán yógga dakútti darbú:

dínq<sup>ˆ</sup>abbā Baló! dínq<sup>ˆ</sup>abbā Baló!  
nú daku<sup>ˆ</sup>nsēne; nú dađi sēne!

yógga hinni ġēdú: dāgā kanárre ka'í! ġēđé. Maqānkīe ėnu? ġēđé. Ábbā Malāti! ġēđé. Malākiē wāġġín biyākiēti gali! ġēđé gađ<sup>ˆ</sup>dīsé. Ammanán Ġímmā galáni, Ábbā Bōqátti: akkána gođé mōtín Gumá! ġēđáni himáni. Namākō mālíf akkána gōtē? ġēđēti ėrgatē Ábbā Bōqán. Síyu nán daksísa! ġēđé Ábbā Bōqátti ėrgatē Ábbán Baló. Ábbā Bōqán lōlā itti dāmatē. Ábbán Baló: ná dabarsí! Gommāda ġēđen, Gommán: tolé! ġēđēti dabarsé. Ammanán dufáni Fačāti wállóláni. Ēgdu mūkā yābsisēti egdún kún mukárre tiēssé: yā Ábbā Baló! yā Ábbā Baló! ġēttē egdún Ġímmán mūkā kána ól ilále. Yógga ilálu námā tokkíti mukárre tiēssé arge. Mál ábbākō ná wāmta? ġēđé Ábbán Baló. Billán mórma ábbākēti há kutu. Ġēđé diēbisé Ábbā Báloti. Ammanán: gottó ná fida! ġēđé Gumáda mūkā kána



*murá! ġēḍé. Qottó fidáni, múkā kána ċiráni, éḡdu kána aḡḡsáni. Ammanán Ġimmā itti ka' éti ábbā fárdā afurtami afúr fudaté mōtín Ġimmā. Namní Ġimmā guddāḡā. Gumán kannísā kána ḡaḡḡabé, ḡāfā tókko lafárra Gumā fiṭé Ġimmān. Ammanán galé baqaté Gumā. Abbán Bōḡā: namní lamḡ aḡḡsé ḡāḡā~ndibbatín námā afúr Gumāin aḡḡsé malé! ġēḍé siērā tumé. Kanán ka 'éti namní tokkičči Ġimmā ilmā ábbā Gumāin kuḡafurí aḡḡsé, Nagarí Bató ġēḡdáni. Ġimmā ilmā námā guddā, garbiččā miti. Adamí kuḡafurí aḡḡsé. Kuḡafurí aḡḡsé ḡāfā ka' é daḡé, mōtí Ġimmā fūldurā: miēka aḡḡḡtē, yā gurbā? Ġēnnán: kuḡafurí Adamín qullā~naḡḡsé! ġēḡḡé. Mālin biēkta ákka Adamíti? Ġēnnán: Oromōn Gumā ḡāḡnā~ntayiatu! ġēḡḡé. Adamín islāmā ḡāḡnī tayiriḡā. Ġēḡḡé, mōtí Abbā Bōḡā fūldurātti fidé aḡarsisé. Ammanán kán boḡamé hundīnu ḡāti kiēnné. Ammanán mōtín Ġimmā ḡaḡí ḡīsé. Ammanán Nagarí Bató qoró kiēnnéfi ábbā láfā ḡoḡé gultaññā ta 'é. Gumāif Ġimmā Abbán Bōḡāfi Abbán Baló ammanán arāramaní.*

### Chronicle of the Kingdom of Guma.

I. *The Legend of Adam.* Adam lived in the woods, lived in the forest of Ebičča Taló (1). In this forest there is a cave. Adam closed the opening to the cave with a stone, milked the buffaloes, killed the big buffaloes and ate them. Such a man was Adam. When the Dagoyê (2) went out to hunt, they saw Adam. They saw him and fled. "This man is a wild beast," they thought, and fled. The Dagoyê gave a guard to the chief huntsman (3). The Dagoyê said to them, "Spy out what this man does!" The guard stood and waited. After a while, twenty buffaloes came. Adam rose; he did not take a lance; he followed (the buffaloes) unarmed until he caught one; he seized by the haunches a young buffalo which was quite large. He dragged it to the left and threw it down. Then, taking a knife, he cut its throat. Then he shouldered this buffalo and went to the cave, which he entered. He seized that rock which served as a door to the cave with one hand and opened the door. He entered carrying the buffalo. Although this buffalo was not small, he threw away only the entrails. He did not even take off the skin; he ate the whole of it except the head and the horns (4). The guard went back and spoke to the head of the scouts (5). "What did he do?" the latter asked. "He seized (it) with (unarmed) hands, and cut its throat. He killed it and threw away nothing but its head and the entrails," the guard related to the chief of the scouts.

The chief guide entered to speak with King Dagoyê. King Dagoyê was then Sarbōraddô. He said to the chief guide, "Come, bring hither this guard!" The former called the guard. Then Sarbōraddô asked, "Young man, is this story true?" "It is true, my lord," he replied. "If then another sees what thou hast seen, I will give thee a horse. But if this story is a lie, I will cut thy throat like a sheep's," said Sarbōraddô. And so they made an agreement. Sarbōraddô chose twelve men and gave them to the guard. "Show them (Adam)!" he said. "Very well," replied the former, and with the twelve men he went out into the country. These twelve men watched and saw Adam. "O man! O man!" they shouted and called him. He lifted up his right foot and looked. The man (Adam) was white (6). "This giant is a wild animal," they thought and were afraid; therefore they

fled. Then they said, "When we return, what shall we tell the king that we have seen?" and therefore they decided to remain there another day. Thus they waited two days. A full-grown buffalo came; Adam fell upon this buffalo, seized him, cut his throat and devoured him. While they were looking at him, he finished (eating) it. "This man will eat us next!" they said and were afraid. Then they ran far away and there they stopped. Then, when they had stood still a while, there came a mother buffalo. Adam seized the buffalo and tore off withes, and bound its haunches together (7). Having bound it, he took hold of it underneath and milked it. He drank the milk of this buffalo, then freed it of those withes, and took off the fetters. The buffalo with its little one went away. Then he (Adam) went toward home and entered his cave. He raised the door of his cave with one hand, entered, closed the door again, and went to sleep. Then they came and told Sarbōraddô. "The story was true, my lord," they said to Sarbô (8).

When they said to Sarbô that the story was true, he said, "I will go and seize Adam." He gathered together the Dagoyê people, descended to that elephant wood, went and saw him. He stood still in the middle of the wood. "How shall we seize him? A man who milks elephants, who seizes buffaloes and eats them up, who will be able to catch him?" he said. "This stone with which he has closed the doorway, O all my army pull at it!" he said. They pulled, but they accomplished nothing. "This is not a man; it is Satan," they said. Then Sarbōraddô gave up the undertaking and went back.

When Sarbô gave up the undertaking and returned, the young daughter of the Dagoyê said, "I will seize him." "How wilt thou capture him?" they said to her, and they told Sarbô that the girl had said, "I will capture him." Then he said, "Bring this girl to me." Then they brought the girl to Sarbô. "How wilt thou seize him, my daughter?" asked Sarbô. "Take me, leave me at the door of the house which he enters; give me some fire, give me food for seven days, give me seven guards. In seven days I will capture him!" (9) said she. Then Sarbōraddô gave her seven guards for seven days and sent her. The guards passed the night on a path in the woods; she slept alone. They took the girl then and placed her at the door of the house. Adam had gone out of the house. When they placed the girl at the door, Adam came with a young buffalo on his shoulders. He set down the buffalo. "What odor do I smell?" he said. "It is what is called man, man!" He put down that buffalo, cut its throat, and ate it. He did not leave even a little piece; he ate the whole of it. When in the morning he saw that girl, he did not say a word to her; he passed by her and went away. He went into the wood, seized a buffalo, returned, cut its throat, and ate it. When he had finished eating, he entered the cave and spent the night there. The second day he looked at the girl on the ground, seized her, and took away her virginity. He took this girl and passed the night; the next day he went to the wood. He could not catch a big buffalo; he took a young one of the buffalo and came back (10). The second day he ate this buffalo and spent the night; he made her his wife; he had her enter his house. He had her enter the house and went back to the country. He could not



catch buffaloes, and returned after catching an antelope. He returned and slept with the girl. The third day he pushed the door, but it did not close as formerly. Then, without having closed the door, he went to the woods. Then those guards came. He was not at home; they found the girl alone. "Well, how are things going?" they asked her. "He passed the night with the door open, because he pushed it but could not close it. Before, he brought a big buffalo; after one night he brought a little buffalo and an antelope. So come tomorrow at dawn," she said. Then they came the next morning. He had returned with a gazelle and had eaten only half of it. He had not been able to eat the other half and thus he had passed the night. Then they entered to capture him. The guards came at early dawn and opened the door. They took Adam by surprise. They seized him and returned with him (to the city) and brought him into the house (of the king); they led him to the king of the Dagoyê and handed him over to him. Since the king of the Dagoyê gave him a house, Adam took the girl, made her his wife and entered (that house). When his wife was pregnant, he bought for himself a lance fourteen cubits long. "My name is Abbā Balô," he said (11). Then he took fifteen slaves and said to Sarbōraddô, "I will come to fight with thee." "What can a slave made prisoner in the woods do to me?" said Sarbōraddô. Then they came to combat; at the first dawn Adam killed Sarbô. When Sarbô died, Adam took the gold ring from the finger of Sarbô (12). The second day Sarbô, the Dagoyê, was buried. "This man is an evil spirit. Since he has taken the gold ring from the king's finger, let him reign," they said and they let him reign.

II. *The Reigns of Adam and Ğilčā.* When he mounted the throne of Gúmā, the throne of the Dagoyê, thus did Adam rule. Whether Adam was born of the devil or born of human beings, we do not know. There was no flesh that he did not eat; if he hurled a lance, he did not miss the mark; if he spoke, he did not err. Then he said to the Gúmā, "Become Mussulmen." The Gúmā were pagans. Adam abolished the festival of the *buttā*. "This kingdom is a Mussulman kingdom," he said. So Adam quickly made them become Mussulmen (13). When he died, his son of the name of Ğilčā reigned over Gúmā. Ğilčā reigned only over the land of the Dagoyê.

III. *The Reign of Ončo.* When Ğilčā died, his son by the name of Ončo reigned. Ončo fought against Ğimmā, Gómmā, and Giêrā. He made an expedition against Hännā; he made an expedition against the Nónnō Gaččí. Therefore, he was called *abbā dūla*, i.e. "father of the expedition" (14). The lance of Adam was called in ancient times Balô; the lance of Ončo was also called Balô. His name was therefore Abbā Balô. He married a girl of Gómmā. He desired to eat human flesh and therefore he cut the throats (of men). But his wife did not wish it and prepared for him dog's meat. "The human flesh is cooked," she said and gave it to him. "It smells bad! Throw it away!" he said. And thus (his wife) made him give up human flesh. Then he said, "I have done everything. There remains for me to swim in hydromel." He had a great trunk hollowed out; he



had it filled full of hydromel. He immersed himself in it and drank (15). This drink struck him in the chest, killed him.

IV. *The Reign of Ġawê.* When he died, his son by the name of Ġawê reigned (16); the name of his lance was Abbā Balô as was the name of his father's lance. He married twenty-seven women. Abbā Bōqâ, king of Ġimma, sent him seven ambassadors. These seven ambassadors came and entered the house (of the king). (Ġawê) secretly had the throat of an ass cut, had it cooked with butter and salt; and gave it to them (17). These seven men ate and spent the night. After this when it was morning, six of the men (of the ambassadors) he sent to the millstone. The seventh, on the other hand, when they brought him forth, — his name was Abbā Malatê (literally, "father of cunning") — went and sat on the millstone. He said to the slave, "Bring some water." Abbā Balô was seated on the throne and was looking on. (Abbā Malatê) washed the stone of the millstone with the water. "Why dost thou wash the millstone?" asked (Abbā Balô). "The people of Gúma are hard, the cereals of Gúmā are hard. Let us see whether I succeed at least in softening the millstone by wetting it with water," replied the other. Then, "Have them grind," ordered Abbā Balô. Then while they made the millstone revolve quickly, (Abbā Malatê) sang:

*"O wonder of Abbā Balô! O wonder of Abbā Balô!*

*We did not think of grinding. We thought of hydromel."* (18)

When he had spoken thus, (Abbā Balô) ordered, "Rise from that millstone," and he asked him, "What is thy name?" The former replied, "Abbā Malatê" (literally, "father of cunning"). "Then return to thy country, thou and thy cunning," said (Abbā Balô) and he sent him away. Then they returned to Ġimmā and told Abbā Bōqâ how the king of Gúmā had treated them. "Why hast thou treated my people thus?" Abbā Bōqâ sent to ask (the king of Gúmā). Abbā Balô sent back in reply, "I wish thee to grind, too."

Abbā Bōqâ then declared war on him. Abbā Balô asked the king of Gómmā to let them pass (through the territory of Gómmā). Gómmā consented and let him pass. Then they advanced and drew up in battle line on the Façâ (19). (The king of Gómmā) having had a scout climb up on a tree, the one on the tree shouted, "O Abbā Balô! O Abbā Balô!" (Abbā Balô) raised his eyes toward that tree. When he looked and saw that man who was on the tree, he said, "Why do you call me my father?" The other replied, "May the sword cut off the neck of thy father." Then Abbā Balô said to the men of Gúmā, "Bring me an axe, and cut down this tree." They brought an axe, cut down the tree, and thus killed that scout (20). Then Ġimmā moved forward. The king of Ġimmā had with him forty-four horsemen (21). The people of Ġimmā were numerous. The men of Gúmā could do nothing against that swarm of bees; in one day the army of Ġimmā destroyed the people of Gúmā, the army of Gúmā. Then the Gúmā returned fleeing (to their own country).

Abbā Bōqâ made a law which said, "The warrior who has killed only two enemies may not anoint himself with butter (22); instead it shall be one who has killed four of the people of Gúmā." Then a man of Ğímmā, of a good family (23), killed fourteen of the Gúmā. When he went away after having killed fourteen of the Gúmā, the king of Ğímmā himself having asked him, "How many have you killed, young man?" he replied, "I have killed and have taken the genitals of fourteen princes of the Adamites." And the king having asked him, "How do you know that they are Adamites?" he replied, "The pagans of Gúmā are not circumcised. The Adamites, on the other hand, being Mussulmen, are circumcised (24). He brought (the trophies) into the presence of King Abbā Bōqâ and showed them to him. Then all the prisoners paid the ransom, and then the king of Ğímmā let them go. Then he gave the government of a district to Nagarf Batô, made him a property owner, and he became a vassal. Gúmā and Ğímmā, Abbā Bōqâ and Abbā Balô then made peace.

*Summary of the last passage of the chronicle.* (See Introduction, pages 148-149.) The chronicle continues narrating a war which broke out shortly after between Gúmā and the Lîêqa Billô. Garbí Ğilô, chief of the Lîêqa Billô, cuts a plant of *makannisa* (*croton macrostachys*) and binds it to an olive branch. He calls together the assembly of the Lîêqa Billô and says he wishes to send the two branches bound together to Ğawê Ončo, declaring to him that he (Ğawê) is the *makannisa* (a plant despised among the Galla, used as a remedy for venereal diseases), while he (Garbí Ğilô) is the ever green olive. The deputation having been sent, Ğawê and Garbí prepare for war. Garbí Ğilô is advised by his son, Năgău Garbí, to avoid a face to face battle with the army of Gúmā which is more numerous in cavalry; and instead, to have the army pass through the territory of the neighboring kingdom of Gómmā, so as to attack the army of Gúmā from the rear. Garbí Ğilô accepts the advice, calls to his aid Ğímmā Argô, Ğímmā Gudayâ, Kékku, the Lîêqa Sibû, the Lîêqa Naqamtê, and the Lîêqa Hordâ. Ğawê is occupied with these preparations; but nevertheless he sends this word to Garbí Ğilô: "You will enter Gúmā, to be sure, but fastened to the tail of my horse." The contingents of the Lîêqa Sibû and of the Lîêqa Hordâ arrive to help Garbí Ğilô. The latter having crossed the Lîmmu territory without a struggle attack the kingdom of Gómmā. In a single day Gómmā is defeated and the Lîêqa arrive at the Fačâ. Their vanguard crosses the river. The royal enclosure of Gómmā is taken by the Lîêqa and the king's women are made prisoners; the king of Gómmā escapes into the kingdom of Giêra. The army of Gúmā hastens to the Fačâ; it arrives there on a Thursday evening. Ğawê Ončo says to wait for the dawn before beginning battle, because he is not a hyena that fights by night. The next day, Friday, the Mussulmen of the Gúmā army offer their morning prayer. Garbí Ğilô sends a messenger to Ğawê Ončo to inquire of him ironically if before joining battle, he must also wait for the Gúmā Mussulmen to take their coffee. Meanwhile a column of Lîêqa cavalry has crossed the Fačâ unexpectedly and having crossed the Gúmā frontier is devastating the country in the rear of the hostile army. Messengers arrive for Ğawê Ončo who tell him this. Ğawê, preoccupied, does not give



battle that day. The day after, Saturday, the devastations in Gúmā continue. Ğawê on the other hand gives battle and is vanquished. His defeated army is scattered in flight. Garbi Ğilô returns victorious to Billô: "I have gained my end! Instead of the five Lîêqa having been taken, the Gúmā have been taken! Instead of the sons of Lîêqa having been made prisoner, the sons of Gúmā have been taken prisoner! Instead of the vulture descending upon my land, the vulture has descended upon the land of Gúmā, and has ravaged the possessions of Gúmā! I have gained my end!"

Here my account is interrupted.

#### Notes

(1). Ebiččâ Talô is a wooded region between Gúmā and the Nónnô Gaččí. Gúmā took it from Ilû Abbā Bôrā in ancient times. Recently a king of Gúmā (perhaps Abbā Ğubîr) gave this land to Burrú Biêrā to govern. The latter, however, made himself independent of the kingdom of Gúmā.

(2). This was the reigning dynasty in Gúmā before the Adamites.

(3). Literally, *abbā alâ* means "master of the country." It was the title held by the head and organizer of the royal hunts.

(4). Therefore, the Gúmā nobility, like the head of the ruling dynasty, eat neither the head nor the intestines of butchered animals. The rule has its origin in the beliefs of Kushite paganism, which are also prevalent among the Somali.

(5). *Abbā milâ* (literally, "master of the legs") was the head of the guides and the scouts.

(6). The idea of the descent of certain royal Galla and Sidama dynasties from the Portuguese is widespread (see song 15, notes). Perhaps saying that Adam was a white man points to similar ideas existing in Gúmā.

(7). It is a Galla custom to tie the hind hoofs of animals to be milked with fetters of withes. Compare song 33, notes, and song 126, notes.

(8). Sarbô is the name Sarbôraddâ, shortened according to the Galla custom.

(9). Notice the repetition of the number 7.

(10). As may be seen, by degrees as Adam draws near to the Dagoyê girl, he loses part of his gigantic strength, and, therefore, the results of his hunting become more insignificant.

(11). The custom prevails among the Galla of assuming as a battle name the name given to the warrior's own lance. Here Adam has himself called Abbā Balô, even as Fitā-wrâri Sorí had for a war-name Abbā Ğambar (Ğambar was his lance). See song 55.

(12) The gold ring was the symbol of royalty in Gúmā as in the other Galla kingdoms beyond the Gîbê. Cf. Massaja, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 6-14.

(13). Compare, however, note 24.

(14). The other kings of Gúmā, also, up to the last one, Abbā Foggí, had the title of *abbā dâlâ*.

(15). I do not understand the word *dankátti*, which is here found in the text.



(16). Ğawê, that is, "python." The name is common among the Galla as a proper name either of a person or a tribe, certainly chosen in order to invoke favor for the person or the tribe, the serpent in the pagan religion of the Kushites being considered as the incarnation of a divinity. Cf. Conti Rossini, 'Note sugli Agau' and my unpublished works on the Wâlâmō and the Kómō.

(17). Cf. Guidi, 'Strofe e brevi testi Amarici,' op. cit., p. 17.

(18). That is, as Guidi correctly interpreted, "we ambassadors expected to be received with honors, and not to be obliged to grind corn." I prefer to translate *dakú* as a verbal noun from the root *dák*, "to grind," rather than as the noun, "flour."

(19). The river Fáčâ between Gómmā and Ğímmā.

(20). That is, the scout had imprudently leaned forward; he was surrounded by the men of Gúmā. Nevertheless he had the audacity to insult the father of Ğawê.

(21). As may be seen, the wars of the Galla reigns resemble in regard to the small number of combatants the usual skirmishes of the Bedouins.

(22). Compare song 34.

(23). Literally, "father's son." See song 23, notes.

(24). Compare note 13 and the historical remarks at the end.

*Historical Observations.* It is worth while to compare the chronicle here published and translated, with the sources hitherto known of the history of Gúmā. There are three pieces of information received from natives and published by D'Abbadie<sup>1</sup>; a genealogy of the kings of Gúmā, with anecdotes about some of the kings, published by Cecchi<sup>2</sup>; the part concerning Gúmā of the very short *Storia dei loro regni* (of the Māččā), taken from a manuscript compendium of Abyssinian history, published and translated by Guidi.<sup>3</sup>

The origin of the reigning dynasty of Gúmā from Adam, the man of the woods, gives rise to an interesting legend in the chronicle which I have gathered. But Loransiyos himself pointed out to me that there were in Gúmā some who, contrary to the version of the chronicle, maintained the descent of the Adamites from a Mussulman merchant who came from Tigrè. This second legend is related by itself in the notes of Cecchi and in the *Storia* of Guidi. The Gúmā, according to what Loransiyos tells me, link with the first legend the kind treatment which the Wáttā traditionally received from the king of Gúmā. However, it is certain that in order to be included in the oral chronicle, the legend must not appear uncomplimentary to the reigning dynasty. I think that the second legend, that of the descent of the Adamites from a Mussulman merchant, is more recent, and was created on purpose to "Islamize," so to speak, the origin of the dynasty. It is useful to make comparison with the genealogical legends of the reigning dynasties of the other Galla Mussulman kingdoms; for example, the legend which claims that the Awallini (*auallini* is a misprint in Cecchi) reigning at Gómmā are descended from a sheik who came

<sup>1</sup> Antoine d'Abbadie, *Géographie d'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 541.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalis Sprachen*, vol. 10, pt. 2, p. 15-18.

from Mogadiscio,<sup>1</sup> while, according to the *Storia* of Guidi, the dynasty was descended from a Mussulman merchant who came from Goğğâm.

Another element, though a secondary one, of the legend contained in the chronicle is the justification of the prohibition of eating the head and the entrails of slaughtered animals. (See note 4). Was the Galla who furnished information to D'Abbadie referring vaguely to the legend of Adam, the man of the woods, when he said,<sup>2</sup> "The flocks of the king of Gúmā pasture in Atärkádā with the elephants and buffaloes; the shepherds do not take women there"?

The references contained in the chronicle to the kingdom of Gúmā before the Adamites, seem to me important. Even if we regard as later additions the remarks as to court offices, — the same in the reign before Adam as under recent Galla rulers, — the legend certainly points clearly to the existence in Gúmā of a monarchy, even before the Adamites. This would carry back farther than seems possible the date when the people of Gúmā passed from tribal organization to a monarchic kingdom. The war-name of the first king of the new dynasty, Abbā Balō, (a name which afterwards, as the chronicle itself relates, was adopted as a war-name also by Ončo Ğílčā and by Ğawê Ončo), appears likewise in Guidi and Cecchi, giving occasion for some mistakes, of which I will speak later. The Islamizing of Gúmā ordered and carried out by Adam is in contradiction of what the chronicle itself says, when in regard to the trophies of war brought back by Nagarı Batô from the battle against the Gúmā, it makes the distinction between the Mussulman Adamites and the pagan peoples of Gúmā. This shows how in Gúmā, as in the other Galla kingdoms, the Mussulman propaganda was cleverly carried on to gain to its own cause the reigning dynasty through which, later, the people might be influenced. Let it be observed that, according to the chronicle, the first act of the Mussulman king, Adam was to abolish the festival of the *buttā*.

According to the chronicle, the kings of Gúmā of the dynasty of Adam would be: 1 Adam, 2 Ğílčā, his son, 3 Ončo Ğílčā, son of the preceding, 4 Gawê Ončo, son of the preceding, to whom succeeded 6 Abbā Ğubîr, son of the preceding, 7 Abbā Foggî, brother of the preceding. D'Abbadie writes<sup>3</sup>: "Gúmā obeys Abbā Ğílčā, whose oldest son is Abbā Remo and the younger, Abbā Ğobâr." Now the Abbā Ğílčā of D'Abbadie can only be Ğawê Ončo, father of Abbā Ğubîr (the Galla custom of having oneself called by the name of one's most celebrated ancestor is well-known); and, on the other hand, even if it were correct that Abbā Ğubîr was not the first born but the younger son of Ğawê Ončo, the name of the first born, whom D'Abbadie calls Abbā Remo, is incorrect. The first son of Ğawê Ončo was called Abbā Diggâ, and from my texts the reasons are clear why he did not succeed his father (see song 23).

Cecchi gives the list: 1 Adam, 2 Dalē Abbā Balō, 3 Ciollē, Abbā Bocā, son of Abbā Balō, 4 Abbā Ragō Hadi, son of Abbā Bocā, 5 Nagesso Abbā Gilciā, son of Abbā Ragō

<sup>1</sup> Cecchi, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 114.



Hadí, 6 Abbō, 7 Abbā Gilciā, son of Abbō, 8 Abbā Dullā, 9 Abbā Giubir, son of Abbā Dullā.<sup>1</sup> First of all one must notice that these genealogies of the Galla dynasties given by Cecchi are, in general, not without inaccuracies, due especially to the slight knowledge of the Galla language on the part of whoever gathered the information. Mistakes are not lacking, especially in the part which refers to the more ancient period of the history of these reigns: for example, in the case of the kingdoms of Gímmā and Gîrā, Cecchi mixes the genealogy of the Máččā Galla with that of the ruling dynasty, making an error afterwards in relating the genealogy of the tribes, which he confuses, thus causing to figure among the ancestors of the Gîrā dynasty a "Guraghē"<sup>2</sup> (Gurāgē), not a person but the well-known Semitic population of southern Ethiopia. At other times, Cecchi, so I am assured by Loransiyos, to whom I have read the genealogies, has confused the names of kings with the names of dignitaries of the court or vassals. In this list of kings of Gúmā, there figures, for example, Dalē Abbā Balō. But is Dalē a proper name? I do not know of such a name among the Galla. Or is not rather this king of Cecchi's a phrase, *dale Abbā Balō*, that is, "Abba Balo begot?"<sup>3</sup> The two rulers that follow are not known to Loransiyos, who thinks they are two warriors, and, certainly, they could not have been forgotten by him in reciting the chronicle, in which the names of the kings are each of them followed by the name of the father. The fifth king in Cecchi's list might be Ğilcā or some of his successors designated by his name; but *Nagesso* (*Naǵéssu*) is not a Galla name, and another Abbā Gilciā reappears as seventh ruler in Cecchi's list. The sixth king of Cecchi, Abbō, whose cruelties are narrated, might correspond to Ončo of the chronicle. But is Abbō an abbreviated form of Abbā Balō? I do not know that the Galla abbreviate the war-names; in boasting of warlike deeds, it is customary, on the contrary, to abbreviate only the personal name and have it followed by the war-name in full. Abbō, moreover, is the name under which the Galla venerate the saint, Gabra Manfas Qeddus. The eighth king of Cecchi's list, Abbā Dullā, is not a king but the title that all the kings of Gúmā bore. The title of *Abbā Dūlā*, according to the constitution of the Galla tribe, was given to the distinguished man who was chosen to command the army; when the change was made from the republican to the monarchical régime, these offices of the tribes were in general retained. Loransiyos tells me that at Gímmā, even the *Abbā Bokkū* were elected. The king, however, had absolute power, so that practically the republican offices were a decoration without political value. The kings of Gúmā had reserved for themselves the title of *Abbā Dūlā*, head of the army, *imperator*.

The *Storia dei Mēččā* translated by Guidi gives Adam as the first king and cites among his descendants, Abbā Bālo, whose cruelties he narrates. Of these accounts, two correspond to similar accounts of the chronicle; but of them, the first (swimming in hydromel)

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 541-542.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> In the same way Cecchi, (*ibid.*), speaks of the daughter of Raja, who "married Maccia Raco Callè." Now the name of the husband is doubtless Máččā, the ancestor of the tribes of similar name, and Maccia Racò Callè is not a name, but signifies "Māččā married," literally, "Māččā made the sacrifice" of the *rākō* (see song 118).



is attributed by the chronicle to Ončo Ğilčā and the second, on the other hand (forcing the ambassadors to grind corn), is attributed to Ğawê Ončo. The mistake of the Amharic historian is clear when he confounds Ončo and Ğawê under their common war name, Abbā Balô. Loransiyos knows the account of the treacherous slaying of Tullú Ganġi, king of Ğîera, carried out by Ončo Ğilčā, a tale which appears in the *Storia dei Mēččā*. He corrects the distich incorrectly related by the Amharic writer of the History thus:

*malli Abbā Balô garā kîessa ġirā*  
*matā Tullú Ganġi karā gubbā ġirā*

1 The cunning of Abbā Balô is in his mind.<sup>1</sup> 2 The head of Tullú Ganġi is on the road.

As to the name Azzā Bālo Kadānā,<sup>2</sup> Guidi thinks it probable that *Azzā Bālo* is a slip for *ázangito*: in that case, in my opinion, *kadānā* should be read *kaddā-nnā*, and the phrase would mean *azangito kaddā-nnā*, "unexpectedly betrayed." *La Storia dei Mēččā* then concludes: "After him (Abbā Balô) his son Ončo reigned and at present he is the king of Gúmā, Ğilčā Abbā Bālo Ončo Ğilčā Abbā Dūlā." In reality (observe that the manuscript of the *Storia* is extremely inaccurate), the last names are names of two kings and not of one alone: Ğilčā (personal name), Abbā Balô (war name); Ončo (personal name), Ğilčā (name of the father), Abbā Dūlā (title). However, the chronicle is confirmed by these names.

Since in the chronicle the duration of the reign of each king is not indicated, the chronology of the events related in it remains doubtful. Some indication in regard to the more recent part, however, may be secured from other sources; first of all from D'Abbadie.<sup>3</sup> When compared with what I have said above, one makes out that in 1841 Ğawê Ončo was ruling in Gúmā. This makes one think that the king of Gúmā, who in the *Storia dei Mēččā* is called Ončo and is said to be "at present reigning," is in reality Ğawê Ončo (according to the usual custom of the name of the father being borne also by the son), because the *Storia dei Mēččā* is a chapter of an unedited compendium of Abyssinian history which goes as far as the first years of the reign of Theodore II, who ascended the throne in 1852. Then, from Cecchi,<sup>4</sup> one secures the precise date of the death of Ğawê Ončo (called by Cecchi Abbā Dullā, father of Abbā Giubir or Abbā Giubri), which took place June 26, 1879. As it is a case of events taking place under his eyes (the mourning of the court of Ğîerā at the news of the death), Cecchi is a sure source. On the other hand, the date for the accession to the throne of the father of Abbā Gubîr (1854),<sup>5</sup> which Cecchi himself suggests, from information which he had gathered, is surely erroneous. We have seen how in 1841, D'Abbadie gathered the information that at Gúmā there reigned "the father of Abbā Ğubîr." Not even the date of the end of the kingdom of Gúmā can be fixed exactly. The last king, Abbā Fogġi, had a very short reign (about two years, according to Loransiyos).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Song 17, n.

<sup>2</sup> *Storia dei Mēččā*, op. cit., p. 181, l. 17.

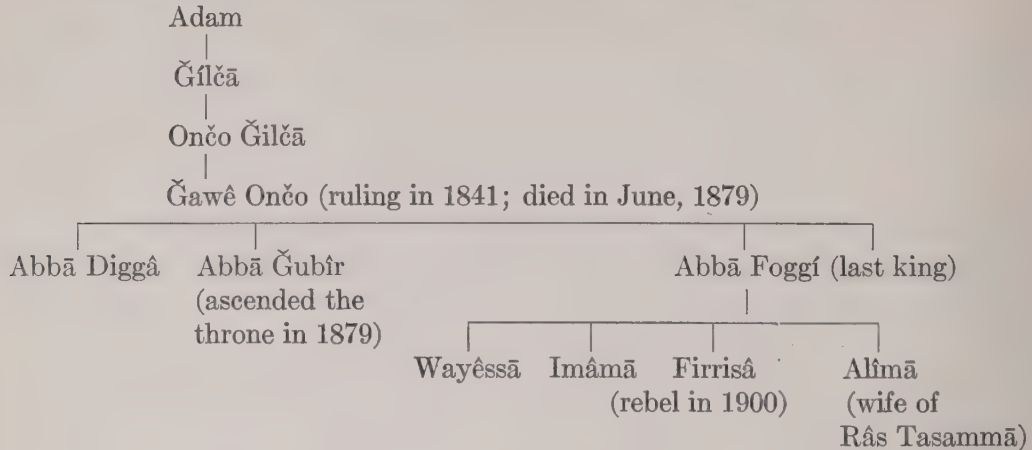
<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 417.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 542.

It can only be said that in October, 1886, the *dağğāč* (then *rās*) Tasammā was fighting against the Gúmā without, however, having as yet subdued them.<sup>1</sup>

Summing up, we have, according to the most reliable information:



## 2.

### The Holy War of Hásan Inğâmō.

*Hásan Inğâmō mōti Hadiyā turé, islāmā turé. Dúra Sulú wāğğín wālqabé, Bantí Mannē mōé, Oromómma balliēsse ašaččisē. Sulú hundūmā islāmā godé, Tulāmā Soddō islāmā godé. Wāgga afūr ta 'é, bódā nigufní Amārā rās Gobanān, fitawrāri Garadō, Bašāboýé: islāmā kanátti dáqa! ġēdē ergé. Dufán! ġēdāni gāfā Hasanátti himáni: namása daččasé, ofisa ėbō gaté, guradiēsa qullā harkátti qabaté. Ğādīn kummi guradiē tókko qábdu malé, ėbōnqábda. Hindarbánnu! ġēttē tóbātā kiēnnitē. Ğimmátā ganamā qabéti, dibbé rās Gobanā fité, námā rās Gobanā fité ġādīn. Galgalā yóggā garú, rās Gobanā qabé Soddō baqatē Ōlisótti gale; Ğādīn Wālisótti hingalú, karā bulté. Qidāmīe ganamā wāl qabáni. Lamaffān Amarri dumé; rās Gobanā baqatē Šoátti diēbié. Hasán Inğâmō yóggā qidāmīe galgalā: garbiččā abbākó! ġēdē fakkaré. Mā garbiččā abbākó ġēttē, atí garbiččā rabbitti malé! éga kafárta! ġēdē ilmisa. Astafūr allá! diēbisé. Dugūmā ġēttē, yálmākó! ġēdē. Ammanán biyā qabáni. Ğimmátti ergé: ġādī ná wāğğín bat! ġēdē Ábbā Ğifārín. Abbán Ğifār ġādī mitt dalasán biyākóñğirú! ġēdē. Ammanán wāggā afūr mōé. Wāggā tokkiččā kiēssa Gobanā saditti diēbié, namnísa dumé. Ammanán afuritti diēbié. Fitawrāri Háftā Giyórgis: qamāši náttuwisi Qabiēnátti! ġēdē. Hásan Inğâmō nán lóla; ílmā lagá lagātu bēka! ġēdē. Fitawrāri Háftā Giyórgis ílmā Wālisóti qamāši Wālisótti uffaté. Kanán itti bu 'é. Boqitē qibbā kiēnnáni. Gāfā Fitawrāri Háftā Giyórgis Wālisótti šomámu dūra-barambārāsi turé—Gállā Wālisó Sulú Čabbō hundūmā Háftā Giyórgis wārri fárdā itti dufé: si wāğğín ġirrá! ġēdē. Tulamā Soddótti qabé ġādī lafárta fitáččē. Ğādī lafárta fitéti, Qabiēnátti gale. Qabiēnā ġiyā ġāā mandārā iğāre írta ta 'é. Nigufní bódā Šoátti wāmá. Ğāfā Šoátti wāmú, Hasanán akka ganā dubbí kāsē biyā Ambatē, ta 'é. Fitawrāri Háftā Giyórgis Ūrāğvetti gāfā diēbiú, ammanán ġādīn ka 'é, lólā itti godáni. Sulú Bantí Mannē rās Gobanā fitawrāri ġēdē qamāšitti uwisé. Siā lamáffā diēbié daqú rās Gobanní Hadiyā lafárta fité ġādī balliēsse. Ammanán dufé Qabiēnátti galé. Hásan láfā fitémmo wāqā liŕé namnímbiēkú kanán badé. Hasán Inğāmo ęssátti baqatē? ġēdāni. Ğimmābbā Ğifār itti baqatē. Abbán Ğifār*

<sup>1</sup> Borelli, *Éthiopie méridionale*, op. cit., p. 150.



*islāmāḍā. Islāmā kána massīerasátti irra tiessé ñaččísá bulčá! ġēḍáni Gobanân himáni. Nigufní Amārā Ábbā Ġifār Šoátti wámé: Hasán ná fidi! ġēḍé. Hasanín firriḍā. Qódā kiessa nán kaé sittā fida? Ammá nigusátti dubbanán: atú wá kağēlle! ġēḍé nigufní Minilik. Daqí safárākīḍā! ġēḍé. Yogá nni baú, balbalátti qabsisé, Ankobárritti dabarsisé. Abbán Ġifār Ankobár ġiā ġāā hiḍamé ammanán Goró Nabí Bató Šoátti ḍufé, gibiri nigúsā fidé. Atí nigúsā mālitti? ġēḍé. Nigusúmmā nqáḍdu, atí šiḥḥāḍā. Wāmbadiḥ akka kīḥitti. Abbán Ġifār yóm Gobanā Danči ta 'é, yón buddiēnā dirqošā manākīḥitti ñāte? Nigusā nturré Ábbā Ġifār? Guyā sí kiēnne. Gibirikiḥ fuḍāti, ñāti! Hasán yó mánā ḥbā Ġifār itti galé, yó Hasán biyā Ġimmā kiḥsatti argáni, aní mormākó sí kiēnna! ġēḍé fitawrāri Goró Nabí. Ammanán nigufní: ḍugāḍā! ġēḍé. Gofīākīḥ nán hiká! ġēḍé. Kanán galčé Gorón. Ammanán nigufní Minilik Ábbā Ġifār hiké. Akkána ta 'é.*

Hásan Ingāmō was king of the Hádiyā; he was a Mussulman (1). First he had a contest with the Sulú; he conquered Bantí Mannē (2). Then he exterminated the pagans and converted them. He made all the Sulú Mussulmen. He made the Tulámā Soddō Mussulmen. After four years the king of the Amara sent against this Mussulman Rás Gobanā; Fitāwrāri Garadō (3), and Bašāh Abuyē (4). When Hasan was warned of the coming of the latter, he gathered together his people, threw away his lance, and took in hand his drawn sword. The thousand soldiers of the holy war then armed themselves with the sword only and not with the lance, and they swore not to hurl lances (5), (6). One Friday morning he joined battle, destroyed the subchiefs (literally, the drums) of Rás Gobanā; the soldiers of the holy war exterminated the people of Rás Gobanā. When evening came, Rás Gobanā decided to escape to the Soddō, and withdrew to Wālisō (7). The soldiers of the holy war did not enter Wālisō; they spent the night on the street. Saturday morning they went to battle. For the second time the Amara perished. Rás Gobanā fled, and reentered Shoa. Hasan Ingāmō on Saturday evening made his war boast, saying, "Slave of my father (I am)." His son then said to him, "Why hast thou said, 'slave of my father'? Thou art rather only the slave of the Lord. Therefore thou hast said a thing contrary to religion." (Arabic in the text, *kafarta*.) "I ask pardon for it of Allah. (Arabic in the text, *astagfir Allāh*.) Thou hast spoken truly, my son," replied Hasan (8). Then they occupied the region. He sent a messenger to Ġimmā, saying to Abbā Ġifār, "Come to the holy war with me." Abbā Ġifār answered him, "I am not a soldier of holy wars and in my country there are no *zawāyā* (9).

Then Hásan reigned four more years. In one of these years Gobanā returned for the third time, but his people perished; then he came back for the fourth time. Then said the *fitāwrāri*, Habta Giyorgis (10), "Give me the command of Qabiēnā (11). I will fight with Hasan Ingāmo. The river knows the dwellers on its banks" (12). The *fitāwrāri*, Habta Giyorgis, native of Wālisō, had command of Wālisō (7). And so he descended thither. They gave him a hundred guns (13). When the *fitāwrāri*, Habta Giyorgis, was placed at the head of the Wālisō, before he was *bālāmbārās*, the Galla of Wālisō, of Sulú, of Cābō, all the horsemen came to Habta Giyorgis and said, "We will be with thee." He then went



to the Tulámā Sóddō and wholly destroyed the soldiers of the holy war. He utterly destroyed the soldiers of the holy war and entered Qabîênā. He built a residence for himself at Qabîêna and remained there six months. Then the emperor called him to Shoa. When he called him to Shoa, Hasan resumed the war and stopped in the region of Ambatê (14). When Fitāwrāri Habta Giyorgis returned among the Gurāgî (15), the soldiers of the holy war began to fight with him. Then Râs Gobanâ named as *fitāwrāri* the head of the Sulus, Bantí Mannê, and gave him command. For the fifth time Râs Gobanâ returned and exterminated the Hádiyā, destroyed the soldiers of the holy war. Then he advanced and entered Qabîênā. Whether Hasan Inġāmō sank into the earth or rose to heaven, no one knows; he disappeared. "Whither has Hâsan Inġāmō fled?" said the Amara. "He must have fled to Ġimmā, (to) Abbā Ġifâr. Abbā Ġifâr is a Mussulman. He has hidden this other Mussulman in his royal enclosure and maintains and lodges him." This they thought and said to Gobanâ. Then the negus of the Amara called Abbā Ġifâr to Shoa, ordering him, "Bring me Hasan." And Abbā Ġifâr said to the negus, "What? Is Hasan perhaps a sum of money that I can place him in a sack and bring him to thee (16)?" "Thou goest in search of trouble," Negus Menilek answered him, "Go to thy encampment!" And when Abbā Ġifâr went out, he (Menilek) had him arrested at the door and exiled him to Ankobar. Abbā Ġifâr remained a prisoner in Ankobar for six months. At last, Gorô Nabî Batô came to Shoa to bring tribute to the negus and said, "Of whom art thou negus? Thou hast not the qualities of a negus; thou art a brigand. Robbers do as thou doest. Perhaps Abbā Ġifâr is like Gobanâ Danġî? Perhaps he has eaten dry bread in thy house? Was not Abbā Ġifâr a *negus*? (God) has given thee good fortune; take for thyself the tribute and eat. If Hasan has entered the house of Abbā Ġifâr, if they find Hasan in the land of Ġimmā, I will give thee my neck," said the *fitāwrāri*, Gorô Nabî. Then the negus said, "Thou art right. I will free thy master (17)." Then Gorô returned. Then the negus Menilek set free Abbā Ġifâr. Thus it was.

#### Notes

- (1.) See song 43.
- (2.) Bantí Mannê was head of the Sulú Mannê. See song 44, notes.
- (3.) Fitāwrāri, Garadô Wâldî, officer of Râs Gobanâ. See song 47.
- (4.) Daġġâċ Bašâh, son of Abuyê, and therefore brother of Râs Wâlda Giyórgis. He died at Adua. Cf. Cerulli, 'Canti popolari Amarici,' op. cit., p. 573.
- (5.) The lance being the noble weapon of the pagans, Hasan swears not to use it in the Mussulman holy war.
- (6.) In the figurative sense, for which see song 27, v. 69-78, notes.
- (7.) Wâlisô or Ōlisô in southwestern Shoa.
- (8.) For a similar anecdote, see song 24, notes.
- (9.) This reply of Abbā Ġifâr, a Mussulman sovereign, to another Mussulman chief

who asked help against the infidels is noteworthy. Evidently Abbā Ćifār feared the Amharic armies. For the Galla name of the *zawāyā*, see song 24, notes.

(10.) Fitāwrāri Habta Giyorgis, the present minister of war, was then under the orders of Rās Gobanā. See song 42.

(11.) Qabîenā was the capital of Hasan's petty state.

(12.) This is a Galla proverb similar in sense to proverb 31 in this article. *Ilmā lagā*, "son of the river" is used in Galla in the sense of river-dweller. Thus the plural *Wārrā lagā*, "the sons of the river," is equivalent to river-dwellers, whence the name *Wallagā*, i. e., *wār-lagā*.<sup>1</sup>

(13.) The gun called "*boqittîrê*" was an old type of gun used in Abyssinia before the Gras.

(14.) Ambatê, a locality near Qabîenā.

(15.) That is, toward Qabîenā, bordering on the Gurāgê.

(16.) Notice the pride of this reply of Abbā Ćifār, and also of the following words of Gorô to the Emperor Menilek.

(17.) The release of Abbā Ćifār following the far from respectful speech of Gorô Nabî Batô to the Emperor is an additional proof of the kindly policy pursued by Menilek toward the Galla during his entire reign.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.

#### The death of Captain Bottego.<sup>3</sup>

*Faranġi tókko gîbtānā kán ġēdāmu biyā Sidāmā kiēssa baé. Lāfā Šānqillā gubbā ġġitē, Afillō Gar-ēti mbaé. Mōti Abbā Gimbi dabarsé, Qîllemitti erge. Ōbō Ğotēn: kiēssūmā nigusāti! ġēdē, nātā kiēnnēo, gāti kiēnnē: bulči! ġēdē. Bóda: éga kārā kána mbaa! ġēdē. Gabātu gubbā Wakóšō ngabé, Béni Šangul án daqá! wāu hindaqtu! ġēdē daġġáč Ğotē. Nigufni biyākiēña ġirā. Aní nigusa qabá, nigusatti an sí érga malé, fiqādā kána ngābdú aná! hinní ġēnnán, faranġin suni qūfē du' ā barbāda. Éga giddis yó ta 'é, nigufni biyāko malé nigūsā sarē gurráččā mbiēku aná. Éga nigūsā sána mbiēgne, bór čāmā batitti ná ġgi! Čāmā bati ná ġgi! Yógga ġēdú: giddi ngabú, nán sí éga! ġēdē diēbisé Ğotē. Ammanán fitawrāri Ašanā: faranġi kuní namnisa tinnōdā! ġēdē. Dú 'ā barbāda malé, māl lōla? Hā du 'ú malé, māl góna? Faranġi kuní tumtūdā bór čāmātti wāl lōlānna; lāk in hárra kiēssūmā nigusāti ġibiri kiēnnina! ġēdē Ašanán. Éga holōtā gadí yasé, buddiēnā qolomšāši kiēssé, dađi gombō kiēssé, faranġitti ergé. Faranġi kuní Tullū Sayā kán ġēdāmtu namāsa safarsisēra. Yógga ergāmtu ōbō Ğotē safārā faranġitti dufú, faranġi kuní qolomšāši fudēti lāfā gatē, gombō fudē čabsé. Bór čāmātti wāl lōlānna! ġēdē marātē. Éga bulāni. Yógga ganamā baríte; fitāwrāri Ašanā salfi godé. Yógga nni dufú, faranġi aškarónisa tasallafté, qawē tokkosú qabde. Ammanán: alēla! ġēdē. Aškarónni gāfā rukuttú, namni ōbō Ğotē: yā tisisā faranġi, mālíf dūfta? ġēdāni. Aškarónni faranġi kukkufté. Abbā Gaččān Abbā Čallā kan ġēdāmu faranġi kuffisé, gāfā hinní guddān kufú, éga faranġi hafté hárkā qabāni, walitti dāni ákka ġabbí Šoatti ergé.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reinisch, *Die Kaffa Sprache*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cerulli, 'L' islam nei regni galla indipendenti,' op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> The translation and notes of this text have already been published. Cf. E. Cerulli, 'La seconde spedizione Bottego,' (*L'Africa Italiana*, Naples, 1917, vol. 36, p. 25-28).



A European by the name of Gibṭānā (1) went forth from the land of the Sidama (2). He crossed the land of the Šānqillā and went forth among the Affillō Garē (3). The king [of the Affillō], Abbā Gimbí, let him pass and sent him to Qiellēm. The lord Ğotê said, "This is a guest of the *negus*," and he gave him food and made him the gifts of hospitality and invited him to stay there. Afterwards, however, said [the European], "I will not go away by this road (4). Passing above the territory of the Gabátu (5), and taking the road of the Wakóšō (6), I will go among the Beni Sangûl (7)." The lord Ğotê said, "No, thou wilt not go there. There is a *negus* in our country. I have my *negus* and I will send thee to him because I have not this power (to let thee pass by the road of the Wakóšō). Then the European grew proud and sought death. He said, "Even if it is to be by force (my being sent back to the *negus*), I obey the *negus* of my country; I do not acknowledge the *negus* of the black dogs. And since I do not acknowledge this *negus*, tomorrow at the beginning of dawn, await me." When he had said, "Tomorrow at the beginning of dawn, await me" (8), Ğotê replied, "Very well. I will await thee." Then the *fitāwrāri*, Ašanā said (9), "This European has few soldiers. He is seeking death, but what resistance can he offer us? Let him die, then. What can we do? This European is a blacksmith (10). Tomorrow at dawn we will fight, but today, since he is a guest of the *negus*, let us give him the gifts of hospitality." Therefore he had sheep brought, had bread put in a basket, some hydromel in a jug, and sent them to the European. The European had had his men camp on the (hill) called Tullú Sayâ (hill of the cow) (11). When the messenger of the lord Ğotê came to the camp of the European, this European took the basket and cast it upon the ground, took the jug and broke it. "Tomorrow at dawn we will fight," he said and grew angry. Then they passed the night. When the dawn broke, *Fitāwrāri* Ašanā drew up his men in battle array. When he came, the Italian (colonial) troops of the European drew up in line of battle and began to discharge their guns. Then, "Forward!" said (Ašanā). When the troops fired their guns, the people of the lord Ğotê said, "O flies of the European, why do you discharge farts?" The troops of the European fell in great numbers. The shieldbearer, Abbā Čallā (12) slew the European. When the chief fell, then the Europeans who remained were seized. They bound them like calves and sent them to Shoa.

#### Notes

(1.) Gibṭānā, that is, "captain." The Galla heard his troops give this title to Bottego and thought that it was his name.

(2.) As is known, Bottego came from the southern region of Ethiopia inhabited by the Sidama.

(3.) The Affillō, river-dwellers of Saint-Bon (see song 21, notes).

(4.) That is, by the usual way of Qiellēm-Shoa.

(5.) Gabátu is a region situated between Gambélā and the Liêqā Qêllēm.

(6.) The Wakóšō live near the Galál, to the north of Gabátu, two days' caravan trip from the country of the Sibû Gantí.



(7.) Such was precisely the plan of Bottego: to return by way of the Sudan.

(8.) Bottego in saying, "Wait for me tomorrow at the beginning of dawn" (according to this Galla version), gives the challenge with absolute observance of the Galla customs involved.

(9.) Ašanâ, brother of Ğotê. See song 49, notes.

(10.) It is to be remembered that among the Galla, blacksmiths are low caste people.

(11.) Vannutelli and Citeri call it "Hill of Slaughter."<sup>1</sup>

(12.) In the account of Vannutelli and Citeri, an Abbâ Čallâ, brother of Ğotê is mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

## II. TEXTS ON ETHNOLOGICAL SUBJECTS

### 4.

#### The rites of initiation.

The text which follows was obtained from Loransiyos during the last days of his stay in Naples before his sudden departure; therefore, certain points in it are not clear to me. But the importance of the information which it contains induces me to publish it, nevertheless, hoping that when it has once been given to the public, others, if not I myself, may obtain from natives the necessary explanations. I have placed here at the beginning some information received from Loransiyos in explanation of the text. The *gádā* system is not simple, but it seems to have been especially maltreated by European ethnologists. At many points, Loransiyos's information and my own opinion differ widely from the statements of other writers. A bibliography of the chief references to the *gádā* follows this introduction.

Every Galla tribe is divided into ten groups called in Galla *gádā*. Each *gádā* is made up of all the males belonging to the tribe who are to be initiated, at the same time. By extension of meaning, the period of eight years during which the *Abbā Bokkū* belonging to a given *gádā* governs is also called *gádā* and is distinguished by the name of the *gádā* that is governing. Thus *Gádā B* stands for group B of those to be initiated, as well as the period in which the *Abbā Bokkū* is elected from among the members of this group. The men belonging to the tribe must, before arriving at complete attainment of the rights of nobility, pass through a period of initiation with special rites. Such an initiation is not undergone by single individuals, but collectively by *gádā*. According to the following text, the periods of initiation are four<sup>3</sup>: those who are in the first period are called *dobbollê*; those who are in the second period are called *qondālā*; those who are in the third period are called *rābā*; those who are in the fourth period are called *gūlā*, while those of the third and fourth periods have the general name of *lúbā* or *lúbbā*. Since the *Abbā Bokkū* is elected from among the

<sup>1</sup> Vannutelli and Citeri, L'Omo, op. cit., p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> Loransiyos does not say whether after the fourth degree of initiation, and therefore after the retirement from office of the *Abbā Bokkū* of a *gádā* group, there are further degrees of initiation for the elders. I believe that after the *lúbā*, there is a higher degree, that of *ġillā*.

members of the *gádā* in passing from the second to the third period, and remains in office until the end of the fourth period, *lúbā* indicates, therefore, the members of the *gádā* whose *Abbā Bokkū* is in power. The period in which one is *dobbollé* is equal in duration to three *gádā* periods, that is, to twenty-four years; the period in which one is *qondālā* is equal to one *gádā*, that is, to eight years; the period in which one is *lúbā* equals one *gádā*, that is, eight years, of which four years (one-half *gádā* period) is the time in which one is *rábā*, and four years (one-half *gádā* period) the time in which one is *gúlā*.

The *gádā* are ten; they are divided, however, into two series of five each. One belongs to a definite *gádā* group by birth. Every Galla belongs to the *gádā* group which, in the *gádā*

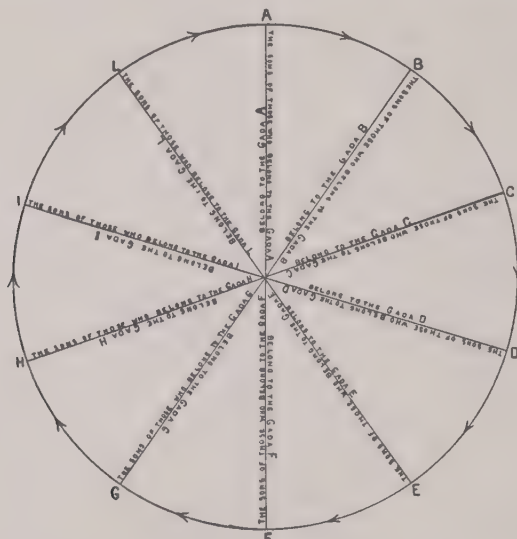


DIAGRAM I

The arrow indicates the direction in which the *gádā* follow each other in power.

series opposite to that of his father, corresponds to the *gádā* group of the father. For example, calling the ten *gádā* by the first ten letters of the alphabet, one can explain the system by Diagram I.

Remembering that every *gádā* remains in power for eight years (a *gádā* period), one sees from the diagram that every Galla arrives at each of the periods of initiation exactly forty years after his father has reached it, there being always between the *gádā* of the father and the *gádā* of the son five *gádā* periods. Therefore, the period of government of the sons begins forty years after the beginning of the period of the *gádā* of the fathers. The complete cycle of the ten *gádā*, that is, the return to rule of a member of the *Gádā A* (therefore, of a grandson of a member of the preceding *Gádā A*) requires eighty years.

Similarly, the complete cycle of the periods of initiation, that is, the period from birth to the end of the period of governing of the *gádā* itself, requires forty years (24 *dobbollé*,

8 *qondālā*, 4 *rābā*, 4 *gúlā*). However, the initiation taking place collectively by *gádā*, since membership in a *gádā* does not depend upon age but is hereditary, the cycle of initiation may be more or less brief according to the relation between the *gádā* to which one belongs and that which is in power in the year of birth. For example, if in the first year in which *Gádā A* is in power, a son is born to a member of *Gádā G*, the child belongs to *Gádā B*; he will be, therefore, *qondālā* (see Diagram II) and as such, eight years after his birth, will become *rābā*, and after sixteen years, he will have completed his period of initiation.

If, on the other hand, in the fifth year of the period in which *Gádā A* is in the power, a son is born to a member of *Gádā G*, the child belongs also to *Gádā B*, as in the first case, but, since in the first four years of the period in which *Gádā B* is in power, the *qondālā* have completed the four necessary ceremonies, the child does not belong to the *qondālā* of his *gádā*. For the time during which the *Gádā B* will be completing the period of *qondālā* and then of *lúbā* (*rābā* and *gúlā*), he will remain outside the degrees of initiation (see note to Diagram II).

At the close of the period in which *Gádā B* will be in power, the child will follow the lot of this *gádā* of his and therefore will find himself again with *Gádā B* in power ninety-two<sup>1</sup> years after his birth. On the other hand, if during the period in which *Gádā A* is in power, a son is born to a member of *Gádā E*, the child will belong to *Gádā L*, and will complete, therefore, his cycle of initiation in nine *gádā* periods, that is, in seventy-two years, plus the years which pass between his birth and the end of *Gádā Period A*; that means in a minimum of seventy-two years or in a maximum of seventy-nine years. Therefore, the period of initiation in general has a minimum of fifteen years from birth and a maximum of ninety-two years from birth, and there remains as the only fixed figure, the fact that this period of initiation begins and ends for the sons forty years after the period of initiation of their fathers has begun and ended.

I have not been able to get from Loransiyos the complete list of the names of the *gádā* of the Máččā. Other sources, however, give more or less complete lists. The best of these, d'Abbadie, Bahrey, de Salviac, and Werner, are represented by Diagram III. The corresponding arrows indicate the *gádā* coupled together, i.e. if the fathers belong to one of a pair, their sons belong to the other. Since the cycle of *gádā* is continuous, it is naturally immaterial with which *gádā* one begins the enumeration. From a comparison of the lists, it appears that the names of the *gádā* differ according as the tribe belongs to the Borana or the Baraytuma, the two great divisions of the Galla people. One should be warned not to confuse the Borana, a branch of the Galla tribes in general, with the present confederations of the Borana, i.e. the Harar, the Ittu, and the Arussi. Thus, the Máččā who certainly do not belong to the confederation of the Borana are, on the other hand, of the Borana branch. Furthermore, their nobles call themselves Borana in contradistinction to the plebeian Gabaro. (See song 141, notes.)

<sup>1</sup> 80 + 8 + 4 = 92.



The period of initiation of the *dobballê* does not require special ceremonies, at least so far as one can find out from the following text. On the other hand, the periods of initiation of the *qondâlâ* and of the *râbâ* each require four ceremonies, which must be completed one in each of the four years corresponding to the first half of the period of *qondâlâ* and to the whole period of *râbâ* (which, as is known, is the first half of the period of *lûbâ*). The four ceremonies of the *qondâlâ* correspond each with one of the four ceremonies of the *râbâ*.<sup>1</sup> After each of the four ceremonies, the *qondâlâ* and the *râbâ* proclaim a law, that is, pronounce the formula of a Galla law which has reference to them. The four formulae of law pronounced by the *qondâlâ* correspond each to one of the four formulae of law pronounced by the *râbâ*.<sup>2</sup> The ceremonies must all be carried out on the plain outside the village where the assembly meets. This information, received from Loransiyos to illustrate the following text, is in two points (the four ceremonies and the four formulae of law of the *qondâlâ*) in apparent contradiction to the text itself. (See, however, note 4 to text 4.) It is almost unnecessary to point out the predominance of the number four in these ceremonies; it is perhaps due to magic significance.

According to the different grades of initiation, the Galla have a different arrangement of the hair. The *dobballê* have their hair shaved off, except for curls which are gathered at the back of the head. The *qondâlâ* let the hair grow without cutting and arrange it by throwing it back. The *râbâ* shave off the hair and make a tonsure on the top of the head. The *gûlâ* make an arrangement called *gutû* which consists of several tufts of hair interwoven and twisted around the back of the head.

The *gádâ* are also the basis of the Galla calendar, the Galla counting by *gádâ* periods as the Greeks did by Olympiads. The *gáda* whose members are *lûbâ* (that is, the *gádâ* from which is chosen the *Abbâ Bokkû*) gives its name to the period of eight years during which its members remain *lûbâ* and its *Abbâ Bokkû* governs. But it must be kept in mind that while he is in power, four other *gádâ* are also in operation, so to speak; three as *dobballê* and one as *qondâlâ*. Calling the ten *gádâ* by the first ten letters of the alphabet, for a complete cycle (eighty years), there results this general arrangement (see Diagram II).

Circumcision is connected with the system of the *gádâ*, this being the ceremony with which one passes from the third to the fourth degree of initiation, from *râbâ* to *gûlâ*. The festival of the *buttâ* is also allied to the system of the *gádâ*, this being the last ceremony in common of the second and third degrees of initiation, the *qondâlâ* and the *râbâ*. The assembly of the tribe is connected with the *gádâ*, only those being able to take part in its deliberations who have passed the second degree of initiation; that is, from the *râbâ* on. Only exceptionally are there admitted, as deliberating members, the *qondâlâ* who have already completed the four ceremonies of their period. The assembly is presided over by the *Abbâ Bokkû* elected from among the members of the *gádâ* which has reached the degree of *lûbâ* (third to fourth period of initiation). See text 5.

<sup>1</sup> See text 4, note 19, and text 5, note 34.

<sup>2</sup> See text 5, note 34.

DIAGRAM II

Gádā Groups: Period	Years	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	L
Gádā A	$\begin{cases} 1-4 \\ 5-8 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$
Gádā B	$\begin{cases} 9-12 \\ 13-16 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$
Gádā C	$\begin{cases} 17-20 \\ 21-24 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$
Gádā D	$\begin{cases} 25-28 \\ 29-32 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$
Gádā E	$\begin{cases} 33-36 \\ 37-40 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$
Gádā F	$\begin{cases} 41-44 \\ 45-48 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$
Gádā G	$\begin{cases} 49-52 \\ 53-56 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$
Gádā H	$\begin{cases} 57-60 \\ 61-64 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$
Gádā I	$\begin{cases} 65-68 \\ 69-72 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$
Gádā L	$\begin{cases} 73-76 \\ 77-80 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$
And then again:											
Gádā A	$\begin{cases} 81-85 \\ 85-88 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} rābā \\ gūlā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} qondālā \\ qondālā \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dollobbē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} dobbollē \\ dobbollē \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} .... \\ .... \end{cases}$

NOTE: It is made clear by the diagram that there are always five *gádā* groups in process of initiation, and five outside of these grades. Thus, for example, in the first eight years (*Gádā* Period A) the *gádā* groups A-E are in operation and the *gádā* groups F-L are outside of the degrees of initiation. The result is again, that constantly, when the *gádā* group of the fathers is going through the period of initiation, the *gádā* group of the sons is outside the degrees of initiation. Thus the period of initiation of B is completed in the five *gádā* periods in which A is outside of the degrees of initiation, etc.

It is difficult to decide to what this system of the *gádā* was originally due, and it is also doubtful, in my opinion at least, at the present stage of our knowledge, whether the system of the Galla calendar originated from the system of the *gádā* groups, or whether the system of *gádā* groups is not derived in its turn from the cycles of years. So far as we now know, among no other Kushite people does the system of *gádā* exist. On the other hand, this has been adopted with some modifications by the Sanye and the Pokomo of British East Africa.

If the system of the *gádā* groups were derived from the cycles of years, it could perhaps be compared with the astrological calendar of the Danakil.<sup>1</sup> But these problems of the origin of a certain custom are as fascinating as they are usually impossible of solution; and furthermore, they are secondary in value to the exact knowledge of the custom itself and of the kindred rites from which it might be derived. And, indeed, present knowledge of the ethnology of the Kushites is not extensive.

References to the *gádā* may be found in the following works:

- Antoine d'Abbadie, 'Sur les Oromo,' (Annales de la Soc. Sci. de Bruxelles, 1880, vol. 4, p. 162-188).  
 Manuel d'Almeida, 'Historia Aethiopica,' (Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentalis, Romae, 1907, vol. 5, p. 477).  
 René Basset, Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie, Paris, 1882.  
 Francesco Beguinot, La cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia, Roma, 1901.  
 James Bruce, Voyage en Nubie et en Abyssinie, Paris, 1791.  
 Antonio Cecchi, Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa, Roma, 1886, vol. 1, p. 527-530; vol. 2, p. 30-32, 284, vol. 3, p. 169.  
 I. Guidi, ed., Bahrey, 'Historia gentis galla,' (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores aethiopici, Paris, 1907, ser. 2, vol. 3).  
 I. Guidi, 'Strofe e piccoli testi Amarici,' (Mitt. d. Seminars f. Orientalis Sprachen zu Berlin, vol. 10, pt. 2, text 1).  
 Ludwig Krapf, Travels, researches and missionary labors . . . in East Africa, London, 1860.  
 Jerome Lobo, A voyage to Abyssinia, London, 1735, p. 9.  
 Hiob Ludolf, Historia aethiopica, Frankfurt, 1687, Book I.  
 Guglielmo Massaja, I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia, Milano, 1885-1888, vol. 3, p. 78.  
 Philipp Paulitschke, Ethnographie Nordost Afrikas, Berlin, 1893-1896.  
 P. Martial de Salviac, Les Galla, Paris, 1901, p. 183-184.  
 A. W. Schleicher, Zenahu-la Galla, Berlin, 1893.  
 Paul Soleillet, Voyages en Éthiopie, Rouen, 1886.  
 Karl Tutscheck, Dictionary of the Galla language, Munich, 1844.  
 A. Werner, 'The Galla of the East Africa Protectorate,' (Journ. Afr. Soc., London, 1914, vol. 13, p. 141, 263-264).

Here is the text gathered by Loransiyos on the rites of initiation. It must be borne in mind that this, as well as the additional information received from him and above adduced, refers to the Máččā and more especially to the Lîeqā.

*Qondallí ghdā bu 'é, godatti fôqā iğāra aččitti sîērā tumá. Qondallí sîērā tuméti gúyā kuḏaśán bulé. Namní hāté godô qondálā hinḏagú. Qondallí gáfā tumá tumú, tumtún goftá~nqábni, fāqñ goftá~nqábni dara butera ġēḏé intumá. Gúyā kuḏaśán bulé, margá buqqisé: bakkê nú kiessa bullé čala tumamé. Gôfā kán sirbā ka 'á, niti ulfín fúlāša dúra~ndābatín. Qondallí óf kan čubáte, nitín kún ulfín irra bad.*

<sup>1</sup> Leo Reinisch, Die Afar Sprache, Wien, 1887, vol. 2, p. 42-74.



*Ilmi tinnân ilmi guddân: yâ qondâlâ, hofkalči! ġēdē margâ kutē kienna. Margâ harkátti fuḍaté hofkalči kienna. Kanán bakkēdā galá. Gáfā wāggā ta 'ú lamáffā bu 'á. Abbân kormâ dúka baé, buttâ ġbisé ġāffrē ġbisé. Kiennéti kanán galé. Kanán ġbā fuḍaté galé. Qondallí ġalaḍā! ġēdē; garbičči qondâlâ yó du 'é, gúmā šan'amā! ġēdē; kanán túmā tumé. Diēbié gáfā wāggā sadáftā ḍoqqrē búsa. Sá 'ā wálitti qabé, góllā tokkiččā kiessa gūyā ḍibbā bulá, ḍoqqrēn kuní intuláma. Gáfā gūyā ḍibbā kána gūtē, buttâ galá. Buttâ qáfā qalú, mīēḍiččā harkátti fuḍaté, addô addátti fuḍaté. Buda yo ġirati insama. Kanán diēbié buttāsa qalé wāmē nāččisē Miččiliččēti kienné. Ámma ḍāgnā qabāti. Éga kán isāti ġāffrē. Gáfā wāggā gūtú, ḍāgnā qabá ḍaqá, wāmē ġbisé qalá. Nāččisē ḍāgnā qabáta. Kanán éga dobbollín bakkē bu 'á. Éga dobbollēti kienné, bakkēn kán dobbollā tātē, máqā fuḍátte. Qondâlâ ġēḍámti, wāggā afúr kána akkāmā ámma ġirú, bakkē bütēti dobbollí. Qondâlâ ámma maqá fuḍaté. Éga qondallí Dúlo ta 'é qarrē muralé matása utún'adin'ináfa. Éga'nnuí rábā ta 'é; dobbollí qondâlâ tātē. Akkasúttiōlitti kienne ġāffrē ábbā gállā.*

The *qondâlâ* goes out to the plain, constructs upon it an enclosure and there proclaims the law (1). The *qondâlâ* proclaims the law and spends fifteen days there. Anyone who has stolen cannot go into the hut of the *qondâlâ* (2). When the *qondâlâ* proclaims the law: "The blacksmith who has no master, the dresser of skins who has no patron" . . . (3), he says and proclaims the law. He stays there fifteen days, uproots some grass and: "The plain on which we have stayed is ( . . . ) (4)" is proclaimed. When the dance takes place (5), the women who are pregnant must not stop before him (the *qondâlâ*) (6). The one on account of whom the *qondâlâ* has purified himself (7), that pregnant woman has an abortion. The young men and the boys say, "O *qondâlâ*, give a blessing." They cut some grass and give it to him. The *qondâlâ* takes it in his hand, blesses it, spitting upon it, and gives it to them (8). Then he returns from the plain. When a year has been completed, he goes forth for the second time. He who is rich in cattle follows him, and he (the *qondâlâ*) blesses the *buttâ* (9), blesses the meadow of the assembly. He gives it (the blessing) and then goes away. Then (the other) takes the blessing and goes away. The *qondâlâ* is ( . . . ) (9), says, "If a slave of the *qondâlâ* dies, the price of his blood is fifty (head of horned cattle)." Then he proclaims this law. He goes back, and, when he comes the third year, he has collected the dung of the oxen (10). He gathers together the horned cattle inside a single enclosure; a hundred days pass and that dung accumulates. At the end of these one hundred days, he performs the sacrifice of the *buttâ* (11). When he has performed the sacrifice of the *buttâ*, he puts the *mīēḍiččā* on his arm (12), he puts the *addô* (13) on his forehead; then he returns, performs his sacrifice of the *buttâ*, invites guests, offers a banquet; and gives place to the *Miččillî* (14). Then he is circumcised (15). Then the assembly is his. When the year has arrived, he goes to the circumcision; he invites; he blesses; he makes the sacrifice. He offers a banquet, he is circumcised (16). Then the *dobollê* go forth to the plain. Then he (the *qondâlâ*) gives to the *dobollê* (the plain); the plain belongs to the *dobollê*; (the latter) takes the name (17), he is called *qondâlâ*. Not until these four years have thus passed does the *dobollê* go out in the plain. The *qondâlâ*

also takes the name (18). Then the *qondâlā* is *Dûlo*; he shaves a tonsure; he does not fail to shave his head. When he is *râbā*, the *dobbollê* is *qondâlā*. Thus is transmitted from one to another the assembly of the Galla fathers.

### Notes

(1.) That is, proclaims one of the four formulas of law of the *qondâlā*. The text of this formula, which is given later, is not clear in its last two words.

(2.) Thieves are, therefore, excluded from initiation. I do not know, however, whether this exclusion lasts for a lifetime, or whether it is temporary.

(3.) This is the first formula of law of the *qondâlā*. It seems to refer to people of low caste without a patron. *Gofta* means literally, "master," but undoubtedly it is to be translated here more properly, "patron," those of low caste not being slaves but clients. (See Appendix.)

(4.) It would seem that this is the text of the second law of the *qondâlā*. Here, too, the last word *čala* is not clear. *Câlā* means in Galla "better," but it does not seem to me that the sense of the phrase accords correctly with this interpretation. However, as the second law is pronounced in the second year of *qondâlā*, it should be further on and not where it is; but this text is rather confused (it must be remembered that Loransiyos, during the last days of his stay in Italy, was in bad health, because he had a chronic bronchial catarrh which produced a violent cough, so that he could not speak long at a time).

(5.) It would seem, therefore, that the first ceremony of initiation of the *qondâlā* consists in a dance. Certainly, in all these initiation rites, dancing is one of the most frequent ceremonies.

(6.) Perhaps because of the magic conception of the propagation of the species.

(7.) That is, the *qondâlā* must purify himself, if a pregnant woman stops in front of him.

(8.) Blessing by means of expectoration is very common among the Galla and is evidently connected with the magic beliefs existing among so many nations in regard to the parts of the human body. The one who spits is considered as bound magically to his saliva and therefore to the body of him upon whom he has spat. It is noteworthy that this blessing is in connection with grass, in regard to which so many religious ideas exist among the Kushites.

(9.) These two words do not seem clear to me. Perhaps Loransiyos meant to indicate by the word *buttâ*, not the sacrifice, but the place where this sacrifice is usually performed among a tribe. Moreover, the *qondâlā* in the second year of his initiation would bless the place of the *buttâ*, the horned cattle that are afterwards to be sacrificed for the *buttâ*, and the place of the assembly.

(10.) The ceremony of the gathering together of ox dung really takes place, not in the third, but in the fourth year of the period of *qondâlā*. But, as is pointed out in note 4, Loransiyos gives a law of the *qondâlā* without the ceremony with which it is always cus-

tomary to accompany the proclamation of a formula of law. On the other hand, in a note of mine, independent of the text, I have gathered the information from Loransiyos that one of the ceremonies of the *qondālā* is as follows: the chief plants in the ground a tree trunk called *mūkā borē* and around this tree the *qondālā*, divided into two sides pretend to fight.

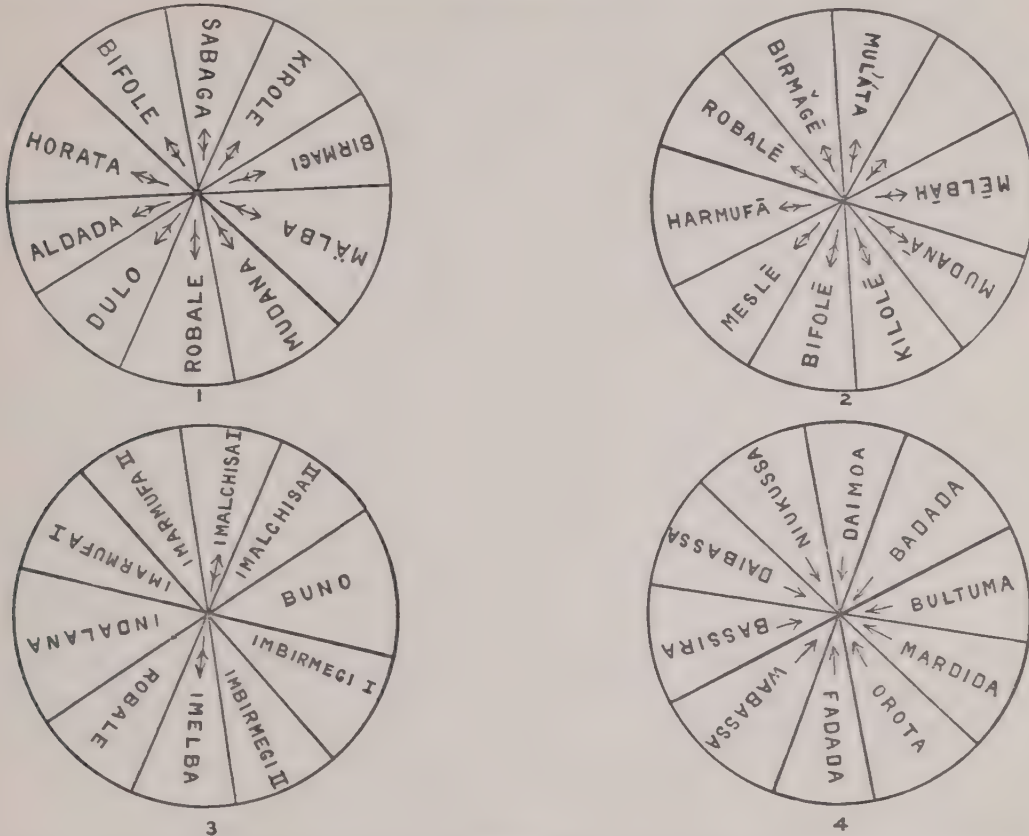


DIAGRAM III

FIG. 1. After Antoine d'Abbadie, 'Sur les Oromo,' (Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles, 1880, vol. 4, p. 175).

FIG. 2. After I. Guidi, ed., Bahrey. Historia gentis galla, (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores aethiopici, Paris, 1907, Series 2, vol. 3, pp. 198-202).

FIG. 3. After A. Werner, 'The Galla of the East Africa Protectorate,' (Journ. Afr. Soc., London, 1914, vol. 13, p. 263).

FIG. 4. After P. Martial de Salviac, Les Galla, Paris, 1901, p. 193.

If this ceremony, as is probable, is in fact one of those annual rites which Loransiyos has forgotten in his exposition (text 4), then one would have the complete cycle of the rites of the *qondālā*. What Loransiyos says about the ceremony of the planting of the tree is confirmed by Cecchi,<sup>1</sup> who, however, does not give the name of the tree planted by the *qondālā*. For the ceremony of the collecting of the ox dung, see Cecchi.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 284.



- (11.) See song 142.
- (12.) See song 132, v. 2.
- (13.) See song 38, v. 2.
- (14.) The words missing from the text at this point are the beginning of the specific example cited by Loransiyos in explanation of the foregoing matter.
- (15.) Four years after the *buttâ*, as has been already said.
- (16.) This is a useless repetition. See note 14.
- (17.) That is, from being *dobbollê*, as they were before, they assume the degree of *gondâlâ*.
- (18.) That is, from being *gondâlâ*, as they were before, they assume the degree of *râbâ*; this is the first period of *lûbâ*, and the period itself takes the name of their *gádâ*. Here the *gádâ Dûlo* is given as an example. (See Diagram III, 1.)
- (19.) To summarize, the ceremonies of the *gondâlâ* are:
- First year. Rite: planting of the *múkâ borê*. Formula: that relating to the smiths and the dressers of skins.
- Second year. Rite: dance (?), blessing of the grass. Formula: that relating to the plain of the ceremonies.
- Third year. Rite: blessing of the place of the assembly and of the *buttâ*. Formula: that relating to pregnant women.
- Fourth year. Rite: ox dung, *buttâ*. Formula: that relating to the property of the *gondâlâ*.

The *gondâlâ* take part in the ceremony of the *buttâ* as well as the *râbâ* with the difference that while the *râbâ* at the end of the ceremony of the *buttâ* are circumcised, the *gondâlâ* naturally are not circumcised.

## 5.

**The Investiture of the Abbâ Bokkû.**

*Ergámtu abbâ bokkû námâ rábâ tâte; lágâ`nǎǎtu, bišân namní wârâbê`ndûgdu. Utú nannâú mánâ námâ`mbulú. Kán mánâsâti fuðatê baé isátu ñâtu. Gáfâ hinní mánâ ábbâ bokkû galú, ábbân bokkû hiyêssâ mití garbâ qabâ, sá 'â qabâ; garbís ofiŝé qotattê ñattê, hinnís ofí qotâta ñâta. Éga mánâ ábbâ bokkû yógga`sēnâni ġarrí kuní: qābaqda! ġēdān. Alâ qābatanítí, nítisa wāmání. Barčúmā fidí! ġēdāni. Sīā tōrbā gadí fiddé, sīā torbā dīēbifité. Yā giftikō, mālī raġġí nūtí fiddí? Kún ġēdāni. Gáfâ saddiēttaffâ barčúmā lamâ battí. Barčúmmā kanarrátti bišân gullé: ta 'a! ġétti. Māgān! ġēdānítí guyāsání lakkātání. Ammanán ábbân bokkû duŝé, ġabánā lakkāé; guyā qabáf gúyā akkanátí! ġēdē ēbisáf. Kanán ergámtu ábbâ bokkû galté. Ábbân bokkû dúra gáfâ čāffīē dagāgâ bakkē bu 'é, fōqā iġāra. Kórmā dagagá qalá. Gáfâ hinní kórmā dagagá qalú, bokkūn durā inbuqqá. Bōkkūnkīēña! ġēdē qalá. Hōrā qawifaté fōqā iġārē, manátti galé. Dīēbiēti gáfâ wāggā bakkē bu 'é: dogāmā! ġēdē. Nittn uffā dúra`nqattamurtú tumé qalá. Gaggafós mōtummán bokkū galá: murá sīērā! tumé sīērā! sīērā ábbā lubbāti! ġēdēti, arfān lubbā ka 'é bokkū kīēnné. Ábbân bokkū dubbī fiŝēti: dúgā bántā, ġēdē. Éga kanán bokkū mukárra kaé galé. Dīēbiēti gáfâ wāggā: bokkū būsā! ġēdē, gōgā sá 'ā qalání, ġīdā sá 'ā uffaté, matā kormā qalé, gafāsa tīti čabsé, mātā tīti dirāta, addō godé mīēdīččā harkátti gódaté, éga fūlāsa dībbé,*

*múkā yābā borráta, gáfā hinní būsá, bókú mukárra búsé: nittí lubbā qananídā, ilmi lubbā qana nídā, garbičči lubbā qananídā, kalón lubbā qananídā! ġēdē, lubbā ġbisé galá. Siáčči buttà galá ñáččísé obasé, doqqè búsé. Kanán siērā tumáta. Tumé siērā! Muré siērā! ġēdē. Kán dūra lummi ka 'é: há buqqáu! ġēdē, kanán čāffī ġabiressé galá. Ačči ka 'éti waggá afur. Gáfā ta 'ú, hinní amamá bókú qabé kúní, dāgnā qábatu. Gáfā dāgnā hinní, qábatu matán<sup>^</sup>addaté: ġársā gutúti! ġēdē: yā gutú, ná olči, ná bulči! ġēdē matása hambifaté. Éga hinní kīessa baú lubbičči kúní éga kán birā dufanitti itti galá. Isánisá akkūmā kána tūmā tókko godáni, bōrantiččā wāmani. Kán durā gúlā ġēdāmti; ramní fuḍaté galá. Isáni kán duríti gáfā baáni, kán fárdā qabú fárdā fuḍaté, ramní milā adiēmé. Gúlān akkūmā wārānditti itti dufá. Gúlān fardarrātu ta 'é gōgā uffaté dufé. Sí kīenne, fuḍdu! ġēdān. Mirgā dābātu! ġēdān. Dūra mirgā ta 'é bitātti darbé gullí. Hó bókú! ġēdā. Bókú ná kīenni! ġēdēti bókúsa hárkā fuḍaté. Tumé siērā! muré siērā! ġēdē. Bókú kán dagāgáti! ġēdē ġbisé. Harkása rukuté sirbáf garmamsá<sup>^</sup>ngalá. Kanán ġbifamé, kanán bakkē bōdā fuḍatá. Tumām éga gára birātu Isánis kán duritti gáfā baáni, fogá buqqisanitti, iddó tókko tuláni. Kán birā iġārání. Múkā ġidā murani, éga kán birā godatáni.*

The messengers of the *Abbā Bókú* (1) are *rābā* (2). They do not ford the rivers; they do not drink water touched by others; when they go about, they do not spend the night in the house of strangers. They eat only what each one of them carried with him when he left his own house (3). When they enter the house of the *Abbā Bókú*, the *Abbā Bókú* is not poor; he has slaves, he has cattle, but his slaves eat the produce of the land cultivated by themselves; the *Abbā Bókú* eats the produce of the land which he himself has cultivated (4). Moreover, when they enter the house of the *Abbā Bókú*, they say to one another (among themselves), "Stop!" They stop at the threshold and call the wife of the *Abbā Bókú*. "Bring us the stool!" they say. Three times she brings them the stool and three times she carries it away. They say, "O my lady, why have you brought us this wonderful thing?" The third time she brings two stools. On these stools she pours water, "Sit down," she says (5). "Very well!" they reply and count their days (6). Then the *Abbā Bókú* comes, counts the years, counts the days. "The day on which I shall take (possession of my office) is this one!" he says and blesses them. Then the messengers of the *Abbā Bókú* go back. The *Abbā Bókú* first descends to the plain for the assembly of the ox (*dagāgā*) (7) and makes an enclosure. He sacrifices an ox. When he has sacrificed the ox, the ancient sceptre is taken away (8). He offers the sacrifice, saying, "To our sceptre!" He performs the ceremony of *qawisā* upon the salt springs (9); he constructs an enclosure and goes back to his house. When in the second year he descends to the plain for the *dogāmā* (10), the pregnant women do not pass before him (11). He makes a law (to that effect) and returns. Then the reign of the sceptre is his. "I have determined the law! I have struck the law! The law of the *lúbā* fathers!" he says, and the four *lúbā* (12) hasten to give him the sceptre. The *Abbā Bókú*, to finish the matter, performs the *đúgā bántā* (13). Then the *Abbā Bókú* puts the sceptre on the tree (14) and returns. At the end of a year he performs the ceremony of the *bókú būsá* (15). He cuts the throat of an ox with a fine hide.



He puts on the skin of an ox, he puts on his head the head of the ox whose throat he has cut, after having broken the horns. He thus puts on the *addô* (16), he puts the *mīēdīččā* (17) on his arm; then he anoints his forehead, climbs upon the tree and dives in (among the branches) (18). When he has performed this ceremony of the *bokkû būsā*, he says, "The wife of the *lúbā* is sacred, the son of the *lúbā* is sacred, the slave of the *lúbā* is sacred, the grass of the *lúbā* is sacred (19)." He blesses the *lúbā* and goes back. Then he performs the sacrifice of the *buttā* (20), gives food and drink, and has the ox dung collected (21). Then he makes a law. "I have cut the law! I have struck the law! The former *lúbā* have gone away. Let them be uprooted!" he says (22), and then he places himself at the head of the assembly and goes back. After four years from the beginning of his office, the one who had now held the sceptre is circumcised. When he has been circumcised, he shaves his head (23). "I am an old man with a *gutû*," he says, "O *gutû*, protect me!" (literally, "cause me to pass the day, cause me to pass the night"), and he arranges his hair (24). Then these *lúbā* go forth (from that degree); others come and (the degree) is for them (25). They, likewise, proclaim a law and call themselves *bōrantiččā* (26). The former (*lúbā*) are called *gúlā* (27); the *rábā* enter and take (the power). When the former (*rábā*) go away, those among them who have horses, go on horseback; the *rábā* come on foot (28). The *gúlā* come like an army. The *gúlā* are on horseback and come dressed in skins. "I have given it to thee. Take it!" they say. "Remain at the right!" they say. And then that *gúlā* who was first at the right, passes to the left (29). "Take the sceptre!" he says. "Give me the sceptre!" says the other (30), and he takes the sceptre in his hands. "I have struck the law! I have determined the law! The sceptre belongs to the ox *dagāgā*" (31), he says, and gives the blessing. Then they clap their hands and go through the *garmāmsā* (32) dance. Then (the others) are blessed and they withdraw from the plain. The authority to make laws then falls to the other. When the former go out, they pull down the enclosure and pile up the wood in one place (33). The new ones make another; they cut green wood, and make another (34).

#### Notes

(1.) That is, those who go to the hut of the *Abbā Bokkû* to announce to him officially his election and the beginning of his period of rule. As may be seen, the text gives no information as to the rites with which the election of the *Abbā Bokkû* takes place, nor as to the choice of these messengers.

(2.) The messengers are *rábā*, that is, they belong to the same *gādā* group as the newly elected *Abbā Bokkû*. See text 4, preface.

(3.) These requirements, all attributable to magical conceptions, are strangely similar to those which the candidates for the degree of *ǵillā* must observe during their journey to the *Abbā Múdā*. This would confirm what has been said in text 4, note 6, namely, that the *ǵillā* is a higher grade of initiation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guidi, 'Strofe e brevi testi amarici,' op. cit., p. 11-14.



(4.) This requirement of eating only products of the land cultivated by the person himself is common among the Galla. Certain famous magicians do the same (see text 12). If one considers the fact that the Galla are forbidden to eat the products of land cultivated by the Wáttā and others of low castes (see Appendix), the two prohibitions may readily be connected, showing them to originate from the same idea, that magic contact by means of food is to be avoided both on the part of those who have occasion to fear the magic influences of others (as is the case in regard to those of low caste) and also on the part of those who should preserve their own magic power intact, as is the case with soothsayers and perhaps with the *Abbā Bokkû*.

(5.) The rite is described minutely by Loransiyos, yet I do not see clearly the reasons for it.

(6.) That is, they count the years of the *gádā* periods which have gone by while they have passed through the preceding degrees of initiation as far as that of *rábā* which they are on the point of attaining.

(7.) *Dagāgā* is really a species of big ox, and the word is used also in a general sense to indicate the full grown male of big animals. In Amharic, it has come to mean only the full grown male elephant.

(8.) The preceding *Abbā Bokkû* yields the power to the new one, and therefore one *gádā* period comes to an end and another begins.

(9.) The *gawisā* consists of a solemn blessing which the *Abbā Bokkû* bestows by spitting upon the waters of the salt springs where the flocks of the tribe go to drink.

(10.) The text does not say what this ceremony of the *dogāmā* is.

(11.) Compare text 4, note 6.

(12.) That is, the four who had gone during the first year to the house of the *Abbā Bokkû* to announce to him his election.

(13.) The text does not say of what the ceremony of the *ḍūgā bántā* consists. If I am not mistaken, *ḍūgā bántā* means "that which opens the truth."

(14.) That is, upon the tree sacred to the tribe.

(15.) That is, "descent of the sceptre."

(16.) See song 38.

(17.) See song 132.

(18.) Observe this impersonation of an ox by the *Abbā Bokkû*. The ox is the sacred animal of the Kushites.

(19.) The formula indicates that those who have reached the third degree of initiation (*lúbā*) are fully guaranteed by the tribe against any injury that might occur to them or to their belongings. This judicial status which the patrimony of the *lúbā* assumes after the proclamation of this formula, is expressed in Galla by the word *qanani* (the abstract of which would be *qananā* or *qanan'ā*). Naturally, the word is untranslatable; I have rendered it by the word "sacred," which is, however, inappropriate.

(20.) The *buttâ* is the last initiation ceremony both of the *gondâlâ* and of the *lûbâ* degrees. In the four years following the *buttâ*, during which the man continues to be *gondâlâ* or *lûbâ* (*gûlâ*), no other ceremony takes place.

(21.) The text is confused; the ceremony of the ox dung precedes the *buttâ* and is performed, in so far as appears from text 4, by the *gondâlâ*, perhaps with the permission and at a time fixed by the *Abbâ Bokkû*.

(22.) The text has the usual collective singular.

(23.) That is, the hair is shaved except for those locks which serve for the *gutû*. See the preface to text 4.

(24.) The words of the text emphasize the importance of the *gutû* arrangement of the hair among the Galla.

(25.) It means the four years after the *buttâ* and the circumcision, which represent the central period of the *gádâ* period, during which the man is a *lûbâ*.

(26.) It seems that one may deduce from this phrase of the text that the *Gabârô* do not enter the *gádâ* of the Galla nobles, or, at least, that nominally they do not enter them, each proclaiming himself as belonging to the *gádâ bōrantiččâ*. This agrees with what d'Abbadie has written.<sup>1</sup>

(27.) The text now passes to the description of the ceremony which the *Abbâ Bokkû* and his *gádâ* go through at the end of their *gádâ*-period, that of the handing over of the power, to the new *Abbâ Bokkû* and his *gádâ*. It is evident that in the eighth, and, therefore, last year of their entrance into the degree of *lûbâ*, the *Abbâ Bokkû* and his *gádâ* are *gûlâ* (see preface to text 4); while the new *Abbâ Bokkû* and his *gádâ*, entering the degree of *lûbâ* just at that time, are *râbâ*. Therefore, the handing over of the power always takes place from *gûlâ* to *râbâ*.

(28.) As a sign of their inferiority to the *gûlâ*, they, as *râbâ*, not having yet received the sceptre (*bokkû*).

(29.) As a sign of their subjection to the new *Abbâ Bokkû*.

(30.) That is, the newly elected *Abbâ Bokkû*. As may be observed, the speeches on entrance into office are reduced to a minimum among the Galla.

(31.) Perhaps the formula refers to the sacrifice of the ox (*dagāgā*), which is the first ceremony of the newly elected *Abbâ Bokkû*.

(32.) We have already noted the use of dances in initiation rites.

(33.) The enclosure where the annual ceremonies of a *gádâ* are gone through, is torn down to symbolize the end of the period of the *gádâ* itself.

(34.) The ceremonies to be performed by the *lûbâ* in the eight years during which they remain such are, therefore:

First year. Ceremony: sacrifice of the ox (*dagāgā*), blessing of the salt springs (*gawisâ*); Formula of law; that relating to pregnant women.

<sup>1</sup> d'Abbadie, 'Sur les Oromo,' op. cit., p. 176.

Second year. Ceremony: *dogámā*; Formula of law: that relating to the legislative power of the *lúbā*.

Third year. Ceremony: *dúgā bántā* ("opening of the truth"); Formula of law:

Fourth year. Ceremony: *bokkū būsā* ("descent of the sceptre"), *buttā*, and circumcision; Formula of law: that relating to the patrimony and family of the *lúbā*.

## 6.

**Blood-Price.**

*Namni námā aǵēsé sá'ā dǵbbā sadi˘mmo gárbiččā tokko gúmā bása. Fón sá'ā kuní hiññātu. Fírā firása qabaté daqá. Lagáttu wál daqaníti, sání gurračči giddusáni dābāta. Garbičči gumá qabaté dābaté. Sa 'ičča qaláni. Hárkā fudáni fón sá'ā. Ammanán wál ēbisáni galáni. Gumán inbaé. Garbičči mánā wárrā du 'éti fudaté galé. Garbičči kuní garbiččā˘nǵēdāmu, ilmāsáti ġēdu malé.*

A man who has killed another man pays as the blood-price either 103 head of horned cattle or a slave. The flesh of these cattle is not eaten. The relatives go with their kindred and assemble near a river. A black cow is placed in their midst. The slave who is to serve as payment of the blood-price stands still there. They sacrifice the cow and take in their hands a piece of the flesh of this cow. Then they bless one another reciprocally and go home. The blood-price has been paid. The slave enters (literally, takes and enters) the house of the family of the dead man. This slave is not considered as a slave, but instead, they regard him as their son.

## III. TEXTS OF MAGIC AND PROPHECIC LITERATURE

As is well known, soothsayers and magicians enjoy very great authority among the pagan Galla. Their responses are often handed down from generation to generation in the memory of the sons of Orma: not infrequently the prophecies of the magicians have reference to entire historic periods. There is, for example, a series of prophecies in regard to the future of Ethiopia, which the Galla have seen fulfilled to a great extent. As to the part which has not yet come to pass, the future is "on the knees of Wâqā."

One of the greatest Galla soothsayers was Abbā Raǵǵí [literally, "father of prophecy"]. His name was Ġiǵǵó Bāččo; the title of Abbā Raǵǵí and the name of Bāččo were handed down from father to son, thus forming a dynasty of magicians. Abbā Raǵǵí still resides at Hindíēba, which is called Hindíēba Gačči from the name of one of its ancient kings, a region in the so-called *báddā Bîērā*, "plateau of the Bîērā," near Liēqā Hordā and Ġímmā Arǵo, dominions of Tuččo Dánnō. These two prophecies of his (7-8) are famous:

## 7

*Onni Ġiǵǵó Bāččo mátākiēti˘mbaín, ġarákiēti˘mbaín! mōtín Kāfā Amārā amoliē tokkótti gurgurú, barčū tokkótti gangó gurgurá. Kána aná agarǵise. Bódā Amarri biyā Kāfā qabé. Motummān Kāfā utú ilmátti intarkanfatín˘afá. Ġēǵēn inǵufá, ġabanní˘mbaddi fon sa 'afi anán sa 'ā ñātē ġabánā*



*bafaté. Gáfā wāggā lamáffā sání ṇdumá. Ğēğēn amān dufé namní wālā wālū hindibá. Miḍān badé, ilmi abbā būsé, dalté mūčáši gatté; utú ġabanní kuní baddú mbaín nigufní du 'á. Wāggā lamá wāltt anst ġabanní badé. Gáfā wāggā sadáffā nigufní garbiččā Ilmórmā túmtu Amārā obolá godé wāl fūsisú kán akkána nigúsā tti dufá. Gáfā nigufní kuní mōé, ġabanní tolé. Firākó kan dūr du 'é! ġēđé hinní ġabanní badú kuní kán ġirú bōé; fardān gangōn btyā gūtē, wāggā digdāmi tórbā mōé, du 'ānsa wāggā sadí mōé. Gáfā wāggā soddomā ta 'é, namní ilkān fuldurā ġāā wāggā tórbā mōa, yói wāggā kudatórbā mōa. Onní Ğiğğō Báččo mátākīeti mbaín, gárākīeti mbaín!*

Let not the word of Ğiğğō Báččo go forth from thy head, let it not go forth from thy heart! The king of Kaffa will sell the Amara for a piece of salt; at the price of a *barčú* he will sell the mules: this I prophesy! But in the end, the Amara will occupy the country of Kaffa. The kingdom of Kaffa will not pass to the son [of the present king]. A famine will come; it will be a terrible time. Thou wilt pass this time eating cow's flesh and drinking cow's milk. But in the second year, there will be no more cows. At this time of terrible famine it will not be possible to bury the people. The grain will be destroyed, the son will forsake the father, the mother will forsake the daughter; before this time comes to an end, the emperor will die. In the following year, likewise, the times will be bad; in the third year the emperor will make the slaves and the Galla, the blacksmiths and the Amara, like brothers, and will have them marry. Such an emperor will come. When this emperor shall reign, the times will become better. Those who will be living at that time will bewail their own dead relations; there will be horses and mules in abundance. He will reign twenty-seven years and his corpse will reign three more. When thirty years are at an end, a man with six incisors will reign for seven years or for seventeen years. Let not the word of Ğiğğō Báččo go forth from thy head, let it not go forth from thy heart!"

*Notes.* As may be observed, all the events prophesied by Ğiğğō Báččo have thus far come to pass. The king of Kaffa conquered the negus, Takla Haymānot of the Goğğām, and the Amharic slaves were sold in Kaffa for a piece of salt each, ("a piece of salt" was used as the monetary unit in Abyssinia).<sup>1</sup> In the three-year period 1888–1891, the well-known terrible famine afflicted the whole of Ethiopia; in the second year of the famine (1889), the emperor John IV died. There came to the throne Menilek II, who, with an *awāğ*, forbade the insulting of negroes and blacksmiths; "*Bīrát gātğáč dabanānsā bīláh atš-dābāu; yā-negús sārūtāñā nāw inğí bīláh ngārāw*," runs the imperial decree, which Loran-siyos remembers by heart. ("Do not insult them by calling them smiters of iron, wizards! Say instead that they are laborers of the emperor and the people of Hamitic origin.") By decree of the negus, Takla Haymānot of the Goğğām, it was then forbidden to call *falāšā* ("Hebrew") even the recently converted Hebrews; "*Krīstīnnā yā-tanassāw hullú sīmú šammāmre bālūt inğí falāšā atbālūt*" the decree reads. ("Call all those who have been converted to Christianity weavers; do not call them Hebrews!") In reality, however, neither the decree of Menilek nor that of Takla Haymānot succeeded in modifying the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Cerulli, 'Canti popolari amarici,' op. cit., p. 583–584.

attitude of the Abyssinian populations toward the workmen who exercised these trades, which are considered ignoble, and toward the peoples of low caste. While Menilek ruled, the times improved, as the prophecy said. Menilek, however, did not rule for twenty-seven years, as the Abbā Raġġi predicted, but for twenty years (1889–1909), if the date of his actual death is put in 1909. On the other hand, his corpse really reigned three years (1909–1911). After him reigned Liġġ Iyâsu, who has behind the two upper and lower incisors another tooth in each jaw (so says Loransiyos); he has six incisors, as the Galla magician foresaw. The date of Menilek's death being placed in 1909, Iyâsu would actually have reigned seven years up to his present deposition (1916). Apart from the suspicion that, as regards the more ancient events, the prophecy was made *après coup*, the exactness is striking in regard to this last circumstance relating to the duration of the reign of Iyâsu, which was confirmed under my eyes and after I had gathered the text of the prophecy from Loransiyos.

Ġiġġô is the title of many famous magicians; for example, it is that also of Ġiġġô Kurâ, Ġiġġô Galatê, Ġiġġô Gabatâ, etc. *Barċû* is the Galla name of the piece of bent iron used as the monetary unit in the Sidama countries.<sup>1</sup>

## 8

*Hiddi tókko kallô tokkitti bariċâ ka 'é, Hindîebâ Gaċċi gaâ. Gâfâ Hindîebâ Gaċċi gâû, nigúsâ Bokkahâ wâggâ torbâ mōē lafârâ darbâ du 'á. Gâfâ hinnî du 'ú dagmâwi Bokkahâ hinnî ċufâ. Lamaffân Bokkahâ wâyâqâ: yói wâggâ tórbâ mōē, yói gúyâ tórbâ mōē; bóda kanátti imbáda Bokkahâ, môtummâ Bokkahâ imbáda. Gâfâ môtummâ Bokkahâ bádu, namní dimân inċufâ. Namní dimân kunî ċuféti, láfâ Gállâ ñqabâ. Dimbí kan ġēdu ċufâ. Mandarâ goċēti gimbí ta 'á. Gallân tti gamtatēti, nigúsâ díma kána sarē gurráċċâ gōgâsa tti ñaniti, fayâ wálama. Gâfâ hinnî dú 'a sanátti bārî Bārô tarkanfatē, 'adín sūni ñċufâ. Namní dimân inċufâ. Ġarî 'adín ęssâmâ durbí ta 'é, inmōa wâggâ kúċatorbâ. Wárrâ námâ Liēqâ ka 'ēti indarbâ. Lákin ilmôn Gállâ namíċċâ kunî dukâsa ñmbósé isa darbēfi. Dubbí kána isa aċċitti wáqâ tókko biēku. Nigufní 'adín kunî kárâ liċâ biftu baá; liċâ biftúti baēti lamaffân ċufé Gondaritti mánâ ñġára. Afurtamí afúr mahabárâ islâm goċâ, kúċalámâ gimbí kristyánâ ñġára. Nigufní 'adín tókko baá, biftútti baá. Liċátt 'an darbâ! ġēċa. Hinnî liċâ biftúti baé nigufní kunî, abbânsa ñmbiēkame 'adiċâ. Šānqillān gabbarâ, šān Liēqâ gabbarâ, torbâ Gudurútti darbēti Gondaritti ċea. Gâfâ hinnî Gudurú ka 'é, lafti innaċánnaċamti; nigufní akkána ñċufâ! nán ġēċé. Goġġám billáċâ tasallafé. Bodētti gâfâ iġġān argú nigúsâ salfi saná, Gállâ Bisili baé, Šānqillān Čommānā baé; nigúsâ kána qabde yó ċufté dūra billáċâ ñēgde. Ámma sangóta fidá, dámmâ kiēnna Gondaritti naggasisa. Nigufní bār baé kunî Eġġútti tti lōlá. Lákin Eġġú gâfâ gaē ñċábata. Môtummâ wâggâ kúċalámâ mōēti sarē Bokkahâ qabé indú 'a. Ílmâ Trēwodróš kán ġēċámu ċalċá. Fardí Trēwodróš láfâ kiēssa baá, ēbôn Trēwodróš ñnni tti naggasú suni wáqáċâ ċufâ. Gâfâ Trēwodróš ċalaté wâggâ torbâ, nigúsâ Gondar yā-Gállâ negús ġēċamé, Naċċusār qabé. Namní tti hinlōlín; kankô guyātu ċumé! ġēċēti, salām ġēċé ergaté nigúsâ Bokkahátti. Gâfâ nigúsâ Gondára ka 'ú saná, anán sá 'ā tókko yó ēlmé mandará tókko inqúfa; Gabaríe afúr kán qotté lafti biyā hundámâ qúfâ. Nigufní ġarî núrri ñċiēmé! ġēċé bōē. Iġġollēn*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jules Borelli, *Éthiopie méridionale*, op. cit.



*ilmí wāggā kūḍalāmā intallí wāggā kūḍalāmā nigúsā kána dúkā baddé. Tiēwodróš ka 'éti: Gimbi nigúsā kána Gondaratti án argá! ġēḍa. Gondari utú ṅgáin, Lālibālā wāggā torbātti naggása; Lālibālā gāfā ka 'é, ṣagḡen gubbā Bónḡā Šānqillātti darbá. Maḥs kán ġēḍáni lāfā lōla ḍaqá. Wāqni samāyo lāfā gāfā umé, mūkā tokkitti máqā kán inqábni umé. Namni yó mūkā sána biēké argaté innaggása. Tiēwodróš Bokkahí suní mukátti sána yó argaté: maqankiē ēñu? ġēḍé gāfatá. Mukátti sūni: aní Tiēwodróš! ġēṭta; qoričči barčúmā, wārqiēn nigistāti iso gubbātt argáma. Yó mūkā sána wāllālēfi: Búḡā nán darbá! ġēḍé. Lāfā Búḡā kána lōlā inargáta. Kán fūlāsa dūra ḍābaté kán lollí hinargáta. Mukiččā sána yó maqása biēkéfi ódā Ġiǧǧó Kurátti diēbié, wāggā digdamí tórbā inmóa.*

A plant *hiddí*, an herb that grows by a river, will rise from the east and will come to Hindîebā Gaččí. When it reaches Hindîebā Gaččí, the king of Bokkahâ will reign another seven years and then he will pass to a better life; he will die. When he has died, a second king of Bokkahâ will come. The second Bokkahâ will reign, how long is not known, perhaps seven years, perhaps seven days. After this, the Bokkahâ will come to an end, the reign of Bokkahâ will end. When the reign of Bokkahâ is ended, a red man will come. This red man will come and will take the lands of the Galla. He will come to the country called Dimbí. He will build a village and will reside in a castle. The Galla will unite in a league, and they will gird this red king with the skin of a black dog. He will be buried alive. When he is dead, the sea will pass the Bârō, and the white man will come. This white man will become a relative, cousin on the mother's side; he will reign seventeen years. He will depart from the Liēqā people and will pass beyond. But the sons of the Galla will weep behind this man's back, because of his departure. This story God alone knows. This white king will go forth by the way of the west: he will go forth by the west, and a second will come and will build a house at Gondar. He will build forty-four mosques for the Mussulmen, and he will build twelve churches for the Christians. A white king will come forth; from the east will he come forth. "I wish to go to the west!" he will say. The father of this king who will have gone forth by the west is unknown; he is white. The Šānqillā will pay him tribute; the five tribes of the Liēqā will pay him tribute; he will pass beyond the seven tribes of the Gudrú and he will arrive at Gondar. When he departs from Gudrú, the earth shall tremble.

I foresee the coming of a similar king. The men of the Ġoǧǧām will array themselves with swords against him. But then, when the king has seen these tribes with his eyes, the Galla sons of Bisilí will come forth; the Šānqillā, sons of Čommánā, will come forth. If they come with this king, first they will guard him with their swords; then they will bring him oxen, then they will give him honey, and they will cause him to reign at Gondar. That king who has come forth from the sea will fight in Yeǧǧu. But when he has arrived at Yeǧǧu, he will stop. He will reign in the kingdom of Bokkahâ twelve years; he will take the throne of the Bokkahâ and he will die. He will beget a son by the name of Theodore. The horse of Theodore will come forth from the earth; the lance with which this Theodore will reign, will come from heaven. Seven years after the birth of Theodore, the king of



Gondar will be called *Yä-Galla negus* ("king of the Galla" in Amharic), and will take Načçusâr. No one will fight against him. "My days are fulfilled!" he will say and he will send a message of peace to the king. When this king departs from Gondar, the milk of a cow, if milked, will satisfy a village; the land cultivated by four peasants will satisfy the whole region. "A good king has left us," they will say, and they will weep. Some children, a boy of twelve and a girl of twelve, will be lost in following this king. Theodore will depart to go to see the castle of this king at Gondar. He will not reach Gondar, but he will reign seven years in Lālibālā. Then, when he departs from Lālibālā, passing above the Saggada, he will go to Bóngā of the Šānqillā. He will fight in the land called Mafis and he will go beyond. When God created heaven and earth, he created a tree without a name. The man who knows and finds this tree, will reign. Theodore, this king of Bokkahâ, if he finds that tree, will ask it, "What is thy name?" And the tree will answer, "I am Theodore." The secret of the throne, the gold of the dynasty will be found on this (tree). If (Theodore) does not find this tree, he will decide to go to Búgā. In the land of Búgā, he will find war. They will make a stand against him and there will be war. If then he knows the name of that tree, he will return near the sycamore of Giğğô Kurâ, and he will reign twenty-seven years.

*Notes.* As may be seen, Giğğô Baččo foretells the construction of the telegraph lines from the coast to the Lîeqā (thus Loransiyos explains the opening passage of the prophecy), followed after seven years by the death of the king of Shoa (Loransiyos says that Menilek died exactly seven years after the arrival of the telegraph at Hindîebā Gaččí). There follows a final king, with whom the dynasty of Shoa ends. Then the throne passes to a red king, whose end will be mysterious. With the latter will end the native kings of Ethiopia, and three white kings will come. The first will come from the Abbây and his kingdom will reach as far as Bârō; after a reign of seventeen years, he will depart for the west and will disappear. Having returned, he will unite the Galla and the Šānqillā in a league, and having conquered the second king, he will establish himself at Gondar. The second white king will establish himself at Gondar and will show himself more favorable to the Mussulmen than to the Christians: he will be driven forth from Gondar by the first white king. The third king will depart from the Red Sea and will go as far as Yeğğu; he will then become king of Shoa and after twelve years, he will die. He will have a son by the name of Theodore, the one who will return to unify Ethiopia.

It is noteworthy that the Galla have adopted and modified, after their own fashion, the legends current among the Amara in regard to the return to the world of the Emperor Theodore the First.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Beguinot, *La cronica abbreviata d'Abissinia*, op. cit., p. 11. To the bibliography there given: — d'Abbadie, 'L'Abyssinie et le roi Théodore,' (*Le Correspondant*, Paris, 1868); Clements R. Markham, *A history of the Abyssinian expedition*, London, 1869; Nöldeke, 'Theodoros, König von Abessinien,' (*Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. 10, 1884) — may be added Cecchi, *Da Zeila*, etc., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 503-505.

The first white king, that of Gondar, will meantime extend his kingdom as far as the Sudanese frontier; then he will renounce the throne in favor of Theodore, and will go away, regretted by all. Theodore will place his capital at Lālibālā; then he, too, will pass to the Sudan in search of the nameless tree. If he finds it, he will continue his way in the Sudan; if not, he will return among the Lîêqā.

In the whole prophecy, as in the texts that follow, the kings of Shoa are called "kings of Bokkahâ." Bokkahâ or Bokkaâ is a mountain in the territory of the Gombiččú Galla to the southeast of Addis Abebâ. On this mountain are the ruins of the ancient castle of the kings of Shoa. There the *aṭṭe*, Takla Giyorgis had his capital, Loransiyos tells me. On the slopes of the mountain there is a big sycamore much venerated by the Galla of Shoa (Mîettā and Gullallê), who go there every year on a pilgrimage. Cecchi<sup>1</sup> speaks of just such a mountain to the southeast of Addis Abebâ in the Gombiččú territory, where are found ruins of ancient dwellings of emperors. And it is significant that, according to Cecchi, "these ruins are connected by local traditions with the legend of King Theodore." The name of the mountain is, however, written *Boccan*. (It is perhaps the objective case, *Bokkaân*.) For the plant "*hiddî*," see song 82. Dimbî is a region between the Lîêqā Sibû and the Lîêqā Naqamtê near Tuqâ. Bâr is near the Lîêqā, by metonymy the Abbây (the *bahr 'l-azraq* of the Arabs). To indicate the mosques, the periphrasis *mahabârâ islâm* (Amharic, *yä-šlām 'mahbar*) is used; for the Christian churches, on the other hand, *gimbî kristyânâ* (Amharic, *yä-kristyân gîmb*, literally, "palace of the Christians") is employed. From the Amharic *naqannaqa* has been formed the Galla passive *naqannaq-am*, "to move, tremble" (of the earth). Cf. the Amharic *tanaqānnaqa* in the same sense. The following, also, are Amharic words: *tasallafé* is Amharic, *tasallafa*, and *salfî* is Amharic, *salf*. In the phrase *saraê Bokkahâ*, the word *saraê* was translated into Amharic for me by Loransiyos, *bîeta mangest*. I think it is the Persian word *sarây*, which has passed into Galla through the Arabic. Naččusâr is a region on the borders of the Sudan. Čaggê is the Galla name of the region which the Amara call Saggada.

Bóngā of the Šānqillâ (so called to distinguish it from Bóngā, the capital of Kaffa) is a region on the borders of the Sudan. The inhabitants, who are negroes, go naked; the women wear a gold circlet around their necks, the men a gold circlet on the arm. Their country is marshy and unhealthy. The *fitāwrāri*, Ğirátā, sub-chief of Kúmsā of the Lîêqā Nagamtê, made an expedition into their country. These Šānqillâ of Bóngā, led by their king Bašôrā, resisted for four years. Then they came to terms. Ğirátā received as a tribute a considerable number of gold necklaces and bracelets; King Bašôrā was given the title of *dağğáč* and changed his name to Abbā Šôrā, to make it more to the taste of the Abyssinians. Finally, Ğirátā, having received five thousand *talari* from the tribute of necklaces, used part of it to acquire loin-cloths with which by degrees he made the Bóngā gird themselves.



Mafis is a country of the Bahru'l-gazāl; the Arabic name is Ġazīrah, or, more precisely, Ġazīratu'l-Habašī. It is in Nuer territory near the river Sobat. *Qoriččē barčūmā*, literally, "the medicine of the throne," means "the secret for winning or keeping the throne." *Qoriččā* means not only medicine but every other mysterious object or practice. *Qoriččā gawē*, "the medicine of the gun," was the name for gunpowder at the time of its introduction among the Galla. Búgā is a country in Sudanese territory; it is situated on the Nile and is at a distance of six days by caravan or two days by river boat from Khartoum. For the sycamore of Ġigǵō Kurā, see text 11. Bisilī is one of the progenitors of the Galla; Čommānā was the father of the Šānqillā (that is, of the negroes). Čommānā once had a red skin, like the Galla sons of Ormā, but he was afterwards given a black face by God as a punishment for his wickedness.

## 9

A third prophecy of Ġigǵō Baččo says:

*Namni iǵǵi tókko ǵamā millī tókko náfā hinǵudáta biyá; Hindǵēbā Gaččitti mánā ĵāra. Gáfā hinní wǵǵá gūtú, gafarsí Handaqí baé, namni hárkā bitáččā gafársā aǵēsa. Gafarsí kún wārānamé hamíēña-kórráttí dufá. Bóda namiččē gafársā ĵēsé kúní, biyá nni baé mbíēgne, galádā. Biyā Hindǵēbā Gaččē fudáta. Namiččē iǵǵi tókko ǵamā millī tókko náfā ittí lólēfi gēla dābé; lákin namni gafársā ĵēsé kúní motúmmā biyākó rra fudáta. Namtiččē iǵǵi tókko ǵamā millī tókko náfā kúní biyāsátti dīēbié namtiččē kán adiēmé ngúfue, kán ñāté ngúfne gálarra biyākó fudata.*

A man blind in one eye and lame in one foot will take this region: he will build a house at Hindǵēbā Gaččí. When a year shall have been completed, a buffalo will come forth from (the forest of) Handaq. A left-handed man will kill the buffalo. The wounded buffalo will come upon my tomb (literally, upon my misfortune). As to the man who will kill the buffalo, from what country he may have come forth no one knows; he is a wanderer. The country of Hindǵēbā Gaččí will be occupied by him. The man blind in one eye and lame in one foot will fight with him and will set up fortified enclosures; but the man who has killed the buffalo will take the government of my country. The man blind in one eye and lame in one foot will return to his own land. A man who will never be sated with walking and who will never be sated with devouring, will take my land from the wanderer.

*Note.* This prophecy of Abbā Raǵǵi also came true. Hindǵēbā Gaččí was occupied by Dánno Biērā, who was in fact blind in one eye and lame in one foot. The Nónnō Migrá of Mardásā Končē (the buffalo of the prophecy) invaded the country. Then there emigrated to Hindǵēbā Gaččí one of the Tulámā, Sídā Tufá (see song 32, notes), who was left-handed. He wounded with a gunshot Mardásā Končē, who fell near the tomb of Ġigǵō Baččo. Sídā Tufá, having been made *Abbā Goró* by Dánno, rebelled against him and, having conquered him, remained master of the country. At last the Amara, who are indefatigable in marches and very greedy, subjugated the country by means of an agreement between Rás Gobaná and Sídā Tufá.



For the forest of Hándaq, see song 118, notes. A tomb is often called by the Galla, euphemistically, "the misfortune." *Grēlā* is one of the many kinds of fortified enclosures used by the Galla in warfare.

## 10

Finally, Ġiġġô Baččo, having been asked what would be the outcome of the wars, said:

*Motummân abbā Gállā badé, motummân Amārā dufá. Dúr biśân bartti qabé ámma biśân Bārôti. Bārī 'adī bārī gurráččā mōttin tokkiččī mōa.*

The kingdom of the Galla fathers will end, and the reign of the Amara will come. They will first take the water of the Abbây, then that of the Bârô. And a single king will reign over the white river and over the black river.

"The white river" is the Abbây; "the black river" is the Bârô. For these prophecies and counsels of the Galla magicians predicting the victory of the Amara and bidding their fellow countrymen not to resist, see song 44.

## 11

Another famous soothsayer was Abbā Ōdā. His name was Ġiġġô Kurâ and he resided among the Lîeqā Billô. His name of Abbā Ōdā (literally, "father of the sycamore,") and his reputation were due to a wonderful tree, the story of which follows:

*Ōdā Ġiġġô Kurâ dūra tullurrátti biqilé. Tullá kaná Ġiġġô Kurâ kórmā itti qalé. Ġiġġô Kurâ sorriessá ilmā 'nqabú. Námā wāmé nāččisé obasé; ilmikó ōdā kána! ġēdē. Ammanán abbā ōdā ġēdání. Ōdán kún tullurrátti kán dālaté utāmā siqú bakkê bu 'é. Bakkê kaná utāmā siqúti, dúgdā 'diēmé. Siáččī Ġiġġô Kurâ gáfā du 'ú wāggā kúdatorbátti mukní ġigá. Mîe! ōdā gáfátta! ġēdē Bakarîe ammó, gáfā ōdā raġġí daqáni, Ġiġġô Kurâ du 'é. Ġiġġô Kurâ du 'éti, wāggā kúdatorbátti mukní ġigé. Ġiġġô Kurâ du 'é, maqán Ġiġġô Kurâ otú 'ndu' in 'afá, ōdán hinní guddā huddún galagalé, afúr biqilá hammiēñása gubbátti biqilé. Arfán Ġiġġô Kurâ ġēdání. Iġġollîe Kurâ táti ōdán.*

The sycamore of Ġiġġô Kurâ sprang up in ancient times on a mountain. On this mountain, Ġiġġô Kurâ used to sacrifice oxen. Ġiġġô Kurâ was a rich man who had no children. He called the people to a banquet; he gave them to eat and drink. Then he said, "This sycamore is my son." And after that, they called him Abbā Ōdā (literally, "the father of the sycamore"). This sycamore, which had sprung up on the mountain, by creeping and creeping descended to the level ground. From this level ground, by creeping along it passed into a meadow. Then (it was said): When Ġiġġô Kurâ dies, after seventeen years the tree will be overthrown. "Come, go and ask questions of the sycamore," Bakarîe once said, but when they went to the wonderful sycamore, Ġiġġô Kurâ died. Seventeen years after the death of Ġiġġô Kurâ, the tree was overthrown. Ġiġġô Kurâ died, but his fame will not die. That great sycamore was uprooted and four shoots sprang up on his tomb. They called them "the four of Ġiġġô Kurâ." The sycamore was truly the son of Kurâ.

*Notes.* The legend is associated with the veneration of the pagan Galla for the sycamore. The Bakariê here named is, of course, the head of the Liêqā Naqamtê (see songs 20, 31, notes). The name of the four shoots which sprang up on the tomb is in Galla *arfân Ğiğğô Kurâ*. The forms *arfâ*, *sadâ*, *šanâ*, are generally used to render our multiplicative numerals: in the names of confederations, they mean "the triple, the quadruple, the quintuple"; here, it means rather a group of four little roots, something like our "four-forked." The adoption of the sycamore is made by Ğiğğô Kurâ with Galla rites in the presence of the chief men of the tribe.

## 12

Another celebrated magician was Abbā Biêko (literally, "father of wisdom"). His name was Ğiğğô Galatê. He lived on the hill of Čátto Galân near the Tullú Kormâ in the territory of the Liêqā Naqamtê. The Galla went on pilgrimages to this hill, and offered oxen and sheep to Ğiğğô Galatê, which he sacrificed. He did not eat the flesh of the victims sacrificed, as did the other magicians; he ate only the grain from a field which he himself had ploughed and sown. He had the power of quelling buffaloes with his glance, afterwards using them as horses. Here is a prophecy of his about the future emperor, Theodore (see text 8):

*Nigufni Tiwodrós harkisâ urâdâ. Nigufni Tiwodrós kuni láfâ Misiri islâmâ kristyânâ godâ. Daqéti irrâ ta 'á. Nigusats maskóbi nigúsa islâmâ arié gáfâ býā bad, nigúsa Tiwodrós aččitti daqá. Býā islâmâ křessâ ta 'é, waggâ torbâ naggása. Waggâ torbátti nigúsa Tiwodrós nigúsa Maskóbitti wâl argáni. Ğarri kún gáfâ wâl argáni, namnísa lakkamé`ndumú Maskóbi řessátti baé? ğēdē walitti`máni wâl lóláni. Námā Maskóbi lafárra fitē býā Misiri. Bóda Misiritti naggása. Éga ğirēñisas Misiridā. Ákka ganā mótummā`bašâ badé. Dubbí ábbā Gállā duritti diēbié. Namni nagáttu wállólé. Eššūmán durbi wâl aḡšé. Mótummān kaní badá. Mótummā kán mōé šanān Liēqā hárkā qiešitti gale, qiešitu mōá. Namni kárā Wāqátti diēbiá. Lákin mótummān Tiwodrós utú býā islāmáti ol, indēbtin barčumni suní badá. Motummān Tiwodrós badéti, dubbí kaná olitti Wágā malé, nú`mbiēgne.*

King Theodore will have an ulcer on his hand. This king will make Christians of the Mussulmen of the land of Egypt. He will go there and will stay there. The king of the Russians will drive out the king of the Mussulmen and will go forth into that region. Then King Theodore will go there; he will stay in the land of the Mussulmen, and he will reign there seven years. After seven years, King Theodore and the king of the Russians will meet. When they meet, the number of their people will be very great. "Whence have come forth these Russians?" (Theodore) will say. They will come to a dispute and they will fight. He (Theodore) will exterminate the race of the Russians in the land of Egypt. Then he will reign over Egypt, and after that his life will be passed in Egypt. In the future, the kingdom of Abyssinia will come to an end. The times of the Galla fathers will return. The men will fight in time of peace; relative will kill relative. Then this kingdom will come to an end. The five Liêqā tribes, who had once reigned, will be subject to a priest and the



priest will reign. Men will return to the way of God. But the kingdom of Theodore will not return again from the land of the Mussulmen, and that throne will perish. The kingdom of Theodore will perish; and the rest, God on High knows but we do not know.

*Notes.* The ulcer on the hand, a sign of King Theodore according to this prophecy, made current the saying among the Galla that the future emperor of Ethiopia was the *dağğâč*, Gugsā, son of the *rās*, Arāyā Sellāsiē, and therefore grandson of Emperor John IV. The part that concerns the Russians is truly strange for a Galla magician of past times. The same prophecy of a black king who will come from Ethiopia into Egypt and who will fight in Egypt with the Russians, is also widespread among the races of Kassala. Indeed, a native of Kassala told me that the wise men of his country quoted in corroboration of this prophecy some verses of the Koran, which he, however, could not point out to me. Theodore, according to the prophecy of the Abbā Biēko, will reign, therefore, in Egypt and will abandon Abyssinia. Then the Galla will again become independent and will destroy one another in civil strife. The Lîeqā will be subject to a Christian priest (for "priest," the word *qirēši* is used in the text; Amharic, *qirēs* and Tigrina, *qaši*).

#### IV. HUMOROUS PROSE (*Hāsā*)

The Galla, as has been elsewhere pointed out, delight in the humor of professional jesters, who are maintained at the expense of the small courts. The wittiest sayings of these jesters are quickly learned by heart and spread abroad. Thus there has sprung up among the Galla a distinct literary form of great interest to students of folk-lore. I have gathered from Loransiyos the three following texts, but it is desirable that a larger collection be made of these brief humorous compositions, called *hāsā* by the Galla. The verb *hāsaw*, which is derived from *hāsā*, signifies in Galla and likewise in Somali, "to converse, chat with." Therefore, the word *hāsā* corresponds very closely to the Amharic *čawatā*, as *hāsaw* to *tačawwata*. (It has already been said that the Amara call these jesters *aččawāc*.)

#### 13

##### The three misfortunes of the universe.

*Alamī uddūniyā wān'amān saditu ġirā. Sadī kan ġirū kunī tókko horī guddaté bayaté. Lamaffān nītikīēti. Sadaffān Wāqni nu umé. Horī kán guddaté tókko wā hamān isa tókko. Yó horīn bayaté, nigufnī: kārā tókko nānfudā'rra! ġēda. Kanaf'amaté horīn. Lamaffān hamān nītikīētiqā. Namā ġagnā ġallattētti; ġagnī kunī ġāfā'sē ġallātu, sī aġēsa. Fudaté maččāti badā. Sadaffān hamān wāqni nū umé. Tókko 'adī umé, tókko magālā umé, tókko gurrātti čilātti umé. Abbānkīēña haddamī durā turé, hātīkīēña Hawāqā. Nū hundūmtu obolāqā utū bīfakīēña tokkiččātti godé, nū wāl inagēfne wāl ingur-gurru wāl iññānnu. Akkūma dura Wāqni nū umé sanān wāl ġālannē hafnā, utū bīftikīēña tokkičča ta 'é; ámma bīfakīēña sadī godé. Kanáf inagēfna. Kanáf'amaté Wāqni.*

In the whole world there are three misfortunes. Of these three misfortunes, one is wealth when it is great and increases. The second is thy wife. The third is God, who has



created us. Wealth which is great is the first misfortune. If money increases, the king will say, "I wish to seize it for myself in some way." Therefore, wealth is a misfortune. The second misfortune is thy wife. She falls in love with a valiant warrior, and then, if this warrior loves her, he kills thee, marries her, and flees away to another country. The third misfortune is God who has created us. He has created us, one white, one red, one black as coal. Our father in the beginning was Adam; our mother Eve; we are all brothers. If he had made us all of the same aspect, we should not have killed one another; we should not have sold one another; we should not have destroyed one another. As God created us in the beginning, we should have loved one another, if we had all looked alike. Now he has made us of three kinds. Therefore, we kill one another. Therefore, God, also, is a misfortune.

## 14

**My Father's chick-peas.**

*Namni tókko Salálê ka 'éti Šoātu dufé, šumburá buqqifaté. Abbân šumburá argé: yâ ílmā hádā ráwu, mál šumburákíyā nāttu? Yó hadākô rófte, éga atí abbākóti. Miđân abbākô nán nāta! ġēđé, šumburá buqqifaté fité.*

A man departed from Salálê and came to Shoa; he began to pull up [small plants of] chick-peas. The owner of the chick-peas saw him [and called out to him], "O son of a mother with whom I have lain, why dost thou eat my chick-peas?" "If thou hast lain with my mother, then thou art my father. I am, therefore, eating my father's chick-peas!" replied the other, and finished pulling up the chick-peas.

*Notes.* *Šumburákíyā* (line 2) is an imitation of the speech of Shoa for the Máččā *šumburākô*.

## 15

**The Máččā Galla.**

The Máččā are accustomed to work in their houses and for their families, while the Tulámā consider domestic work suitable only for women. So the jester, Abbā Wádāgo, having seen a Máččā who was carrying timber on his back, pointed him out to his lord, saying, "*Maččiččā kána argi! Nađđiēni ofí yó hobobsisáni, námā akkasāti qaltí.*" "Look at this Máččā! If women were to cohabit carnally among themselves, they would produce such men!"

## V. PROVERBS

1. *Garagalčí millí matâ hōqā.* "The opposite part, the feet, scratch the head."

When undeserving people have an office or obtain an unexpected victory over deserving people.

2. *Yâ gówā, sí dubbân bówā!* "O fool, there is a precipice at thy back."

For one who is pleased with false flattery.

3. *Ōlán bulté biēka, akkátí bulé abbātú biēka.* "Good day, good evening! he knows how to say, but how he has passed the time, his father (alone) knows."

Everyone can make salutations, but only the family is truly interested in its own relative.

4. *Akka biyā wāllún iyya.* "The skin creaks according to the country."

Different countries, different customs.

5. *Baân baéⁿqullân.* "The courser once gone forth (from the stall) is no longer pure."

6. *Intalillê dāa hádā gorsité.* "The young girl wishes to give advice to her mother on childbirth."

7. *Kanⁿoǵǵi dabé dangalāsé buá.* "He who has nothing to do, scatters and gathers."

8. *Nán tolčáⁿti tortorsé.* "I make and thou spoilest."

9. *Ǧirú diēgá | ǧirú siētá | rāfú fiṭṭé | rafú didelé.* "Dost thou think that the life of the poor man is living? The sprouts are at an end! Sleep is denied him!"

10. *Silāⁿnolú kaǵēlá dúra wāmi.* "Since the beggar would come any way, it's best to invite him first."

It is better to begin by satisfying the most insistent.

11. *Sāni baú gaé wāl arrabá | namni du 'ú gaé wāl ǵālattá.* "When cows are about to go out, they lick one another; when men are about to die, they love one another."

12. *Tókko ka 'úf tókko du 'ú lafti baá.* "One rises, one dies, the land increases."

The family property is increased as much by the birth of a son who can conquer new lands, as by the death of an old man who leaves his heritage to the survivors.

13. *Yómu atí mimmiṭṭá | aní sanāfiččá | yómu atí lilmô | aní qarábāḏá.* "When thou art pepper, I am mustard; when thou art a needle, I am a knife."

A corsaire, corsaire et demi.

14. *Mukni tokkiččiⁿn'ára maléⁿnbobá'u.* "A single stick smokes but does not burn."

15. *Karán sobân darbân diēbittí námā ḏibá.* "People obstruct return by the way of falsehood."

On account of the difficulty which the liar has in defending himself against the questions of his listeners.

16. *Hárkāⁿbba tokkótti ibiddā qabúⁿsodātānu.* "The hand of a single person, even if it holds fire, is not feared."

Compare Proverb 14.

17. *Isaⁿrgantúf hinargátu.* "What has been blown away is not found again."

18. *Ǧibíčča kórmā ta 'ú gōránto kīēssátti biēku.* "That the calf has become a bull is known in the enclosure."

Only the members of a family can appreciate the virtues of their relative. Compare Proverb 3.

19. *Aná nātún biēláⁿnbāsú yó ḏābaní tolčán malé.* "To say, 'O poor fellow,' does not appease hunger, but setting up the oven and baking bread [does]."

20. *Kán diēgátti rorissé`nbađáđu.* "He who has despised the poor man will not grow rich."

21. *Wāqni arifattú lāfā ɖaɖú`nolú.* "What God has sent does not fail to reach the earth."

22. *Iyēsniŋ ibíddi tuttuɖá`ngalláttu.* "The poor man and the fire do not like to be poked."

23. *Didíga garáɖa ɖufé ilkán`ndiēbísu.* "The vomit which comes from the stomach cannot be sent back by the teeth."

It is impossible to restrain the impulses of the soul.

24. *'Angôn ñannán`angô`nta'ú.* "To eat a great deal is not strength."

Doing many things does not mean doing them well.

25. *Yâ gára qalbinkô ġirú. Gennán manní tinnân owāté.* "When [the husband] says [to one of his wives], 'O heart of mine,' the other looks sullen."

26. *Kán argatánirrá kán abdatántu ċálá.* "What one hopes for is better than what one finds."

27. *Ganamân baáni Wâq durá`nbaánu.* "They went forth in the morning, but they did not go forth before God."

However much one tries to do evil in secret, divine punishment will not be lacking.

28. *Mánā tókko lubbú kogá, mánā tókko okkotê kogá.* "With one wife, the heart is warmed; with the other wife the kettle is warmed."

Two wives are necessary: one beautiful and one rich.

29. *Aní hámma namâ`ngaú, namní gará ná`ngaú.* "I do not reach the height of others; the things of others do not reach my thought."

He who is not powerful has neither cares nor worries.

30. *Ilmôn gáfā háɖá`nsodātu.* "The calves do not fear the horns of their mother."

31. *Buddiēnā námā qubsú ellerrattí bīekú.* "One knows even when one neighbor's bread is in the oven."

Neighbors' affairs are well known.

32. *Biniēnsā`rgatáni náma`ññáttu.* "They have found the wild beast; they will no longer eat the people."

When an overbearing person finds some one to resist him.

33. *Ofi ġettún dirsākô`ngéttu.* "'I myself,' she said; 'My husband,' she did not say." One thinks first of all of oneself, then of others.

34. *Akka`balú sirbā mormā ġallisá.* "Move your neck according to the music."

35. *Diēgin diēgefís ċôrā`ññáɖɖa! ġétté fāqĩñ.* "'However poor I may be, I will not eat fleshings,' said the dresser of skins."

However, the Galla believe that the dressers of skins eat the fleshings of the skins they have dressed. The proverb is used of one who, being famous for a vice, swears and swears falsely that he does not possess it.



36. *Egrēníf gābín bodē adiēmtu.* "The tail and repentance go behind."

37. *Atú fiddí atú fiṭṭí.* "Thou broughtest; thou thyself destroyest."

38. *Kan namā 'o'é ellē ḡalátti namā biṭillá.* "He who is warm for anyone will cook cakes for him under the oven."

For friends and favorites, one attempts anything.

39. *Hāḡā yú`nqabú akkaô`nqabá! ḡētté qamalēn.* "'If I have no mother, I have my grandmother!' said the monkey."

If one has not the most desirable thing, at least one has always something good.

40. *Itti qabatáfi ḡríní hollá ḡirá.* "What keeps him is that there is a wedding at his neighbor's."

Therefore he does not go to the festival of those at a distance, even if they are relatives.

41. *Aní ḡirán sēa gōḡānko gabá ḡirá! ḡētté kuruppēn.* "'I thought I was alive and instead my skin is already at the market,' said the gazelle."

This means the same as the Italian: *Vender la pelle dell' orso prima d'averlo ammazzato*, "To sell the bear's skin before you have killed him."

42. *Hinqābnu hinaddānu! ḡētté qāqīēn.* "'We have none and we do not shave,' said the bald-headed man."

One must resign oneself to misfortunes and assume *bonne mine*.

43. *Qalbín yartún bisān kīēssa qabaté qīēbotí.* "The fool was thirsty in the midst of water."

44. *Ná qalānu ndumún qallótti dumá malé! ḡēttí tafkín.* "'If they cut my throat, they could not kill me, but with boiling water I am destroyed,' said the flea."

Against each enemy, use the suitable weapon.

45. *ḡabbín hōtú`nmar'ātu.* "A calf that is sucking does not bellow."

Thus the vassal does not rebel so long as he has a rich country to exploit.

46. *Sōrús ḡāmús iḡḡí misirā lamā.* "Whether it rains or stops raining, the lentils have two eyes."

For one who does not conform to circumstances and events.

47. *Harkí namā rukutá malé hómā`nalēlu.* "The outsider claps his hands but nothing moves."

48. *Lafti`mbrēkné qarqā duwāḡā wān itti`mbrēkne dāfqā duwāḡā.* "The ascent to an unknown land is useless; what is not known, is useless to toil for."

49. *Yó dubbatán bubbē yō ḡāl ḡēḡán buqqīē.* "If they speak, they are wind; if they are silent, they are gourds."

Of futile people.

50. *Kan qaban qabá`ngané gadí ḡīsán bakkē gutti.* "They took it and it did not fill the ring of the thumb and forefinger; they left it and it filled the whole plain."

For example, when a person is asked questions and he says he does not know; whereas, if he had not been asked, he would have said even more than was necessary.

51. *Kán čālún fidá! ġēdén mánā mitî harkâ kaé.* "He said, 'I will bring the best there is!' and he put his hand into the hole of the white ant."

The awkward, with the best of intentions, cause the worst calamities.

52. *Ullên qódâ kopâ čabsá.* "The stick only breaks earthenware utensils."

On the other hand, the stick is useful to correct those who should be corrected. *The Galla Spelling Book* gives the proverb thus: *Ullên qódâ qofâ čabsá*; Loransiyos, however, says *kopâ* instead of *qofâ*.

53. *Akka garâ ofî harkî martô`nmurú.* "The hand does not cut the pantaloons according to one's own belly."

It is better to work for oneself and not rely upon strangers.

54. *Korâ maččalâ`ndirá | kōrí wâq`arkâ ġirâ.* "The saddle and the cover of the saddle are sewed; pride is in the hands of God."

All articles are made and the rich may buy them; but God alone may be proud.

55. *Kán sodātán du`á kán enolé du`á.* "What they fear is death; that which never fails is death."

It is, therefore, useless to fear it.

56. *Akka madâ qubâ yānní garâ gubbá.* "As the wound the finger, so thought inflames the mind."

57. *Kán đibbî đibbú qotté gindô qarqátti bāta.* "The one who is oppressed with misery, after having ploughed, carries the plough on his back up the slope."

The poor man endures all misfortunes.

58. *Kán hādân qitté qáyā hādâ fitté.* "That (daughter) who has grown to equal stature with her mother, has put an end to the mother's decorating herself."

59. *Afân tolân afâ tolá čālâ* (*Galla Spelling Book: čālâ*). "A good conversation is better than a good bed."

60. *Dubbí barbadda sarên gabâ đaqťi.* "He looks for quarrels; the dog goes to the market."

Because of the repugnance which the Mussulman Galla have for the dog, if a dog goes to a place where many people are assembled, he will surely receive some kicks. So it is with one who looks for quarrels.

61. *Bôr unběknén qodân bukô lamâ.* "Since one does not know the morrow, (let there be prepared) a vessel with two raised cakes."

62. *Kán har`aó ñátté fitté kán bōrí mál křesserré?* "If thou eatest everything today, what hast thou kept for tomorrow?"

63. *Kán sobú`nsokoksú.* "A lie cannot be overtaken."

It is difficult without witnesses to prove that a liar is such. It is the opposite of the Italian proverb: *La bugia ha le gambe corte*, "A lie has short legs".

64. *Kán qūfé dāmmā tufá.* "He who is sated, spits out honey."

65. *Dabā manā falamā wāyā.* "For one who has no house, it is a good thing to bring lawsuits."

Since he has everything to gain and nothing to lose.

66. *Ho 'ú! ġennán diddé ól kēñán haté.* "'Take it,' we said to him, and he refused; we put it back and he stole it."

Forbidden things are a temptation.

67. *Ñâtā ngabbatānu yādā gabbātu.* "Upon food one does not grow fat; upon thought one fattens."

68. *Namní biyānā; nagá! ġēdē námā gaá; fayá! ġēdē namátti fayá.* "The men of this country say: 'Greeting,' and enter people's houses; they say: 'Hail!' and they carry away the people."

An allusion to the spies and to the seizures and confiscations so frequent in the Galla kingdoms.

69. *Aní qēnsā ngabú qubá nán oqáqda | aní kēssa ngabu iğzá nán dow 'áqda.* "I have no nails, I scratch myself with my fingers; I have no brain, I look at it with my eyes."

For one who looks without understanding.

70. *Sańi hādā intālā farsô qal 'ô.* "Offspring of the mother, the daughter is poor beer." Tel père, tel fils. (Like father, like son.)

71. *Wāmíčči ulfínā ollún salpínā.* "It is lightness not to respond to a heavy invitation."

Here, the Galla play upon words; between *ulfínā*, which means both "heavy" and "worthy of respect" and *salpínā*, "light" materially as well as "contemptible."

72. *Hidín gadāntu isé olāntu tufatí.* "The lower lip scorns the upper lip."

Cf. "The pot calls the kettle black."

73. *Karādāf garatú gargár námā bāsá.* "The way and the thought divide people."

As travellers separate at the crossroads, so differences of opinion separate friends.

74. *Hôrā ngáin harrótti maččofté.* "Thou hast not yet reached the warm spring and thou art already intoxicated with the water of the pool."

For boasts made before going to war.

75. *Mi 'ēffaté ná arrābí ġēdē sogúddi.* "'[The other time] I was sweet; lick me [now]!' said the salt."

For one who, having once yielded, then prepares to resist the second time.

76. *Otú nkolfún gubbaqde! ġētté akkāin.* "'If I had not laughed, I should have been burnt,' said the parched chick-peas."

The Abyssinians and the Galla while cooking parched chick-peas (Amharic: *qollô*; Galla: *akkāē*) are in the habit of sprinkling them with water. Then the chick-peas crack (the proverb says, "laugh"). The proverb is applied when distraction from a long piece of work is needed.



77. *Sarê bisân foní mi 'ēffaté`ndubbítu.* "The dog who likes soup does not quarrel." Because he fears to lose his dinner. Cf. proverb 65.

78. *Namní dufú dubbín dufá.* "If a man comes, a quarrel comes."

This is almost a literal translation of the Amharic proverb *sāw maṭṭā nāgār ymaṭāl*, "A man has come; a quarrel will come."

79. *Otú kán sí`nǵedán ǵagēse kán sí kāán hiññātu! ǵētté sīrēn.* "If thou hadst heard what (ill) they said of thee, thou wouldst not have eaten what they served up for thee,' said the gossips."

For insincere hospitality.

80. *Bāké bofá milá dowé.* "Wisely He (God) denied feet to the serpent."

Because, if he had feet also, poisonous as he is, he would have destroyed the world.

81. *Otú dullačči ǵirú gorbí dūtí.* "While the old cow lives, the calf dies."

Death sometimes spares the old and takes the young.

82. *Toltēn`ntoltú intallí akkaôn guddiftu.* "As to being good, the girl brought up by her grandmother is not good."

Because the grandmother, left without a daughter, brings up her granddaughter with too many caresses.

83. *Dagaé ǵētté`nodrēsini | argé! ǵētté`ndubbátini | kīrēsāsá otú`nubátini.* "Do not speak, saying, 'I have seen him,' if thou hast not first searched his heart."

One should know things and persons well before speaking of them.

84. *Otú`nubatín qubá`ngubbatín.* "If thou hast not examined, do not burn thy finger."

That is, do not put your finger in the fire; do not undertake an enterprise, without having first considered well whether it can be successful. Cf. preceding proverb.

85. *Gorón dubbí`nmargú abbân ofi`nargú.* "Nothing sprouts in the enclosure [if] the master does not himself watch over it."

This corresponds to the Italian, "The eye of the master fattens the horse," *L'occhio del padrone ingrassa il cavallo*.

86. *Kán čabâ tufaté agabú bulá.* "He who has scorned the piece of bread will pass the night fasting."

87. *Guddí guddâ! Marqân bulé afân gubbá.* "O great wonder! The cold pudding burns the mouth."

When one who is considered cowardly or insignificant vanquishes a valiant man.

88. *Namní iǵǵā tókko namní nití tókko tokkûmān dūmtu.* "The man who has but one eye and the man who has but one wife perish in one and the same moment."

Because, if the one eye is lost or the one wife is lost, it is all over with them.

89. *Atí gurbâ dubbí Mašašâ Sāyfú sitti`ndēbín.* "O youth, do not let the affair of Mašašâ Sāyfú be repeated in thy case."

Mašašâ Sāyfú, *daǵǵāč*, made an expedition against the Gullālî. Notwithstanding the thousand boasts made by him before the fight, he, with his whole army, was surrounded

and had to pay the Galla a great ransom. Thus, for the Galla of Shoa "the affair of Mašašâ Säyfü" became proverbial, like the Italian *pifferi di montagna* ("mountain fifers").

90. *Amarri`ndallagú buddiën šán tufáta*. "The Amara who does not cultivate the earth spits upon five loaves."

This is said of one who, not having worked himself, despises the work of others. The Amara are, as is well known, despisers of agricultural work, which, on the contrary, is held in esteem among the Galla. The proverb belongs to the Harar.

91. *Harrê wăğğín olé ákka harrê dūfá*. "He has stayed with the ass; he emits farts like the ass."

Cf. the corresponding Amharic and Tigritan proverbs.

92. *Kán baraná lakkísi | kótt`arkākô harkísi!* "Never mind about the matter of this year; come and pull out my arm."

It is related that a robber who had entered a woman's house, having thrust his arm into a vessel of grain, could not pull it out again. The woman who had been to the spring to draw water, having come back, set down the large jug without noticing the thief and, being tired, exclaimed, "*Yâ baraná!*" "Oh, this (unlucky) year!" The thief then burst out with the above-mentioned phrase which afterwards became proverbial.

93. *Nátti`ndufín sítti`ndufá! ġēdē busân*. "'Do not come to me; I will not come to thee,' said the malaria."

Because whoever does not go to the malarial zone is not affected by the disease. This is said of one who does not attack without being provoked by his adversary.

## VI. RIDDLES

1. *Guyâ namâ gadí halkân namâ olí*. "In the daytime below man, in the night above man."

Answer: The fowl.

In the daytime the fowls are in the yard in front of the house; at night, according to the Abyssinian custom, they are above the ceiling of the hut, that is, in the space between the ceiling of the room and the roof of the hut.

2. *Kán du`áni olí, kán ġiráni gadí*. "Over those who are dead, beneath those who are living."

Answer: The earth.

3. *Irrí du`á ġalí du`á giddún ġirā*. "That which is over is dead; that which is under is dead; that which is between is alive."

Answer: A man in bed. The bed is usually made of an ox-hide, and the covering is another skin.

4. *Hundûmā kîessa kâé fuḍé bisân kîessa kâé fuḍú ḍaḍḍabé*. "It went into everything and it caught; it went into water and it could not catch."

Answer: Fire.

5. *Horikô biëllamá kábâ kiëssa^nkāánu.* "My cattle have only one eye; do not put them in the hut."

Answer: Fire, whose eye is the flame.

6. *Kaḍún qaḡábu. Kunó qabí.* "By running one does not reach it. Here, take it."

Answer: The sun, whose light is present everywhere, although it is intangible.

7. *Malkâ gaé qasí.* "Having reached the ford, it made a noise."

Answer: The handle of the lance.

When the Galla reach a ford, they have a custom of striking the ground with the handle of the lance, perhaps in order to exorcise the genius of the river.



## APPENDIX

## THE WÁTTĀ: A LOW CASTE OF HUNTERS

It appears worth while to add here a note on the *Wáttā* of whom I have already spoken (song 15, notes). As it is known, we find in Abyssinia and in the adjacent districts of East Africa certain classes of the population engaged in particular trades or occupations which are considered ignoble by the rest of the natives. Their social status differs in the various districts; sometimes they form low castes, sometimes a kind of trades union with limited political power. Among these lower strata of the population, the caste of hunters is one of the most important. In Abyssinia, hunting is an occupation noble or ignoble in respect to the animal sought. Groups which live by hunting wild beasts considered ignoble, form, according to the universal law of East Africa, a low caste. The Galla call these hunters *Wáttā*.

It must be noted that *Wáttā* are not found in every district of Abyssinia, — a strong argument against the hypothesis that these hunters have been a primary low caste of the Semito-Hamitic peoples ever since their origin in Asia. On the contrary, the *Wáttā* have a special geographical distribution in three groups. The southern group is formed by the hunters living in villages along the banks of the Dawa, north of its confluence with the Awata, on the banks of the Ganai Doria,<sup>1</sup> and the banks of the Galānā Sagan, east of its confluence with the Galānā Dulei.<sup>2</sup> About this group we have only the two accounts of Captain Bottego and his companions, and of Captain Colli de Felliggano.<sup>3</sup> These *Wáttā* are autonomous and have villages and territories distinct from those of the adjacent peoples. Around them the country is inhabited by Bōranā Galla, but the group living on the banks of the Galānā Sagan is limited northwards by the land, until recently unknown, between the Uba Sidamā and the negro tribe of Konso.

The central group is formed by the families scattered through the districts of the Maččā Galla and Kaffa. These *Wáttā* are not independent and live in subjection to the Galla and Sidama. The size of these *Wáttā* groups differs, being large in Gúmā, smaller in Limmú and Ġímmā Abbā Gifār, larger in Gîērā, and largest in Kaffa. *Wáttā* families, according to d'Abbadie,<sup>4</sup> live west of Kaffa in the land of the Sûrō, a negro group mixed with Hamitic elements. This statement of d'Abbadie's, reported also by Conti-Rossini,<sup>5</sup> is indirectly confirmed by the discovery of *Wáttā* in the country of the Gimirrā, north of the Sûrō. Montandon<sup>6</sup> first noticed them in his travels. These are the most western branches; the most eastern branches are the *Wáttā* whom Krapf<sup>7</sup> met at Wáttā Dalóččā, a village in the

<sup>1</sup> Vittoris Bottego, *Il Giuba esplorato*, Roma, 1895, p. 328, 336.

<sup>2</sup> Vannutelli e Citeri, *L'Omo*, op. cit., p. 344, and the general map.

<sup>3</sup> G. Colli di Felliggano, 'Nei paesi Galla,' (*Boll. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, Roma, 1905, vol. 42, p. 111).

<sup>4</sup> d'Abbadie, *Géographie d'Éthiopie*, op. cit., p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Conti-Rossini, 'I mekan o Suro,' (*Rend. d. R. Accad. d. Lincei*, Roma, 1914, vol. 22, pt. 7-8, p. 411).

<sup>6</sup> George Montandon, 'Au pays Ghimirra,' (*Bull. Soc. Neuchâteloise de Géog.*, Neuchâtel, 1912, vol. 22, p. 65).

<sup>7</sup> Krapf, *Travels, researches, etc.*, op. cit.

Tulāmā Galla district of Shoa on the banks of the Awāš; and those who live in Gurāgiē. If Soleillet's notes <sup>1</sup> are really referable to the Galân, they should confirm the fact that there are or at least were *Wättā* groups in southern Shoa.

About the central group, we have more material than about the southern. The principal references are to be found as follows: for the whole group, the account of Cardinal Massaja; <sup>2</sup> for the *Wättā* living in Shoa, the travel notes of Soleillet; <sup>3</sup> for the groups living in Kaffa, the report of the Italian Geographical Expedition by Captain Cecchi; <sup>4</sup> the two accounts of Bieber, <sup>5,6</sup> a note by Reinisch, <sup>7</sup> and a letter by P. Leon des Avanchers reprinted by d'Abbadie; <sup>8</sup> for the Limmú group, d'Abbadie's note to the letter of P. Leon; <sup>9</sup> for the *Wättā* of the Awāš, the Amharic dictionary of Isenberg; <sup>10</sup> and finally, the notes collected by me from Loransiyos. <sup>11</sup>

The northern group is formed by the hunters scattered along the banks of Lake Ṭana and the Abbây, i.e. the Blue Nile. The hunters living on the banks of the Takkazî, i.e. the Setit, according to an Amara informant of mine, are the most northern branch of this group. These hunters live in small, separate villages or wander along the banks of the rivers. They occupy a lower political position than the Amara population. Rava <sup>12</sup> estimated the population of the Ṭana region at six to seven hundred persons, but, later, <sup>13</sup> wrote that according to his calculations, there were about fifteen hundred *Wâyto* (*Wättā*) around the Ṭana!

About this group, we have the notes contained in the accounts of Bruce <sup>14</sup> who encountered them near the Ṭana in the region of Matraha at the mouth of the Rebb river; of Rüppel <sup>15</sup> who found them near the Ṭana; of Cardinal Massaja <sup>16</sup> who found them along the Abbây near Tadbe Māryām at the mouth of the Bāsillo river; of Heuglin <sup>17</sup> who found them in Dambyā on the western bank of the Ṭana; of Ferret and Galiner <sup>18</sup> who found them in Fogarā, east of Lake Ṭana; of Isenberg; <sup>19</sup> of Rosen <sup>20</sup> who found them between the mouths of the Abbây and the Geldā, and in Fogarā between the Rebb and the

<sup>1</sup> Voyages en Éthiopie, op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> I miei trentacinque anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 56, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 366.

<sup>5</sup> Federico G. Bieber, 'Nel Caffa,' (Boll. Soc. Afr. d'Italia, Napoli, 1906, vol. 25, pt. 9-10, p. 202).

<sup>6</sup> 'Reise durch Aethiopien und den Sudan,' (Mitt. K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft, Wien, 1910, vol. 53, p. 344).

<sup>7</sup> Die Kaffa sprache, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Géographie d'Éthiopie, op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>10</sup> Karl Wilhelm Isenberg, Dictionary of the Amharic language, London, 1841.

<sup>11</sup> Vide supra, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Maurizio Rava, Al lago Tsana, Roma, 1913, p. 79.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>14</sup> Voyage en Nubie et Abyssinie, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 455.

<sup>15</sup> Reise nach Abyssinien, Frankfurt, 1840, vol. 2, p. 205.

<sup>16</sup> Op. cit., vol. 3, p. 8-10.

<sup>17</sup> Theodor von Heuglin, Reise nach Abyssinien, Jena, 1868, p. 289-291.

<sup>18</sup> Voyage en Abyssinie, Paris, 1847, vol. 2, p. 256-257.

<sup>19</sup> Op. cit., *Wayto*.

<sup>20</sup> Felix Rosen, Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abyssinien, Leipzig, 1907, p. 380-381, 391.



Gūmarā rivers; of Rava<sup>1</sup> who found them on the banks of the Ṭana at the mouth of the Gūmarā at Igāšō between Bahala Māryām and Zanzalimā (north of the mouth of the Abbāy), in the short peninsula beyond Goḡā, and at Delgi Māryām; in the Amharic texts collected by Mittwoch,<sup>2</sup> and in an unedited Amharic text collected by me from a native of Dambyā.

Reinisch,<sup>3</sup> annotating the letter by P. Leon des Avanchers, writes: "The *Waṭa* or *Wāṭa* are the gipsies and wandering musicians of East Africa. I found them among the Bogos, the Habab, and the Saho tribes. All over Abyssinia they wander unmolested, as musicians, and in like manner among the Galla." If this were true, we ought to find a northern branch of the *Wāṭṭā* in Eritrea. However, it seems clear to me that the statement made by Reinisch is a mistake. In fact, the *Wāṭṭā* (*Wāyṭo*) are not musicians but hunters; furthermore, hunting is their characteristic occupation. However, in the Tigrīñña and Tigrē languages *wāṭā* or *wāṭāy* means "wandering musician" (they play on a kind of bugle called in the Semitic languages of Abyssinia, *malakat*) and *wāṭā čirā* in the same languages means "minstrel," "playing on the violin." Minstrels in Abyssinia have a peculiar position because their trade is esteemed ignoble by the Abyssinians. This circumstance has probably misled Reinisch. But *wāṭā*, "singer," "wandering musician" (the word is used also in the Bilin, Saho and 'Afar languages as a loanword) has no connection with the Galla word, *wāṭṭā*. Possibly, but even this seems to me doubtful, it is connected with the Galla *wēddu*, "song" (thence the verb *wedd-is* "to sing"). The minstrels do not form a special group of the population with their own peculiar geographical distribution, but are Abyssinians instructed in the arts of singing and playing; neither are they subjected to political and social restrictions, except the prohibition of marriage between them and the noble Abyssinians.

Having thus fixed the location of the three groups of these hunters, I will outline their ethnology. First, it is interesting to note the different names by which they are known in the languages of the adjacent peoples. The Galla, as I have already said, call them *Wāṭṭā*, or with a variation common in Galla dialects, *Wātā*. They also use the plural form, *Wāṭṭō* or *Wātō*. The etymology of this word is not clear; it is, perhaps, the national name by which these hunters called themselves at the time of their meeting with the Galla. However, it is also probable that this name comes from the Kushitic root, from which is also derived the Amharic, *wāṭṭata*, "to wander without permanent occupation."<sup>4</sup>

The Amharic name for the hunters of the northern group is *Wāyṭō*. It is difficult to demonstrate the linguistic connection between *Wāṭṭā* and *Wāyṭo*; nevertheless it is almost certain. The Kaffa name, according to Massaja<sup>5</sup> and Bieber,<sup>6</sup> is *Manḡō*. However, Reinisch

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 79, 81, 123, 156-157.

<sup>2</sup> 'Proben aus amarischen Volksmunde,' (Mitt. d. Sem. f. Orient. Sprachen zu Berlin, vol. 10, pt. 2, p. 214-215).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Guidi, Vocabolario amarico, op. cit., *wāṭṭatā*.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. <sup>6</sup> 'Nel caffa,' op. cit., p. 214.



in his Kaffa dictionary gives the name *Wātō*. (It would be interesting to find in the Kaffa name *t* instead of *t*; that would help to explain the change of *Wāttā* to *Wāytō*.) The name *Māṅṅō* is an adjective (properly a relative form) from the root *man* which in the western Sidama languages (Kaffa, in Gongā and in Gimirrā) means "to tan." It is probable that as the tanners form another low caste, their name is used in a general sense to indicate all low castes, including hunters. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the Wālāmō (central Sidama or Omēti Sidāmā) call *Man-a* the potters, another trade carried on only by low castes. This I learned from a Wālāmō native who also added, "Only the potters, *Man-a*, among us eat the flesh of a hippopotamus," and this is new evidence of the connection *Manṅō*, *Mānā*, *Wāttā*. Reinisch after writing with reference to his notes that the sense of the word *māṅṅō* appeared to him obscure, states that it was derived from a hypothetical root *manṅ* connected with the Amharic verb *mallata*, "to strip off hair." But beside the improbability of the change *mallata*, *manṅō*, this etymology is not correct; for the root of the word is not *manṅ* but *man*.

The Gimirrā call the hunters *Kouayégou*; this is a literal transcription from Montandon and must therefore be given the French pronunciation.<sup>1</sup> We have no evidence of the name given to the *Wāttā* by the Sūrō. The Gurāgē, according to Captain Cecchi,<sup>2</sup> call them *Rugā*; the word, however, which he adds in Ethiopic characters is *Ragā*.<sup>3</sup> But is not *Rugā* a misprint for *Fugā*?<sup>4</sup>

As to the physical characters of these hunters, no anthropometric data have been collected; therefore, the accounts of travellers must be accepted with great caution and applied only to the group visited in each case. The *Wāttā* of the southern group appeared to Bottego,<sup>5</sup> "men of considerable strength, with flat noses, and noticeably big lips . . . their color is a little darker than the Bōrānā's." Therefore, they are physically different from the Galla. "They are not at all related to the true Galla." Grixoni<sup>6</sup> noted the beautiful figure of their women.

The *Wāttā* of the central group whom Cecchi saw in Giērā<sup>7</sup> had "low stature and color of a darker brown than the Galla, ordinary noses, lips somewhat protruding, coarse, curly hair;" they were "robust, with beautiful figures, supple." Although Captain Cecchi says before his detailed account, "They (the *Wāttā*) do not differ greatly from the Galla," I think that this statement is disproved by his own notes.

P. Leon<sup>8</sup> says that the *Wāttā* in Kaffa have the features of negroes; but d'Abbadie<sup>9</sup> notes that in Limmu (Innāryā), the *Wāttā* bear no resemblance to negroes. Cardinal Mas-saja<sup>10</sup> presents this interesting account: among the *Wāttā*, the parents hang a small weight

<sup>1</sup> Montandon, op. cit., p. 65, writes, "the Galla name of the *Wāttā* is *Māṅṅō*," an evident mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 368.

<sup>3</sup> *Ragā* in Amharic means "a weaver who is not born of a weaver's family but is the first of his family to learn weaving." Among the Amara, weaving is another ignoble trade. Cf. Guidi, Vocabolario amarico, op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Vide infra, p. 213-214.

<sup>5</sup> Il Giuba esplorato, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Bottego, op. cit., p. 336.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 368.

<sup>8</sup> d'Abbadie, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit., vo 5.1.

from each lobe of their children's ears, gradually increasing it until the lower portions of the lobes have reached the desired length. Massaja does not indicate the region in which the *Wáttā* practice this custom, but I think that it is probably in Kaffa. It is evidently allied to the custom of perforating the lobes of the ears and enlarging the incision by the insertion of pieces of wood or metal, a custom prevalent among the Gimirra,<sup>1</sup> and farther south among the Masai and Wakikiyu.<sup>2</sup> Massaja also says that the *Wáttā* are darker in color than the Galla. The southern group of hunters is thus described by Rosen;<sup>3</sup> "thin people without calves (of the leg), ugly, with narrow foreheads, big, hooked noses, and long, projecting chins."

What language do the *Wáttā* speak? We have no evidence on this point concerning the southern group. About the central group, Massaja gives us these data: "Generally they all speak the language of the country in which they reside; but they also have a special language which is remarkably different from any of the languages spoken in those countries. Today, this is a very incomplete language, losing rapidly its original form and richness because of the scattering of this race and the low condition in which they live. During my stay in Kaffa and other countries inhabited by these people, I collected from them many of the words and constructions of their language, intending to coordinate these notes and write a useful work, but the loss of my manuscript kept me from accomplishing this." Cecchi adds,<sup>4</sup> "Their language (the *Wáttā*), according to d'Abbadie, is as unknown as that of the *Zīngārō*.<sup>5</sup> I have not been able to find any connection in the language of the *Wáttā* with the speech of the adjacent populations."

As to the northern group, the information is at first sight very dubious. According to Bruce,<sup>6</sup> the language of the *Wáttā* is absolutely different from all other languages of Abyssinia; Ferret and Galiner,<sup>7</sup> confirming this, add that all the *Wáttā* speak Amharic also. That explains why Rüppel denies that they have a separate language, but even he recognizes that further research is necessary. Heuglin also writes that the language spoken by the *Wáyto* is simply Amharic. It seems to me that the *Wáttā* have a language or jargon which they keep carefully secret from all strangers, i.e. from everyone who does not belong to their caste. The *Midgan*, the hunters of Somaliland, furnish a remarkable analogy in this matter of a secret language.<sup>8</sup> It would be very interesting from a linguistic and ethnological point of view to collect specimens of this language or jargon.

<sup>1</sup> Montandon, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. John Bland-Sutton, *Man and beast in eastern Ethiopia*, London, 1911, p. 118-127.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> However, the language of the *Zīngārō*, i.e. the *Yangārō* or *Yámmā* language is known, although only slightly. It is the principal language of the Sidama group called by Conti-Rossini "the Sidama of the Upper Gibie." (*Studi su popolazioni dell' Ethiopia*, op. cit., p. 411).

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. E. Cerulli, review of P. Giovanni da Palermo, 'Dizionario della Somala,' (*Revista degli studi orientali*, vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 794), and E. Cerulli, 'L'origine delle basse caste della Somalia,' (*L'esplorazione commerciale*, Oct. 1917).



Concerning the religion of these hunters, accounts are also scarce. Massaja<sup>1</sup> says, "They have fewer religious ceremonies than the pagan Galla, but they have a conception of the deity and an obscure idea of the immortality of the soul and the final aim of human life. They follow many dogmatic traditions found in the Bible." Rüppel's notes which concern the northern group state that they have no religious ceremonies nor do they practice circumcision. Heuglin, quoting Rüppel, adds that according to the Amara, who, however, do not give consistent information, the *Wäyto* have no religion. My Amara informant said to me, "Their religion is similiar to the *Falāšā* religion (Abyssinian Judaism)." By this, he meant that the *Wäyto* do not follow the official religion of Abyssinia. On the contrary, Mittwoch<sup>2</sup> states that the *Wäyto* have many customs common to the Mussulmen; they use some Arabic phrases, e.g. *Alḥamdu li'llah*, "Praise be to God!" but they have no knowledge of the Koran, and they are not reckoned as membres of the same religion by either Mussulmen or Christians. They celebrate the feast of '*Arafah*,<sup>3</sup> the well-known Islamic holiday occurring on the tenth of the month *Dūlḥiḡḡah*, which is the most solemn religious feast of the Mussulmen of East Africa. Rava,<sup>4</sup> after saying that the Christians call the *Wäyto* Mussulmen, and the Mussulmen call them Christians, both in a disparaging tone, adds: "However, the basis of their religion is clearly Moslem." I do not understand why Rava thinks so: the facts which we know, — no circumcision, and the eating of flesh impure alike to the Moslems and the Christians of Abyssinia, — definitely deny this hypothesis. Probably Rava gives the literal reports of the natives without analysis. It is noteworthy that he mentions that a *Wäyto* said to him, "We are Mussulmen, but we eat the hippopotamus and we think we have the power to make it pure." All these facts induce me to believe that while the hunters (*Wättā*, *Wäyto*, etc.) have in general kept their ancient paganism of which we know nothing, in many places they have accepted some of the forms of the religions of the peoples who surround them, without understanding the real meaning of these customs. Anyone who knows what a strange mixture of Paganism, Islamism, and Christianity was practiced in many Galla tribes after the Amara conquest will not be surprised at the present indeterminate state of *Wättā* religion.

The clothes of the hunters of the central group are thus described by Cecchi<sup>5</sup>: "The men wear conical hats of monkey fur, and like the Galla of the poorer classes, they fasten around the body a large apron made of calfskin, of leopard or antelope hide.<sup>6</sup> The women

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 'Proben aus amarischen Volksmunde,' op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Werner, 'The Utendi of Mwana Kupona,' (Harv. Afr. Stud., Cambridge, 1917, vol. 1, p. 147-181). Evidently *yayumu li-arafa* is not "the day of judgment" but the aforesaid holiday. The importance of the '*Arafah* in the life of the East African Mussulman has been pointed out to me by a Moslem Amara, a native of Wällö who called the feast of the Cross, the greatest feast of the Abyssinian Christians, "*Yä-Kristyān Aräfä*, the '*Arafah* of the Christians."

<sup>4</sup> Al lago Tsana, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> Also worn by the Amara countrymen who call it *šrārā*. (Cf. Guidi, Vocabolario amarico, op. cit.) The Galla call it *däkkü*. See song 71.



pass under their shoulders a large leather band which they use as a sort of basket for carrying their children. The boys wear a skin which is knotted on one shoulder, leaving the other shoulder and the rear of the body uncovered." Massaja also says that they wear on their heads a hat of monkey fur, pyramidal in form. Among the *Wâytô* of the northern group who were photographed by Rosen, one has wrapped about him a band, perhaps of cotton cloth, which is knotted on one shoulder in the manner Cecchi describes. The other, however, wears the Abyssinian toga.

The arms of the *Wâttâ* in addition to the javelin later described, consist among the central group of a bow and arrows. According to Cecchi,<sup>1</sup> they also use crooked knives and spears, but it is probable that by the word "spear" he means javelin.

As to their habitations, Bottego, with regard to the southern group, simply tells us that they live in villages along the banks of rivers in spots considered unhealthy by the Bōranā or, I think, shunned because of the Galla belief that genii live in rivers, (see songs 50 and 117). He also adds that the *Wâttâ* huts are covered with the leaves of the palm tree. The *Wâttâ* of the central group, according to the unanimous opinion of travellers and also of my native informant, live on the outskirts of the Galla, Kaffa, and even Sûro villages. Cecchi<sup>2</sup> states that in Gîêra, they live in the woods and build themselves hiding places in the trees. The *Wâytô* of the northern group, according to Heuglin, inhabit portable huts of cane, shaped like an oven. Rosen also writes that the huts are constructed of cane, perhaps of *cyperus papyrus*. Rava noticed on two *Wâytô* huts climbing plants in bloom. Massaja met a family which had taken refuge in a cave.

Their chief occupation, naturally, is hunting, especially the hunting of the hippopotamus. For the Monophysite as for the Mussulman, the flesh of the hippopotamus is impure, but before this religious motive, there certainly existed a more ancient taboo, because even the pagan Kushites consider the hippopotamus unclean. It is a question very difficult to decide whether these ideas are derived from the oldest beliefs of the Semito-Hamites<sup>3</sup> or from the common superstitions about rivers, on account of which the Kushites do not eat fish, and some tribes believe that the crocodile is the embodiment of a spirit. Certainly at present all over Ethiopia the hunting of the hippopotamus is inglorious.<sup>4</sup>

The manner of hunting is the same in all three groups of *Wâttâ*; when the beast comes up to the surface to breathe, they strike it with javelins, the poisoned heads of which are detachable. According to Rüppel, the poison causes the death of the animal within twelve hours. Heuglin says this poison is extracted from a plant with sharp thorns, called in Amharic *yä-gomāri šôh*, "the thorn of the hippopotamus," a plant of the genus *aster-achantus*. Heuglin also states that the iron point of the javelin has a special mark to dis-

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> Bible, Old Testament, Job, ch. 41.

<sup>4</sup> There are only a few groups, perhaps mixed with *Wâytô* elements, who boast of killing the hippopotamus, e. g., the child whom Ravà met near the Tānā (op. cit., p. 84), and the poet of an Amharic song collected by me, who after enumerating the noble hunting enterprises (lion, elephant), closes: "And are the spoils of the hippopotamus fit only for *Wâytô*? When it (the hippopotamus) appears breathing, does it not frighten?"

tinguish the hunter who has killed the hippopotamus, in case the animal after being wounded is carried away by the current. Each *Wāyṭo* family has its own peculiar mark.

The utilization of the products of the hunting is everywhere the same. With the skin of the hippopotamus, the *Wāttā* make switches, the famous *kurbāḡ*, and less frequently shields; the teeth are sold as ivory; the fat is used by the *Wāttā* to anoint themselves (this, according to Cecchi and Heuglin, causes an offensive stench of the body); the tail is cut off and hung from the ceiling of the hut as a triumphal spoil; the meat, according to all sources, is eaten by the hunters, thus proving that the poison used to kill the hippopotamus is not harmful to men. Heuglin also says that they dry the meat to preserve it. In addition to the hippopotamus, the *Wāttā* of the central group at least, also hunt monkeys, aquatic birds, and crocodiles.

As to occupations other than hunting, those of the central group, according to P. Leon des Avancher, Massaja, and Cecchi, are the executors of the death sentences decreed by the kings of Galla and Kaffa countries. This is confirmed also by the Galla-Italian dictionary compiled by Viterbo.<sup>1</sup> This dictionary translates *Wāttā* and *Wattō*, "executioner." P. Leon adds that they also cut wood for their patrons, and Cecchi says that they tan skins. This is perhaps a mistake because of the frequent confusion of the two low castes, the *Wāttā* and the tanners. But still it is probable that the *Wāttā*, although chiefly hunters, also engage in other occupations esteemed ignoble. Cecchi states the *Wāttā* make their own knives. Those of the northern group are also fishers and boatmen. They construct a kind of raft (called in Amharic *tānkūā*), putting together canes of the papyrus (*cyperus papyrus*), and laying them in piles. The rafts are pushed by one oar only, with which they row alternately to the right and to the left. Moreover, all these hunters of the northern and central group are considered by the Amara, the Galla, and the Sidama to be sorcerers, and rich in magical powers. Their malediction is much feared. This helps to lighten for them the yoke of the high castes.

As the low castes of Somaliland are called by the insulting nickname *bāhth 'ūno*, i.e. "dead-eating" (those who eat impure meat), so the most usual reason of contempt for the hunters of Abyssinia is their eating flesh of unclean animals, e.g. the hippopotamus, monkeys, aquatic birds (the Galla call the water-hen *hindaqô Saytānā*, "the fowl of Satan"), hares, and wild boars. Naturally the popular imagination has exaggeratedly imputed to the contemned *Wāyṭō* all other kinds of impure foods; even crocodiles,<sup>2</sup> elephants (according to P. Leon), and serpents.<sup>3</sup>

We may distinguish two legal codes of the *Wāttā* (*Wāyṭō*, etc.); one governing their relations among themselves, the other governing their relations to the higher castes. We know almost nothing about the law of the *Wāttā*. Massaja tells us that in the central group marriage between brother and sister is not forbidden by these hunters forced into endogamy

<sup>1</sup> Vocabolario della lingua Oromonica, (Cecchi, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 263).

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, op. cit., p. 455.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Guidi, Vocabolario amarico-italiano, *Wāyṭō*.



by the contiguous populations. Bieber relates that those living in Kaffa have a pseudo-king called *Mánǵō tátō*, i.e. "the king of the *Mánǵō*" who has his residence in Andarašā.<sup>1</sup> This statement is very interesting as a sign that the *Wáttā* have kept in Kaffa at least an appearance of political organization.<sup>2</sup> About the northern group we know also from the note by Heuglin that the *Wáyǵō* impress property marks on their hunting javelins.

The information concerning the Kushitic and Abyssinian Semitic laws concerning the *Wáttā* (*Wáyǵō*, etc.) of the central group<sup>3</sup> known at present is: 1. Marriage is forbidden between Amara, Galla or Kaffa, and the *Wáttā* (*Wáyǵō*, etc.). This rule rigorously kept forces the hunters into endogamy. 2. *Wáttā* are forbidden to pass beyond the threshold of a noble's house. 3. Nobles are forbidden to pass beyond the threshold of the *Wáttā* huts. 4. Any food touched by *Wáttā* is taboo because of their ritual impurity; this extends even to corn sowed or reaped by them. 5. The *Wáttā* do not fight in the Galla, Kaffa, and Amara armies, remaining in their villages during time of war.

These rules apply generally to the central and southern groups. In addition, there are other rules which especially apply to single groups. For example, among the *Wáttā* of the central group in Kaffa before the Amara conquest, the hunters, as one may readily infer from the statements of Massaja and P. Leon, lived under the patronage of the king or of a high caste Kaffan. I suppose that there were also *Wáttā* living out of patronage, and therefore outside the law. The client *Wáttā* was obliged to pay some services to his patron. For those living under the king's patronage, the services were the execution of death sentences (according to Cecchi, also the custody of the criminals condemned to imprisonment), and the guarding of the gates of the kingdom. For those living under the patronage of a Kaffan of high caste, P. Leon states only that their service was the cutting of wood for their patron. The hunters living under patronage were not the property of the men of high caste and could not be sold.<sup>4</sup> In the Galla countries, according to Massaja, they had a better legal status than in Kaffa, but this statement appears to be inexact, as it is contradicted by the description of their life in Gêra, given by Cecchi. According to Loransiyos, there is no vengeance or blood-price for *Wáttā* killed by men of high caste. However Soleillet<sup>5</sup> refers to a Galla law which, enumerating the different blood-prices, fixed at 70 oxen the blood-price for killing a *Wáttā*. It is probable that this apparent contradiction has been occasioned by the fact that Loransiyos alluded to the *Wáttā* living out of patronage, and Soleillet to those living under patronage. This hypothesis may be confirmed by the similar terms of the Somali law. According to DeCastro,<sup>6</sup> and I do not know the source from which

<sup>1</sup> 'Nel Caffa,' op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> 'Reise durch Athiopien und den Sudan,' op. cit., p. 344. Here Bieber says that the *Wáttā* were "bis ins 14. Jahrhundert staatlich geeint," but I do not know the source of this information.

<sup>3</sup> As to the *Wáttā* of the southern group, we know that they live under the patronage of the Bōrānā tribes and that marriage between the *Wáttā* and the Bōrānā is forbidden. Cf. Colli de Felligano, 'Nei paesi Galla a Sud dello Scioa,' op. cit., p. 111-112.

<sup>4</sup> Therefore Massaja is mistaken in saying that the *Wáttā* live in the lowest slavery, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> Nella terra dei negus, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 384.



he has gathered this information, the hunters in Kaffa may not possess arms. This is evidently inexact; I think that he meant that the *Wáttā* are forbidden to possess certain arms considered for nobles only, as the Somali law prohibits the low castes' possessing spears. For the northern group, all that we know about the particular terms of the Amara law concerning the *Wáytō* is that, according to my Amara informant of Dambyā, the *Wáytō* have no landed property (*rest* in Amharic).

Thus there naturally arises the question: What is the ethnic origin of the *Wáttā* and why have they such a political position today? First of all, it is interesting to relate the traditions of the *Wáttā* themselves concerning this. Massaja, about the central group, writes:<sup>1</sup> "It is a firm tradition of this race (i.e. the *Wáttā*) that in Kaffa as in Abyssinia, they were the original lords and free peoples of these countries," and in another place:<sup>2</sup> "However, it appears that in the beginning, the greater part of the regions south of the Blue Nile were occupied by the race called in Kaffa *Mánǵō* and *Wáttā* by the Galla, and *Wáytō* in the neighborhood of Gondar. These peoples, lords from many centuries, in almost all the Ethiopic countries of southwestern Abyssinia, lived tranquilly according to their customs and traditions, until an Abyssinian emperor who had his residency in Autotto (Enṭotṭo), today a Galla village of Shoa, invaded the countries of the *Wáttā* with a large Christian army and occupied very promptly the countries of the Innāryā, subjugating the native races." The second statement of Massaja alludes perhaps to the expedition of the emperor 'Amda Syon to southern Abyssinia (see song 21, notes); but the population of Innāryā was at that time Sidama, at least predominantly, and not *Wáttā*. Moreover, it is not true that the capital of Abyssinia was Enṭotṭo. The first account is then more accurate. Isenberg also states: "They (i.e. the *Wáttā*) pretend to keep the original institutions of the Galla pure, whereas all their other Galla brethren are said to have fallen off." This is a new proof of the survival among the *Wáttā* of traditions of an origin more ancient and more noble than the neighboring peoples, but Isenberg may give the information in an inaccurate form; certainly the *Wáttā* are not the "brethren" of the Galla.

As to the northern group, Ravà says that he has collected the following *Wáytō* tradition: On the banks of the Tānā lived Esau and his four brothers, who, according to Ravà have in the *Wáytō* legend the names of the founders of the four Moslem sects (Has Ravà meant to signify by the word "sects," the rites (*madāhib*)? Esau killed a hippopotamus and began to eat it. However, he was discovered by his brothers who cursed him. His sons are the *Wáytō*. But in Igāšo, the same author collected another legend according to which the *Wáytō* were banished from Egypt by the Pharaohs, and, when a small group of them arrived at their present localities, they were subjected by the natives and obliged to eat the hippopotamus.

Many European ethnologists have tried to decide the question of the ethnic origins of these hunters; but all of them up to the present have based their general conclusions simply

<sup>1</sup> Op cit., vol. 7, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, vol. 6, p. 56.

on the rather uncertain evidence of one particular group. The following statements concerning the *Wáttā* have been made by travelers and ethnologists. P. Leon des Avancher said: "I think that this race (*Wáttā*) is the primitive race of the country." Before him, Rüppel had remarked that the *Wáyṭō* are not allied to, but very different from the *Qemānt*, confirming what Bruce had first written. This mistake was occasioned by the frequent confusion between the different low castes, all equally contemned by the noble Abyssinians. Isenberg, while he erroneously called the *Wáttā* of the central group "a class or tribe of Galla," later wrote, "As they are fond of the hippopotamus, Mr. Krapf who gives this information thinks that there may be a relation between them and the *Wáyṭō* (i.e. the northern group of hunters)." On the contrary, Bottego connected the southern group with the pariahs and freed slaves of Somaliland and specially with the Gubahín and the Addón living in Benadir.<sup>1</sup>

The first ethnologist, who has discussed the entire question of the origins of the low castes is Biasutti.<sup>2</sup> He connects the hunters (*Wáttā*, *Wáyṭō*, etc.) living in the Ethiopic plateau with the hunters (*Midgan*) of Somaliland, the hunters (*Andorobo*) of the Masai country, and with certain independent groups of hunters, e.g. the *Dume* northwest of Lake Stephanie, and the *Wapare* living in the declivities of the Kilimanjaro. Concerning the *Wáttā*, he draws his conclusions only from the southern group. He concludes: "In the interior of East Africa, as in other countries of the African continent, the occupation of hunting became in a few places fit only for the more or less pure remains of the primitive races, the Negrillos and Bushmen. On these peoples were imposed expansions of the Ethiopic peoples coming from the north, and the negro peoples advancing by way of the interior marshes, meeting each other as two waves. But it appears that some very old Ethiopic groups such as the Paleo-Egyptians have kept, more than any others, and perhaps even more than the negroes, traces of the absorption of the primitive populations. Moreover, the remaining hunter tribes afterwards accepted a large quantity of Hamitic and negro pariahs, thus forming different grades of mixture and ethnic groups with different composition."<sup>3</sup>

Montandon,<sup>4</sup> however, denies that there were ever Bushmen in Ethiopia. According to him, the Ethiopic plateau "a l'origine des temps connus" was already occupied by the negro race; and even at that time, perhaps some emigrations of peoples had begun to be directed towards Abyssinia. He adds in a note:<sup>5</sup> "Certain authors seem to recognize the descendants of the primitive inhabitants in those pariahs living solely by the chase, whom the Abyssinians call *Wáyṭō*." But, although he says in this part of his article, "it would be interesting to know whether this race scattered over nearly the whole of Ethiopia,

<sup>1</sup> Bieber also says: "They (the *Wáttā*) are the remnants of the primitive population of Abyssinia," 'Reise nach Abyssinien,' op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Renato Biasutti, 'Pastori, agricoltori e cacciatori nell' Africa orientale,' (Boll. Soc. Geogr. Italiana, Roma, 1905, s. 4, vol. 6, p. 175).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Montandon, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



(a statement which is very incorrect) speaks one and the same language,"<sup>1</sup> in another place, he classifies the language of the *Wâyṭō* among the Kushitic languages,<sup>2</sup> and remarks that it is spoken "by individuals scattered along the banks of Lake Ṭana," therefore, only in the northern group. It would appear that he was undecided whether to ascribe the hunters to the negroes or to the Proto-Kushites.

Giuffrida-Ruggeri, on the contrary, definitely assigns them to the group which he calls "Proto-Ethiopians."<sup>3</sup> He demonstrates this hypothesis by means of two arguments, one linguistic, the other cultural. The linguistic argument is that the *Wáttā*, *Wâyṭō*, etc. speak an Agau dialect; the cultural that they live in portable tents with conical roofs, a kind of hut peculiar to the Ethiopians. However, it is not true that the *Wáttā* speak an Agau dialect. Giuffrida-Ruggeri has gathered this information from de Castro,<sup>4</sup> a source not worthy of consideration. De Castro has here repeated the mistake of the predecessors of Bruce, confusing *Wâyṭō* and *Qemānt*; even worse, he has confounded the *Qemānt* and the Agau linguistically. This confusion of de Castro is not strange; he connects the language of the *Wâyṭō* with that of the Vavassa (possibly a Bantu people), and in another place writes that into Ethiopia "came the Pre-Semites or Kushites, among whom were the Agau, the Kanuri, the Bogo, etc.," thus transplanting into East Africa the Kanuri of West Africa! Moreover, he adds that after these peoples, "the Hyxos came into Ethiopia." When one founds his opinion on many different sources, it is necessary to distinguish between the original sources, and the secondary sources or compilations.

The second argument of Giuffrida-Ruggeri has been taken from Heuglin who accurately describes the *Wâyṭō* of the northern group as living "*in ambulanten backofenformigen Schilfhütten*." But this must not be considered as a general cultural character of these groups of hunters, because, as I have already said, the habitations of the *Wáttā* range in different districts from cane huts to hiding places in trees. It is not worth while to consider in detail the opinion of Ravà that the *Wâyṭō* (he speaks only of the northern group) were originally Moslem Amara, as so many others (sic!) and that when they moved to the banks of the Ṭana, far from their churches and religious centres, their faith degenerated and therefore they were abjured by their brethren. How does this explain the origin of the *Wáttā* living on the banks of the Galana Sagân where Islam has penetrated only during the last few years and is perhaps known only by name? It is not true that the *Wâyṭō* of the Ṭana are Moslem, and besides, they do not live far from religious centres, since the Islām-bîêt of Gondar was at least until a few years ago, a little centre of Islamic culture.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Montandon, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, 'Nuovi studi sull'antropologia dell' Africa orientale,' (Archiv. l'Antrop. e Ethnol., Firenze, 1915, vol. 45, p. 142-144).

<sup>4</sup> De Castro (op. cit., p. 384) says that "they (the *Wáttā*) spring from *Mingio*, a man of the *Busciascio*, the first tribe to occupy this country." Here he confounds the *Mánjō*, i.e. the low caste of hunters with the *Mingio* of the dynasty Bucasie (called in some Kaffa dialects Busaso), now the ruling branch of that dynasty in Kaffa.

<sup>5</sup> This is illustrated by the following anecdote which I learned from a native. When the emperor Johannes IV, before Matamma, returned to Gondar which had been plundered in the preceding year by the Dervishes of the Mahdi



I think then that first of all, we may safely accept the fundamental thesis of Biasutti that hunting, the occupation of the *Wáttā*, signifies here a cultural stage characteristic of primitive peoples. Therefore, it appears to me that among the *Wáttā* may be found many elements of the hunting races, that is, the peoples inhabiting the Ethiopic plateau before the Kushites. When the Kushites penetrated Ethiopia, they had already passed from the hunting to the pastoral stage; even the most primitive of the Kushites, if we so designate the Baria and the Kunama, were never hunters, according to what we can deduce from their present ethnographic character.

What non-Kushitic races, then, are represented today by the *Wáttā*? The evidence of Bushmen in Ethiopia seems to me very vague. And even if there are found in the most southern regions of the plateau a few groups who seem possibly allied with the Bushmen, what arguments are there to support the hypothesis that they are the last remnant of a race driven out of Ethiopia toward South Africa, rather than the opposite hypothesis that they are the most remote groups of the races of South Africa who advanced in the earliest times towards the north and were stopped in the declivities of the plateau by obstacles natural or human met in this region?

Little more certain are the traces of Negrillo (pygmy) groups. The low stature of which Cecchi writes concerning the *Wáttā* in Gêra is corroborated by the following sources: for the Midgan of Somaliland, Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti, *Somalia e Benadir*, Milano, 1899, p. 216; for the Walangulo, Wakefield in *Paulitizsche, Ethnographie Nordost Afrikas*, op. cit., p. 32; for the Dume, Donaldson Smith, *Through unknown African countries*, London, 1897, p. 272; for the Wapare, Paul Reinecke, 'Beschreibung einiger Rassenskelette aus Afrika,' (*Archiv f. Anthrop.*, Braunschweig, 1898, p. 185-231).

The chief evidences of negro origin are clear: "large and protruding lips" noted in the central and southern groups, "flat noses" in the southern group, "darker color" in the central and southern groups; also, the custom of hanging a weight in the lobule of the ear indicates a relationship to Hamitic groups with negroid admixture. Therefore, it is clear that the formation of the *Wáttā* is not the same in all three groups, and that this formation rose from historical causes, from different environments, and from the different peoples with whom each of the three groups came in close contact. Traces of the negro and Negrillo are more evident in the southern than in the central group and almost no evidence of them can be found at present in the northern group. I agree with Biasutti that Kushitic pariahs were assimilated by these primitive groups. Naturally these Kushitic pariahs, representing a stage of culture inferior to that of the Kushites, were confused with

he ordered that the Mussulmen living in Gondar be killed and their property confiscated, suspecting that they had been allies of the enemy. It is said that in the Moslem quarter, an Arabic minstrel sang at this time:

*yâ 'Aduwah 'adû Allâh*  
*Gōndâr bildâd Allâh!*

That is: "O Adua, enemy of God! Gondar is the town of God!" punning on the two words of similar sound, Aduwah, the town of Tigrē (Johannes IV was born in Tigrē) and 'adû, meaning "enemy" in Arabic.

the native races of Ethiopia after the Kushitic invasion, since these primitive peoples also represented a culture, i.e. hunting, inferior to that of the pastoral Kushites. It also seems probable to me that those who are considered descendants of pygmies are in fact descendants of pariahs of the negroes. In the history of Ethiopia, so rich in ethnic struggles, these groups of negroid pariahs assimilated after the Kushitic conquest, with their patrons, the negroes, and with the pariahs of the Kushites, although geographically dispersed in the aforesaid three groups, still maintained for many centuries a uniformity of material culture which was caused not by an absolute identity of ethnic origins, but by an analogy of historical formation.

Here I may note that the *Wáttā* were connected by de Castro and later by Giuffrida-Ruggeri<sup>1</sup> with the race whom the ancient Egyptians called *Uauat*. (Earlier still, Hartmann<sup>2</sup> had seen in the Agau the modern representatives of the *Uauat*.) This *Uauat-Wáttā* hypothesis cannot be proved linguistically, especially since the final -t does not seem to be radical. The name also appears in the form *Uaua*, e.g. in the inscriptions quoted by Schiaparelli,<sup>3</sup> and in the form *Uaua-it*.<sup>4</sup> Nor does the conclusion of Schiaparelli who has recently examined the hieroglyphic sources agree with the above hypothesis. According to Schiaparelli, *Uauat* is the country between the southern frontier of Egypt and Taka in the valley of the Atabara, much farther north than the probable sites of the *Wáttā* in a historical period such as that of the Egyptian inscriptions.

It is also noteworthy that the southern Galla in British East Africa call the Wasanye and the Wabone *Wat*. (Southern Galla *wat* = northern Galla *wáttā* because of the phonetic rule of the southern Galla dialect that *a*, if it is a final vowel, is dropped.) Both the Wasanye and the Wabone are hunters. In Italian Somaliland, the Waboni in the popular traditions of the Somali who surround them are said "to eat every unclean thing, even crocodiles and serpents."<sup>5</sup> The most southern Galla branches who encounter the groups of hunters on the banks of the Yuba call them *Wat*, as the northern branches call the hunters of the plateau *Wáttā*. Moreover, the Wasanye are said to be sorcerers and each of their clans seems to live under the patronage of a Galla clan whose name they accept as their own.<sup>6</sup>

In conclusion, I ask the reader to turn his attention to a group of hunters of the Ethiopic plateau which, up to the present, has not been noted by ethnologists. I allude to the Fugâ, a small group discovered by the Italian traveller Bianchi,<sup>7</sup> between the Gurāgē and the Soddō Galla, about an hour's march southeast of Gorieno before reaching the river Ruffay. Bianchi calls them Galla, but afterwards writes: "They appear to be the most savage of

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Hartmann, *Die nigrítier*, Berlin, 1876, p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> 'La geografia dell' Africa orientale,' (Rend. d. Lincei, s. 4, vol. 19, pt. 7-10, p. 518, 528).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 512.

<sup>5</sup> T. Carletti, *I problemi del Benadir*, Viterbo, 1912, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Werner, 'The Galla of the East Africa Protectorate,' op. cit., p. 137-138, 278, and 'A few notes on the Wasanye,' (Man, vol. 13, p. 199-201). I have only pointed out here the identity of the name *Wáttā* for the southern and northern hunters of the Galla; I have not included here the hunting groups of British East Africa.

<sup>7</sup> Gustavo Bianchi, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano, 1884, p. 303, 313.

the Galla in the countries through which I have passed." The ethnographic characters of the Fugâ are those which especially mark the hunters of the central group. They are "darker in color than the Gurāgiē and the inhabitants of Qabiēnā; they wear no clothes until adolescence, after which they cover themselves with a short petticoat of cowskin." Bianchi remarks that the true Galla use this petticoat only in war; it is, however, used also by the poorer classes and especially by countrymen. The arms of the Fugâ include arrows and a bow made of "an elastic rod of acacia, which is kept bent by a cord of *musa ensete*."<sup>1</sup> In addition to warfare, this bow is also used in dancing since the Fugâ accompany the dance by throwing blunt arrows, thus honoring their guests.

The Fugâ, says Bianchi, are tributaries of the Gurāgiē; it is probable that this means that they are clients of the Gurāgiē. The native informant of Bianchi told him that the Gurāgiē had converted the Fugâ to Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Cerulli, 'L'origine delle basse caste della Somalia,' (L'Esplorazione Commerciale, October, 1916), for the use of the bow by the *Midgan*, hunters of Somaliland, and also, Franz Stuhlmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostfrika*, Hamburg, 1910.



## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

In this index, the word "Galla," which occurs on almost every page of the book, is not included; however, the name "Orómō" is included. By the side of each name the song or text in prose in which the name occurs is indicated. As to the abbreviations, s. = song; t. = text in prose; by the abbreviations 15 n., t. 3 n., I have indicated the notes to song 15 and to text 3. The abbreviation I. means introduction; p., preface; pr., proverb.

- Abbā Bāgibō* (king of *Limmu*), s. 21.  
*Abbā Balō* (war-name of many kings of *Gúmā*).  
 See *Adam*, *Ončo*, *Ġawē*.  
*Abbā Bārā* (sorcerer, chief of *Hánnā*), s. 10, 12, 24 n.  
*Abbā Bēko*. See *Ġiġġō Galatē*.  
*Abbā Billō* (war-name of *Turā*). See *Turā*.  
*Abbā Bēnē*, s. 126.  
*Abbā Bēqā* (king of *Ġimmā Abbā Ġifār*), t. 1.  
*Abbā Bōrā* (war-name of *Fatānsā Ilā*). See *Fatānsā Ilā*.  
*Abbā Bukkū* (sorcerer of *Lēqā*, perhaps the true name of *Abbūkō*). See *Abbūkō*, s. 23, 133.  
*Abbā Čāffīē* (sorcerer of *Ġāpō*), s. 27, 29, 51.  
*Abbā Čallā* (chief of the *Dorannī*), s. 26.  
*Abbā Čallā* (warrior, native of *Lēqā Qiellēm*), t. 3.  
*Abbā Dagāgō* (sorcerer, native of the *Dorannī* tribe), s. 114.  
*Abbā Dāgō*, s. 126.  
*Abbā Dalāččo* (war-name of *Garusū Bīrrātū*). See *Garusū Bīrrātū*.  
*Abbā Dammīē* (war-name of *Šēk Abderromān*).  
 See *Abderromān* (*šēk*).  
*Abbā Dāmṭāw* (war-name of *Rās Gobanā*). See *Gobanā* (*rās*).  
*Abbā Dangīē* (father-in-law of *Abbā Ġubīr*), s. 13.  
*Abbā Dāñāw* (war-name of *Menilek II*). See *Menilek II*.  
*Abbā Dāqī* (war-name of *Rās Gobanā* according to *Afnwork*), s. 39.  
*Abbā Diēntā* (brother of *Simā*), s. 4, 109.  
*Abbā Diggā* (brother of *Abbā Ġubīr*, son of a negro concubine, governor of *Ġāpō*, nicknamed *Šurāmu*), s. 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24 n.  
*Abbā Dīlbā* (war-name of *Qānnō*). See *Qānnō*.  
*Abbā Dīmā Tambō* (chief of the *Lēqā Nos* and *Arróġġī*), s. 10, 22 n.  
*Abbā Dinqī* (war-name of *Abbā Ġubīr*). See *Abbā Ġubīr*.  
*Abbā Disō* (sorcerer, native of *Sibū Gantī*), s. 50.  
*Abbā Disō* (war-name of a Galla minstrel), s. 49.  
*Abbā Dullā* (a king of *Gúmā*, according to *Cecchi*), t. 1 n.  
*Abbā Eḡá*, s. 126.  
*Abbā Fogḡī* (brother of *Abbā Ġubīr* and king of *Gúmā*), s. 24, 75; t. 1, t. 1 n.  
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*Wáttā* (hunters living in Galla countries), s. 15; t. 1 n.; appendix.

*Wáttā Daláččā* (place in *Shoa*), appendix.

*Wáttā Qarqarra* (place in *Gúmā*), s. 15.

*Wawat* (*Wawa*, *Wawait*), appendix.

*Wāyēssā* (brother of *Firrisā*), s. 24; t. 1 n.

*Wāyēssa* (*Nónnō* warrior), s. 45.

*Wāyi* (son-in-law of *Bakarîê*), s. 31 (war-name *Abbā Kottê*).

*Wāyîō* (hunters living in Amara countries), appendix.

*Wāyû* (*Lîeqā* . . .). See *Lîeqā Wāyû*.

*Wubîê* (*dağğâč*), (governor of the *Obórrā*, and afterwards of the *Nónnō* tribes), s. 58.

*Yabaló* (capital of the *Nónnō Gaččē*), s. 24. .

*Yābasā* (son of *Sidā Tufā*), s. 32.

*Yamugîê* (ancestor of *Dağğâč Morodā*), s. 20.

*Yeğǵu* (region of central Abyssinia), s. 53; t. 8.

*Zñğārō* (Sidama population in southern Abyssinia), s. 21 n.; appendix.

*Zenzalimā* (village near *Lake Tānā*), appendix.

## THE WAYAO OF NYASALAND

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In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1910,<sup>1</sup> there appeared under the title of 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' observations made by me on natives around the southern end of Lake Nyasa. These notes referred largely to the Anyanja people. Since then I have been stationed for several years at Zomba in the Shiré highlands of Nyasaland (late British Central Africa) and the present paper relates to the native peoples living in that vicinity, Machinga Yao. Many analogies in the customs of these two tribes will become obvious on comparing the present paper with that referring to the Anyanja. It seems probable that most of these customs have a common origin and have evolved along similar lines, though in some instances, there is evidence that one tribe has adopted a custom from the other. The problem in many cases is very difficult to solve but where any evidence of value on such points is forthcoming, it is mentioned.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for help in the preparation of this article to Dr. Meridith G. Sanderson for his assistance in etymology and for the rendering of many Chiyao words, to Mr. E. F. Colvile for aid in making corrections, and to Thomas Cheonga, a native hospital assistant, for invaluable help in getting to the bottom of many customs. The very beautiful photograph of the *Ching' wenyeng' wenyé* dancer (Pl. I) was taken by Dr. J. B. Davey of the East African Medical Service and is with his kind permission here reproduced.

**Introduction.** Concerning the ethnology of the peoples of Nyasaland, little has been written. Officials have, for the most part, been uncommunicative, and the large body of missionaries has taken slight advantage of the unique opportunities for study which early occupation of the country and close connection with its people offered them. In the case of the Yao, however, there are two brilliant exceptions, the Reverend Duff Macdonald<sup>2</sup> whose *Africana* remains an authoritative exposition of the customs of the Yao around Blantyre, and the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick,<sup>3</sup> author of the standard work on Yao linguistics.<sup>4</sup> Apart from these, some information can be gleaned from Livingstone's<sup>5</sup> account of his travels, from the writings of Sir H. H. Johnston,<sup>6</sup> and the Hon. H. L. Duff,<sup>7,8</sup> and from Miss Werner's<sup>9</sup> popular book written after a short stay in the Protectorate. Other references to the Wayao are too scanty to be of value.

For information concerning the Wayao of German East Africa, the reader is referred to Dr. Fülleborn,<sup>10</sup> and to the published results of an ethnological research expedition to the

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Stannus, 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' (Journ. Anth. Inst., vol. 40, 1910, p. 285-336).

<sup>2</sup> Duff Macdonald, *Africana or the heart of heathen Africa*, London, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Hetherwick, *A handbook of the Yao language*, London, 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Since these notes were made in 1912-1913, Dr. M. G. Sanderson has published a Yao grammar and intends shortly to follow it with a Chiyao dictionary.

<sup>5</sup> David Livingstone, *Narrative of an expedition to the Zambezi and its tributaries and of the discoveries of the lakes Shirwa and Nyasa, 1858-1864*, London, 1865.

<sup>6</sup> H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, London, 1898.

<sup>7</sup> H. L. Duff, *Nyasaland under the foreign office*, London, 1903.

<sup>8</sup> Now Sir Hector Duff, K. B. E., C. M. G.

<sup>9</sup> A. Werner, *The natives of British Central Africa*, London, 1906.

<sup>10</sup> F. Fülleborn, *Das deutsche Njassa-und-Ruwuna-Gebiet, Land und Leute, nebst Bemerkungen über die Schireländer*, Berlin, 1906.



southern part of that territory by Dr. Karl Weule. I have not had access to Weule's official reports but judging from Miss Werner's translation of his popular edition,<sup>1</sup> the book shows a good deal of evidence of inaccurate information, or perhaps it would be better to say, evidence of want of extensive observation, and all the strictures which his translator passes upon the book<sup>2</sup> are well deserved. I am inclined to think that much of what Weule describes in connection with various tribes including the Wayao bears witness to considerable modification by intermixture, and it may be interesting to compare his account of Yao customs with my own.

Duff Macdonald,<sup>3</sup> then, remains the one author whose writings are of value to the student of the Wayao of Nyasaland, and one cannot help feeling that the ethnological character of his book suffers from the attitude which he, in common with most missionaries, takes in regard to many native customs. I believe that if missionaries, instead of turning away their faces in horror, had regarded these practices with an open mind, they would have found that their veiled statements were exaggerations of the truth, and that the old social code of the Yao native would compare favorably with the order of things in most civilized countries.

Morals are after all only the laws that regulate the social welfare of a community and there can be no theoretically perfect code of morals which does not take into consideration the living conditions of the community to which it is applied. Before the ties of custom which bound their social system were cut by European government and missionary influence, I think the natives of Nyasaland sinned against their code of morals comparatively seldom. The present time is one of transition. Freed from old customs and beliefs, and with nothing of equal strength to take their place, the younger generation of natives has suffered and only time with just rule and efficient education can raise them to the higher moral standard which European influence strives to impose upon them.

The old order is passing rapidly and I therefore make no apologies for recording my observations, since the time will soon come when the things I speak of will be entirely forgotten. I find I have gone over much of the ground covered by Macdonald, but in most cases, I believe that I can add many details which may be of value to ethnologists.

**Divisions and History of the Wayao.** In regard to the question of tribal names, I think it is perhaps better to reserve the word *Wayao* to denote the whole Yao family and give to each section of the tribe the designation by which it is known to all its members. Thus the name Amangoche should be applied to the Yao people settled around Blantyre, while the Yao about whom I shall speak belong to that branch of the tribe known as Amachinga, now living near Zomba under their chief, Malemya. These two sections, together with a third, to the north, the Amasinga, contain all the Yao of Nyasaland. (Pl. IX)

<sup>1</sup> Karl Weule, *Native Life in East Africa*, tr. by Alice Werner, London, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii-xiv.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*

That these several sections of the Wayao differ in many respects may be seen by comparing the Amangoche of *Africana*<sup>1</sup> with the Amachinga of this article. I am not sufficiently conversant with the Amangoche to make a definite statement on this point but I am inclined to believe that after longer residence and wider knowledge, Macdonald would have found that some of his statements needed revision. Those whom he considered the "Yao proper" but whom I prefer to speak of as the Amangoche seem to have a considerable mixture of Anyanja, since their language contains many Chinyanja words and many of their customs are practically those of the Anyanja. I am of the opinion that the Amachinga may be regarded as more typical of the Wayao, and except when ambiguity might arise, I shall speak of them as the Yao.

The original home of this Bantu speaking people is uncertain; in historic times all the sections of the Wayao were originally grouped in that part of Portuguese East Africa around the hill called Chao, whence they probably derived their name, *Wa Chao* or *Wa Yao*. About the middle of the nineteenth century, as the result of inroads by neighboring tribes of Alolo from the southeast, and raids by the Makwangala, a branch of the Angoni of Zulu origin, from the northwest, disruption of the Yao people occurred, and the divisions mentioned above, moved toward Nyasaland. The Masaninga branch settled for the most part along the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa but a sub-section known as Tambala Yao reached the west side of the lake. The Machinga made a settlement near Lake Chiuta under a number of old chiefs, including Malemya (Nalutumbo), Kawinga, Chenkula, Kalimbuka, and Maole.

The descents of the Makwangwala again caused the Wayao to move on from Chiuta to Naminga on the Mikoko stream. Here Malemya suffered another defeat at the hands of the Angoni; many of his people were driven off and taken to the neighboring Anguru country where they were held in captivity for some time. Finally they were restored by the enterprise of one of Malemya's old men, Kulungala, who went alone to the Angoni, saying that he wished to live with them and with his own brethren. One day, he asked the Angoni if they would like to see their captives dance, and when they assented, he called the Yao together, and clapping his hands to keep time, he began to sing one of their dance songs. Gradually he gathered all the Yao into the village open space, dancing and singing; then, keeping to the same air, he told them why he had come, using their own language which the Angoni did not understand. "Malemya, our chief, remains at the Mikoko stream. It is not far off. We must all join him again. Now dance for joy. If anyone does not return there, it is his own fault." Then, a few at a time, the dancers left the crowd and stole away into the bush and, as night came on, they all made off and reached Malemya's camp in safety.

Malemya's people were again attacked by the Angoni, and on this occasion they defeated their enemies. The Angoni retreated and skirting Zomba mountain, reached the Shiré



River at Mpimbi where they intended to settle. Here, an old chief, knowing that their presence would cause trouble, persuaded them by tales of many cattle far away on the other side of the river, to cross over, and there they remained.

Kawinga and Malemya, then, to avoid further raids from the north went down to the Upper Shiré River near Lake Pamalombe, Kawinga going to Mvera, while Malemya stayed on the east side of the river among the Anyanja, claiming friendship with them because they bore many of the same clan names. Later, Malemya moved up to the highlands about fifteen miles north of what is now Zomba, and Kawinga went to Chikala. Malemya was friendly with the Anyanja chief, Chenyani, who was of his clan, and was therefore able to buy from him for a red blanket all the country from the Likwenu stream to the Namadzi River, a district thirty to forty miles long. There his people settled.

Kawinga was once again attacked by the Makwangwala from the north, but beat them back, after which they returned to the country whence they came — German East Africa near Lake Nyasa. The Angoni chief was killed in this battle, and the story goes that two Yao captives were told off to carry the eviscerated body back to the Angoni country for burial. As they were not provided with food for the journey, the two men began to eat the corpse. After several days, this was discovered; one of the men was killed but the other escaped to tell the tale. These were barbarous days, and the Yao relate that after raiding a village, the Angoni would leave a pot cooking on the fire with the body of a child in it, well covered with beans, so that when they had gone away with their booty and the villagers who had taken refuge in the forest returned hungry, they would start eating the beans and then come upon the body of the child, and having eaten of the juices of a human body, they would have committed a terrible sin.

The immigration of the Amachinga into the country around Mangoche mountain caused the Amagoche Yao settled there to move. They passed into the Blantyre and Mlanje districts, and invaded the country of the Anyanja. The chief, Malemya, known as Nalutumbo died about 1880, and was succeeded by his nephew, a sister's son, according to the Yao custom. This nephew, Wandalama, then took the name of Malemya.

In consequence of this succession, there was considerable bad feeling between Wandalama and the other aspirant to the chieftaincy, his cousin, Kumtaja. The latter moved down to the plain below Zomba mountain to the south, where he gathered about him a band of friends and malcontents. Malemya decided to attack him and with this purpose, sent two messengers, Nkopiti<sup>1</sup> and Mapondela, asking Chikusi and his Angoni to come and do the job for him. Led by Nyamuka, Njeremoli, and Kabayi, the Angoni came from the Shiré River opposite Blantyre, via Matope. They attacked and routed Kumtaja who, owing to the thick country, managed to fall back with most of his people toward Lake Chilwa. Here he was received by his cousin, Chimombo, a son of Nalutumbo, and father of my interpreter, Cheonga, who ruled among the Anyasa. Afterwards, he moved to Mpimbi on the Shiré where he built a stockaded village.

<sup>1</sup> Died July 14, 1914.



After the defeat of Kumtaja, Chikusi and his Angoni routed Kumtumanja, a brother of Malemya, who had also been making a nuisance of himself. Kumtumanja, who suffered from a large hydrocoele, is supposed to have lost his balance on account of this impediment, and fallen into a stream where he had stopped to drink and to have been drowned.

The Angoni still burned for more warfare, and Malemya, fearing that with his work done, they might prove a nuisance to him, turned them on to the Amangoche Yao around Blantyre. Thither they set off on a raiding expedition and returned to their own country via Chiradzulu. This raid took place in 1884.

During the next few years, Kawinga, who had always held a grudge against Malemya for having got ahead of him to the best country, occupied the chief with raiding and warfare. In 1891, Wandalama died, and was succeeded by Chisala, the son of his sister, Chisigere, and at the present time, he is the reigning Malemya.

It is of these Amachinga Yao under Malemya that the following notes are written. I have gone at some length into the history of these people in order to disarm criticism by those who, familiar with other sections of the Wayao, may not agree with all my statements.

**Life History.** Generally speaking, the life of the Yao native in the old days was full of ease spiced with the excitement of intertribal warfare. He cultivated his crops, kept a few goats and chickens, and relieved the monotony by hunting. Even domestic slavery was not a great hardship, nor did the Yao probably suffer from coast slave-raiding to the same extent as many other tribes. As children, they are wont to spend their days free from care, seldom reprimanded, and rarely or never physically chastised. During youth, the same easy lot is theirs, with the addition from time to time of a few small tasks; minor household duties for the girls, such as drawing water, sweeping the hut, and "minding" the baby, while the boys hoe or fetch and carry for their fathers in the village or in the bush. Left to their own devices, they play games,<sup>1</sup> dig out rats' nests, or shoot birds with bows and arrows.

Now, as formerly, when they are about five years old, the girls usually go to live with their grandmother who may thus have a number of children around her; or several girls of a somewhat more advanced age may sleep together in a hut dormitory. Boys of this age all live in a big hut called *nyumba ja chachanda*, "the boys' dormitory." This is their quarters until one by one they leave to get married. The girl, similarly, remains in the girls' dormitory or with her grandmother until she is taken in marriage.

**Puberty.** The first interruption of this placid life of youth is the onset of puberty or the first initiation ceremonies.<sup>2</sup> Formerly, these ceremonies took place after puberty but of late years, as is pointed out elsewhere, they are performed much earlier.

**Child betrothal.** Bethrothal in childhood or before birth is not uncommon. A woman learning that some friend of hers is pregnant will arrange that if a girl is born, her son will marry the friend's daughter, or a man taking a fancy to a little girl will select her as his

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Vide infra, p. 246.

betrothed. In this latter case, the child lives with one of his wives and is brought up in his house.

When this girl first menstruates, she tells the man's wife who in turn informs her husband. He then goes out into the bush with his axe, while the wife reports to the young girl's mother and to the man's female relatives. The girl is put to rest on a mat in the hut, the women remaining with her after shutting and fastening the door. The man, meantime, cuts a strip of bark, hammers it out into a piece of cloth, and puts the cloth, wound round and round the stem of the tree from which he has taken it, on the roof of the hut where the girl lies. The first passer-by who notices this sign, spreads the news; then all the women in the village assemble and trill with their tongues to show their joy, while the women in the house sing.

Until the girl's menstrual period is over, the old women relatives sleep each night in her hut, and instruct her in the taboos relating to menstruation. The front door is kept closed, and exit for purposes of nature is made only through the back door. When the girl is up again, the fire in the hut is extinguished, the bark-cloth which she has worn and her sleeping mat are rolled up and put away in the veranda-room, and the girl, having procured clay, replasters the floor of the entire hut. A woman then brings fresh fire from another hut.

At subsequent menstrual periods, there is no ceremony. The girl, as is the custom of all women at such times, must sleep on a mat apart from her husband. Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden under penalty of dire sickness. For the same reason, no menstruating woman may put salt in the food, etc. Until the girl's first menstrual period is over, the man to whom she is betrothed stays in the hut of another wife. Later, he may cohabit with the girl.

If the girl has not been to her initiation ceremony, *Chiputu*,<sup>1</sup> on returning to her husband's hut after this ceremony, the first coitus takes place in the veranda. It must be incomplete, so that ejaculation takes place after withdrawal and the semen falls upon her cloth. This should be taken by the girl to some of the old women in the village who report on the proceedings. Should withdrawal not have taken place, the man is considered bad and the girl, unless doctored, may sicken. Later, ordinary cohabitation is allowed. This species of ceremonial coitus is called *Kwasa mauta* or in Chinyanja, *Ku-taya mafuta*, "to roll away the oil," referring to the oil with which the girl was anointed at *Chiputu*. A girl who has not betrothed, on returning from *Chiputu* to her grandmother is given medicine similarly to prevent her sickening.

*Betrothal and marriage in adult life.* Apart from child betrothal, when a man seeking a wife, sees a girl he fancies, he talks the matter over with his brother, uncle, or some friend, who then goes and makes overtures to the girl's uncle or brother, her guardian or *ngoswe*<sup>2</sup> as he is called. The *ngoswe* corresponds very closely to our idea of a god-parent; he may be called the sponsor. The word "surety" is used by Macdonald.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> *Ngoswe* is a word adopted from the Chin, *Nkoswe*.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonald, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 118.



If the suitor receives a favorable reply, he informs his father and the elders of his village and then goes to the girl's village where he begins to build a house and spends much time performing duties for the girl's parents, such as hoeing. If, after a month, he is approved, the girl's people send a messenger to the man's village, asking, "Have you missed anyone from your village?" The answer is, "Yes, So-and-So," to which the reply is given, "Well, he is here with us." The man's people then arrange to come to the girl's village on a certain day.

On the appointed day, the two sponsors (*ngoswe*) on each side, meet in the village open space and being assured that there is nothing to prevent the marriage and the man and woman being willing, the tie is made. There is no formal ceremony or token of marriage between the man and woman. Porridge is cooked for the sponsors and a fowl provided. The back of the fowl is broken by the elder sponsor as a sign of the compact. The man is exhorted by his sponsors to be a credit to them in his new village, while the woman is told by her mother and her aunt that they expect her to live an exemplary life. The man's chief sponsor tells him that no longer is he a member of his own village, but belongs to the girl's sponsor, and the converse is told to the girl. Hereafter, in all matters relating to them as married people, the girl will consult her husband's sponsor and vice versa. The elder sponsor on both sides is called *mgogo wakugona*, borrowing from Chinyanja, "a log lying down," and is usually an uncle; the junior is commonly the brother of the bridegroom.

On leaving the girl's village, the *mgogo wakugona* will say, "You will see me no more in this village but this, my younger companion; if you see him, you will know he comes from me." The sponsors' responsibilities last so long as the pair lives, unless they separate for some reason. Thus, should the husband's goats die or should he lose his axe, the woman reports to his sponsor. If the husband kills an antelope, the sponsors receive some portion of the meat. If a village is to be moved, the inhabitants consult the sponsors of every married couple. In this way, the sponsors become the repository of all the events of the married life of the husband and wife and in case of any dispute or untoward event, theirs is the accredited testimony on family matters. The account given by Macdonald,<sup>1</sup> I venture to think may be incorrect.

Should the *mgogo wakugona* die, the junior sponsor takes his place and a new junior is appointed. The new *mgogo wakugona* sends a message to the other party's *ngoswe* telling him of the change, at the same time presenting him with a fowl. As he may be acting for a number of people, he may have to distribute several fowls; later, he visits his confreres.

Following the marriage compact and the departure of the *ngoswe*, the married pair go away quietly to the house the man has built for his wife, or she may wait until evening and, if she is shy, she may be accompanied by an elder sister, or may be sent with food for her husband. Consummation may not take place for a day or two, after which the hum-

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald, op. cit., p. 139.



drum of her married life begins. The man and woman live together peaceably enough as a rule, each attending to his own sphere of work. The man builds the house, the woman muds the floors; she sweeps and cooks, she is the hewer of wood and drawer of water. The man hunts, fishes, makes mats, baskets, the grain store, game traps, and bark-cloth; he looks after the tobacco, and makes the snuff, while his wife brews the beer. He it is who fashions the gourd vessels and carves the spoons, while the woman is the potter (Pl. III, 4) and pipe-maker. Together they hoe and together they harvest, but to the woman falls the monotonous drudgery of pounding and sifting the corn for flour.

The Yao have a custom like that of the Anyanja. A sister brings to the house of the newly wedded pair a log of green wood from a *mbanga* tree which is very hard; the log may be two feet in diameter and four feet long. Should the bride not become pregnant before it is burned away, the husband is laughed at and they may both be teased by having many logs brought to the house. A man who has no children is much despised and there is a saying, "He must have eaten some ground-nuts," punning on the word for a thick-skinned variety of ground-nut, *chimbwila*, a word which also means sterility. An impotent man may, with the consent of his wife, introduce some male friend into the house, any children born in consequence being claimed as the husband's. He usually chooses some friend from a distance to obviate any attachment springing up between him and the wife. Two married couples may, all consenting, exchange consorts for the night, but they never live together like this for long periods.

There is one well-defined marriage taboo; a man may not marry a woman of his own clan. In the old days, he was also restricted to his own tribe, except in the case of slave wives and wives by capture. Since the clan is inherited from the mother,<sup>1</sup> a man may not marry the daughters of his maternal aunts, but he may marry his other female cousins. He may not marry two sisters nor a deceased wife's sister; neither do two brothers marry two sisters.

The number of wives is limited only by the husband's ability to provide for them. In addition to free wives, a man might formerly have a number of slave wives. The head wife is called *kusyeto*, the other wives, *mangumba*. The word given by Macdonald, *akusyeto*,<sup>2</sup> meaning the junior wives, is a Chinyanja word and, I think, wrongly applied.

It has been said that a man always marries into the village of his wife. For this reason, female children are always prized as it means an increase in the number of able-bodied men added to the village. In rare cases, the wife might be taken to the husband's village, as is the Anyanja practice.<sup>3</sup> This, of course, is true in the case of chiefs and headmen. Here, we may also note that no payment is made for the wife and no dowry is received with her.

To revert to betrothal, occasionally the sponsors will not agree to the marriage and a runaway match takes place, but in the end, the marriage is usually regularized by the sponsors coming to an agreement. If, however, the woman has in the meantime become

<sup>1</sup> Vide *infra*, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Stannus, op. cit., p. 309.

pregnant, the meeting of the sponsors will have to be postponed until after the ceremony connected with her first quickening with child, *Litiwo*.<sup>1</sup> This ceremony must be performed whether the girl is regularly married or not. One party cannot ask the other for permission that both ceremonies take place at the same time. The answer would be given, "You are asking me to kill two beasts with one bullet." In rare cases, the chief may sanction the marriage and *Litiwo* ceremonies taking place at about the same time, i.e. the marriage is arranged before the child is born.

*Widowhood.* A widow is considered unclean for a period after the death of her husband. She wears a band of palm-leaf or string around her forehead. When the period is passed and some man wishes to marry her, arrangement is made with some other man to cohabit with her for payment; she is then said to be clean and can go to her prospective husband. This ceremony is called *kutema ngonji*, "to cut the strings," or in Chinyanja, *ku-dula mlaza*, "to cut the palm"; unless it is performed, the new husband will sicken. The man introduced for the purpose is called by the Yao, *litunu*, the "hyaena," "he who comes by night."

*Divorce.* From time to time, married people disagree and one deserts the other. If the woman leaves the man, he has a claim against her and the man to whom she goes for all the clothes he has supplied her with during their married life. The husband usually sides with the wife's relatives and arranges that they look after the children; he does not claim them. When the husband and wife mutually wish to separate, they both meet with their sponsors and everything is duly arranged. The husband will give his wife an arrow, saying, "*Mpamba* (the arrow)," meaning, "If I come back, may it kill me." The place of the arrow may be taken by a bullet or any other object, even a piece of grass. The man will add, "*Swaka, swaka, no likoswe!* (rattling, rattling, it is a rat!)," inferring that if his wife hears something rattling in the house, it is a rat, not himself trying to come back. There is no definite payment of compensation. If the woman marries again, she presents the "arrow" to her second husband as a sign that she has been freed from her first marriage; without this token, no man would marry her.

Actual adultery was in the old days very rare owing to the strict enforcement of rules, and the case of a woman demanding divorce on account of the adultery of her husband formed a *cause célèbre*. The case heard by the chief would last for days and hundreds of people would come to listen. Neighboring Anyanja pleaders would be invited to speak and great excitement prevailed, as these latter would be accompanied by their villagers, who, to the accompaniment of continuous drumming, would sing, "*Mbawala anakadwa m'nkonde*,"<sup>2</sup> (The bush-buck has run his head into the net)," while they ran about running their heads into their game-nets.

Other causes of separation are neglect of duty, sterility of the wife, and habitual death of the children born.

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Chin.



*Pregnancy and childbirth.* An event of the first importance in the Yao world is the first conception or rather the "quickenings" with the first child, *Litiwo*; this is described below, together with the other ceremonies of the *Unyago*.<sup>1</sup> After the ceremony of *Litiwo*, the period of waiting until the birth of the child passes without further event. A point of medical interest is that native women suffer in many cases from "morning sickness" during pregnancy. That they may have perverted appetites is also recognized, grain husks and crabs being among the things most commonly desired. As the Anyanja,<sup>2</sup> the Yao believe that the child develops from the semen of the male, although the growth of the child is in some way connected with the mother.

When labor commences, the woman retires to the bush a few hundred yards away from her house, attended by some friend, seldom a midwife, and never by her own people, though the mother and the mother-in-law will probably be near the spot. If labor is not completed by evening, they return to the house and the birth may take place actually within its walls. The attitude assumed in labor is the same as that adopted by the Anyanja,<sup>3</sup> the patient semi-reclining in the arms of another woman who sits behind, grasping her belly. The vulva is smeared with a decoction made from the bark of the *mposa* tree as a lubricant, but no other help is given. *Kumkuli* is the name given to the place of confinement; *m'lwuli* means the house where the woman remains for a period after the confinement. The Yao recognize the protruding bag of amniotic fluid and call it the "oil-gourd". "*Chisasi chikasiche?* (The oil-gourd, has it broken?)." They wait until the placenta is delivered before dividing the cord. This is done with the sharp edge of the outer covering of a maize stalk or sugar cane; a knife is never used. The section is made near the placenta or half-way between it and the child, after tying the proximal end with a bark string.

The woman who receives the child at birth is the *ambusanga*, friend or godmother. If the infant is born in the bush, she carries it back to the house whither they go as soon as labor is completed. The mother herself, unless she is very ill, goes out shortly afterwards and buries the placenta in the ash-heap, using a stick to dig the hole, never a hoe.

After the birth, the mother and child must remain in the house until the umbilical cord separates, during which time the husband does not enter, though he may come to the door to look in at the child.

The day on which exit from the house is made, the floor is entirely replastered with mud. The baby's head is shaved and a cross is made upon it with *ngama*, a kind of red pigment. The husband may then receive the child and in the case of a first-born, it is he who gives it its name; other children may be named by the *ambusanga*, the mother, or the aunt.

When the mother leaves the house to appear in public, the *nakanga* who put her *litiwo* on,<sup>4</sup> removes it.

So long as the infant remains in the house, care must be taken as to persons allowed to handle it. A woman who has recently had a menstrual period or coitus with her husband,

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Stannus, op. cit., p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Vide infra, p. 274.



or a girl who has just returned from *Chiputu* must not touch the child, as it is said, "Her body is hot and would give fever to the child." To guard against such a happening, some "clean" woman, after handing some beads to the mother, will ask to be allowed to take the infant. This indicates that should it sicken, the beads will pay the medicine-woman who comes to cure it. The mother and baby are simply washed in water and are not treated with medicine, unless meconium has been voided before the child was delivered.<sup>1</sup> If the infant dies before it is presented to the outside world, it is disposed of in the same way as a stillborn child, i.e. buried in the ash-heap. About the tenth day, the baby is adorned with a girdle of beads and two little pieces of stick obtained from a medicine-woman to make the infant grow fat.

The length of time during which the father and mother refrain from cohabitation after the birth of a baby varies greatly according to circumstance. Four months is probably a minimum, while two years, during which the woman suckles the child, is the common interval. After the first coitus, the man and woman wash themselves and the baby is bathed in the same water to prevent any ill coming to it.

Suckling often continues much longer than two years. If the mother dies, the child may be suckled by the grandmother, an aunt, or some other woman, but the breasts must first be treated with medicine or the child would die.

A child born breech first is called *salanga*, a word which is also used to denote a variety of domestic fowl which always has the appearance of having its feathers ruffled. A child who dies before the father and mother have resumed sexual relations is buried in a graveyard apart from that of adults. The grave, dug with sticks, not hoes, is very shallow, and when it is filled in, a heap of stones is made above it. Only women attend the burial. A deep grave would cause the mother to go on losing children at an early age. The body of such a child is called *litunu*, "hyaena."

A woman dying undelivered is placed in the grave in the usual way and then, before filling in the earth, one of the grave-diggers descends into the pit, cuts through the enveloping shroud, and incises the abdomen. One end of a long bamboo stick or reed is inserted in the incision and the other end is brought out to the surface of the grave. If this were not done, "many would die in childbirth."

Twins are not killed by the Yao but are well treated and always cared for equally. They are given similar clothing and food.<sup>2</sup> There is a story that the mother of Nkwamba,

<sup>1</sup> *Chinyera*, vide infra, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Werner, 'Among the Congo Cannibals, by John H. Weeks, London, 1913, a review,' (*Man*, vol. 14, no. 15, 1914, p. 15).

I take this opportunity of referring to Miss Werner's review in which, speaking of twins, she says, "They are always among the Anyanja given the names *Mngoli* and *Nyuma*." *Mngoli* in Chinyanja refers to a kind of musical instrument and the Chiyao meaning is "cocoanut palm." *Nyuma* is a Chiyao word which certainly means "the back." It is sometimes used of the second born twin but does not occur in Chinyanja. I have never heard of twins either among the Wayao or the Anyanja spoken of by these names. A mother carries the first born on the right arm and the second born on the left, but, so far as I know, she does not give a duplicate greeting nor make a habit of eating equally with both hands.

one of Malemya's men died, after giving birth to quintuplets, some thirty years ago. Deformed children are buried alive. A large number of children is always hoped for and where polygamy is practiced, some families are of considerable size, although the mortality among young children is very high. It is, of course, very difficult to state the child-bearing period among natives. It does not start so early as is commonly supposed, and I think the menopause is found within about the same limits as among Europeans.

*Death.* Natives of Nyasaland live to a good old age. That such is not the case I have found to be one of the many fallacious beliefs concerning natives which should be relegated to the realm of exploded theories, as I have pointed out elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Death in old age is recognized as a natural event but apart from this, all sickness and death were formerly and are still to a large extent looked upon as the result of the machinations of some person, an idea which forms the outstanding feature in their belief in witchcraft, *usawi*.<sup>2</sup>

Here I shall mention the ordinary customs in the case of death. During the last hours of a mortal illness, a man is tended by his wife or wives; the head wife sits constantly supporting his head on her lap or against her breast. A woman is similarly tended by her mother, sisters, and friends. As unconsciousness sets in and the extremities become cold, they say, "His spirit has gone and only the heart remains alive."

The native does not like the idea of lingering on and a man on his death-bed will say to his sons, "Now watch me that I die quickly." He may take medicine to help him over that time or he may give his sons instructions as to what to do. Should a man linger unconscious for a long time, friends will ask his sons, "Did he give you any instructions?" If he has done so, the sons will then carry them out. This perhaps consists of bathing themselves in medicines left by their father, while they stand on the roof of his house. Sometimes, the natives say of a lingering case, "Ah, perhaps he has eaten of a tortoise's heart!" knowing the phenomenon of the tortoise's heart and believing that by partaking of it, the same property can be conferred on the heart of a man.

When death is manifest, the body is covered with a cloth by a brother, a son, or some other person in attendance. The eyes are closed, the mouth shut, and at the present time, the body straightened out. This, however, is a recent practice copied from the Anyanja, Europeans, and Mohammedans.

News of the death must be sent to the chief, and a messenger goes to his village where the chief and his people sit in the village open space. He carries a fowl in his hand. The present of a single fowl always denotes bad tidings. One of the chief's men, seeing the stranger approach with the single fowl, will jump up and take the bird. He is joined by the others and they go away to the cross-roads where they kill the fowl, pluck it, cook it, and eat it. In the meantime, the messenger delivers his news to the chief who will produce from his house about eight yards of white calico; if the deceased has been a much respected

<sup>1</sup> Hugh S. Stannus, 'The life-span of negroes', (Lancet, April 11, 1914, p. 1083).

<sup>2</sup> Vide infra, p. 293.



person, he may also give a goat. The calico is to wrap up the body of the dead, the goat is for the undertakers, *awilo*.<sup>1</sup>

Until eight or ten years ago, the Wayao buried their dead in a posture of complete flexion. The preparation of the body after death is carried out by friends from a neighboring village who volunteer for the service. They are known as *awilo*, (sing. *mbilo*). Macdonald<sup>2</sup> thinks the word originally meant relatives; it has essentially the opposite meaning now. The corpse is washed in ordinary water and no anointment is made. The limbs, formerly, were then flexed on the body and at all the joints. The clenched hands were placed under the chin of the bent head or the hands were spread over the face of the flexed head, while the legs were tightly bent at the knees and brought up close against the abdomen. The corpse was securely bound in this position and adorned with a loin-cloth of bark. The body of a man found stiff and extended was a source of great trouble. Water was heated, and the body bathed until it was as relaxed as possible. As much force would then be applied as was necessary to gain the required degree of flexion, the bones often being broken in the process.

In the case of a woman, her female friends put on her bark-cloth loin covering, but the washing and trussing up of the body were usually done by men unless there were some women particularly skilled in the operation.

The flexed body was then set up on the deceased's sleeping mat within the hut, and from time to time, so long as it remained exposed, it was washed, people coming from other villages to offer their services for this task. Watchers sat continually by the body, the wife and perhaps a brother on either side, while others slept in the hut to take their turn later. The rest of the mourners sat on the veranda about the door.

As soon as the *awilo* had finished their work, wailing began, started by the wife and carried on by all the women of the village and the women relatives from elsewhere. Wailing continued all day until about ten in the evening, and then started again between two and three in the morning. This went on for three or four days or was intermittent for a longer time, always recommencing with the arrival of a party from another village. I have never heard of flour being put on the heads by Yao mourners, as mentioned in *Africana*.<sup>3</sup>

News of a death was always sent to all the relatives, and burial might be delayed to allow for the arrival of those from a distance. Under such circumstances, the body was enclosed in a casing of bark, the ends being closed by bamboo pegs. Exaggerated signs of grief were sometimes made by the mourners who beat their breasts with their hands while they knocked their heads against the ground or a wall, but the Yao did not indulge in the excesses of the Anyanja near Lake Chilwa who practiced a kind of flagellation, the wailers within the house meeting any new-comers at the door and beating them with sticks. This treatment was not resented. Women alone did the wailing; a man indulging in such expression would be laughed at. His part in the old days when the natives possessed firearms was

<sup>1</sup> Vide *infra*, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



to fire off his gun as long as his powder lasted. During the period of mourning, drumming went on continuously, *chindimba* being played on the three small drums called *ichoma*.

With the exception of the flexed attitude of the body, the foregoing description is a correct account of what happens today. The body is now fully extended.

The *awilo* are two or four in number, although other friends may assist in all their services. On about the third day, the *awilo* sew up the body in bark cloth, completely enveloping it; a bamboo needle is used and left sticking in the cloth at the last stitch. The body is then enclosed in a mat slung on a pole, and carried from the hut to the grave. First, the procession makes a round of the village, passing by all the houses which the dead man used to visit, and over all the paths he used to cross. His children and those of his relatives under seven or eight years old gather in the village, and throw pieces of charcoal toward the body as it passes, "so that they shall forget the dead man," or run after the corpse, while some one sprinkles medicine over them.

As the procession leaves the village, it is headed by the drums playing *chindimba*, but after a few hundred yards, only the *ching'anga* drum, now called *chitanda*, beats time for a short distance; the procession then goes on quietly. Following the drums, walks the mother or another relative carrying flour with which the grave will be marked out. Behind this mourner, the body is borne by the *awilo*. The *awilo* are always the first to carry the body, but are later relieved by other friends of the deceased; no one would ever ask to be relieved. After the chief mourner, follow the other relatives and friends, the men first, the women behind. Boys just back from their *unyago* attend to learn the customs. All the relatives of the deceased go to the burial, contrary to Macdonald's account.<sup>1</sup>

In this order, the procession reaches some three thirty or forty yards from the place of burial where the corpse is put down in the shade, *mtula*, "resting place", and while the women and part of the men watch beside it, the *awilo* proceed to the burial place. They cut branches from a sacred tree, and strew them on the path. On approaching the appointed spot, they clap their hands in salutation, asking that the burial ground be opened to them.

The head *mbilo* chooses the site where the grave shall be dug, after which the mourner marks out the limits with the flour she has brought. In the days when the body was buried in contracted posture, a circular grave was dug just big enough to allow two men to work in it. Eight feet was the usual depth but this was decided by the deceased's *ngoswe*, if he were living, otherwise, by his near relatives. In the east side of this circular well, a cave was excavated, just large enough to admit the contracted corpse. When all was prepared, the body accompanied by all the mourners, was brought from *mtula* to the graveside. The chief *mbilo* with a friend of the man's family and one of his wife's, standing in the grave received the body and placed it in the cave, resting on a mat and covered with bark cloth. The body lay on its side with its back toward the well, and its face looking

toward the east. After adjusting the body in its place, the *mbilo* would tear open the shroud over the ear, and pour on to the pinna some powdered beads to be used by the dead man as money in the hereafter. Except in the case of chiefs, no objects were buried with the dead, contrary to Macdonald's description<sup>1</sup> of the Amangoche. The pole on which the body had been carried to the grave was broken into bits and together with any stick that had been used to measure the body for the cave, was placed in the grave. The opening into the chamber was then closed by a mat fastened over it by pegs and supported by pieces of wood. The *awilo* clambering out of the well, pushed the first earth backward into the grave with their elbows, after which the rest of the earth was shovelled in quickly, and a heap made at the surface. The ground about this mound was swept clean with a bunch of leaves by some one walking backward so that no footprints were left; the bunch of leaves was thrown on top of the mound. No medicine was put in the grave, nor were the household utensils placed on the mound, as Macdonald states concerning the Amangoche.<sup>2</sup>

For some years past, the type of grave made among the Yao has resembled that of the Anyanja,<sup>3</sup> a long pit with a chamber scooped out along the whole length of one side. In this, the corpse is placed in a fully extended position so that it lies on its back with the feet toward the east. With this exception, the account given above holds good for the present day. The method of suspending the corpse in a mat slung on forked sticks within the grave, mentioned in *Africana*,<sup>4</sup> is not found among the Amachinga Yao.

On the way back to the village, two *awilo* lead, followed by the men, the women, and lastly, by the other *awilo*. First, all wash, the men upstream, the women downstream; no one may wash another's back. The hoes used in digging the grave are also washed; hoes are never washed on any other occasion.

During the funeral, some responsible old man is left in charge of the village with several younger men to assist him. Just before the return of the funeral party is expected, the old man sends one of the younger men to set medicine at the side of the path along which the mourners will pass. This medicine is made from the bark of the *mpingo* tree and is used for purification; it is placed in a sherd. Each person as he arrives at the spot squats down, dips the little finger of each hand into the medicine, and passes the fingers between the little toe and the third toe of the corresponding foot. The last comer throws any remaining medicine into the bush. As they near the village, a gun is fired and wailing is resumed for a few minutes, after which it ceases altogether. The old man who has been left in charge of the village always inquires whether all has gone well at the interment.

That evening, the time is passed in singing *chindimba*.<sup>5</sup> All those who attended the burial, sleep in the village, and if the deceased's relatives can afford to provide the necessary food, all remain in the village for a number of days equal to the period which elapsed between death and burial. Sometimes, when burial was long delayed, the mourning party

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Macdonald, op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Vide infra, p. 367, 370.

<sup>3</sup> Stannus, 'Notes on natives of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 313.



might not break up for a week, but the practice was often modified to some degree, people returning to their homes during the day and coming back each night to sleep in the deceased's village. At the present time, there is a tendency to cut the proceedings short, and the mourners generally disperse on the second day after the funeral. This period of waiting is usually whiled away by playing and singing *chindimba*.

On the day before the company leaves the village — now, often on the day after the funeral — the ceremony of shaving the head takes place. The *awilo*, assisted in the case of a large party, by those who helped at the burial, shave the heads of all the dead man's relatives. When this is completed, they begin to tear down the deceased's house. The grass from the roof, with the hair removed from the heads of the relatives, is carried to the cross-roads and burned. The walls of earth are torn down and made into a heap; on the top, a stick is raised, and at its base is placed the dead man's snuff box. Sometimes a cactus euphorbia, *ngachi*, is planted on the mound and cassava round about. The snuff box is kept replenished with snuff. This, with the cassava, is reserved for the *awilo*; no one else may partake of them.

While the house is being pulled down, the chief *mbilo* ties around the neck of the widow a single string of beads or a small piece of calico, *ng'onji*. After the house has been demolished, the *awilo* return to their homes and on the following morning, everyone else departs.

The position of *mbilo* is a strange one. Every man in the course of his life probably acts as undertaker for some friend; many have probably performed the service several times. He receives no regular payment, but beads, and, nowadays, coins are often thrown into the pot of water with which he wets the heads of those he shaves after the funeral, and he has the freedom of the village in which he has so acted forever afterward, the degree of freedom being determined by the distance which he has travelled to officiate. When Wandalama died, a headman named Chisui from Makanjila's on Lake Nyasa, over a hundred miles away, acted as one of the *awilo*. The occasions on which he revisited Malemya's village are well remembered, as they were marked by much frolicking and some obscenity. He was the recipient of enormous presents of fowls, sheep, and anything else he cared to take, and having commandeered men from the village to carry these gifts for him, he would leave, accompanied by all the people, yelling and shouting their joy at seeing him again.

Any fowls or other provisions that friends may present to the deceased's relatives at the time of the funeral to help defray expenses are given to the *awilo*; no one else may eat them. Some may be kept against the next death in the family.

A few days after the funeral, recourse is had to the chief to settle whether any action must be taken in regard to the cause of the death. Some near relative of the dead man will be chosen for this purpose; he must not be shaved by the *awilo* at the time of the funeral. The consultation takes place at some secluded spot outside the village. The chief always brings some one with him to witness what is said. On arriving at the appointed place, the chief salutes the unshaven mourner who is probably accompanied by other relatives, and



then listens to an account of the circumstances attending the illness and death. The point at issue is whether there is any evidence pointing to death from unnatural causes which requires consulting a diviner. The chief practically always agrees with the relatives, and it is said that he will never press them to go to the *wachisango* unnecessarily. The case may end with this conference, or here may begin the long series of events described under *usawi*.<sup>1</sup>

During the month subsequent to the funeral, certain taboos have to be observed. The widow may not bathe, and with the exception of the *awilo*, all who attended must refrain from sexual intercourse. At the expiration of this period, beer is brewed in the village, and all the friends and relatives are again summoned. This beer-drinking is called "the beer of rottenness," or "the beer of resignation." In addition to the beer, food is provided, and everyone helps himself without ceremony. *Chindimba* is sung and danced and at the present day, bands of trained dancers attend, including *ching'wenyeng'wenye*.<sup>2</sup> A pot of beer is sunk into the ground, marking the site of the dead man's house. The night of *matapata*<sup>3</sup> sees husbands and wives reunited, and the widow may go through ceremonial intercourse with a man appointed for the purpose called *litunu* or *mbilo*. Sometimes the widow refuses *litunu*, and is given medicine instead to cleanse her; her body is then no longer "hot" and likely to bring disease to those about her. A widow does not marry again for two or three years. A young man who loses his wife has no longer any standing in her village after *matapata*. He is usually given a present, with the suggestion that he go elsewhere. After the death of an infant, the mother is considered unclean. She sleeps on a mat apart from her husband till after the ceremony of shaving, and then undergoes a ceremonial coitus with her husband — in which case he is called *litunu* — after which, ordinary cohabitation is resumed. If she has been a widow, or if the child was born "with disease,"<sup>4</sup> another man acts as *litunu*.

The morning following *matapata*, all the fires in the village are extinguished. A fresh blaze is then kindled with the fire-drill, *lumangu*, either in the chief's house or in some spot nearby, and from there, fire is carried to all the houses. The ashes of the old fires, the stones supporting the cooking pots, and the porridge sticks are taken to the cross-roads, and there destroyed. Everyone then shaves all his own hair, head, axillae, and pubis. The custom of the second shaving by the *awilo*, described in *Africana*,<sup>5</sup> is, I think, an adaptation from the Anyanja. A year later, beer is again brewed, and all the relatives summoned to the village to partake of it. There is dancing, but no ceremony.

The Yao bury their dead in regular graveyards in wooded country, the thicker the forest the better, often two or three miles away from a group of villages. Different villages bury their dead in different parts of the burial ground; relatives are usually buried near one another. Graves are never revisited, and no one would enter a graveyard except at the time of a funeral, and then only after obtaining permission from the chief. Such spots are

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Beer-drinking.

<sup>5</sup> Macdonald, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Vide infra, p. 370 and Pl. I.

<sup>4</sup> Vide infra, p. 286.

supposed to be the abode of spirits. Except in the case of chiefs, the Wayao never make any erections over their graves, like the Anyanja grass shelters, and the present-day Mohammedan earth imitations of Swahili tombs.

Chiefs, and the more important headmen, are usually buried in their own villages. Over the grave, a grass hut with a veranda is erected; the hut is covered with calico, and guns were formerly set in as veranda posts. Guns and ivory used to be buried with the corpse but these Yao, I am told, never practiced the barbarous custom of burying slaves with their chiefs. Information of the death of a chief was always conveyed to other chiefs by slaves who were kept by the recipient of the message.

Since the time of the old Malemya, the corpse of a chief always lies with its head in the direction of the old chief's grave. The grave is swept around, and the house pulled down as in the case of an ordinary man, but the grave-hut is rebuilt every year and never forgotten.

Since the burial of the dead is more or less correlated with the idea of planting seed from which progeny will spring, the natives will not bury a leper, believing that if they did so, leprosy would spring up all around them. Persons dying of an epidemic disease such as small-pox are dealt with in the same way. In these cases and in that of a man dying of ordeal poison, the body is enclosed in a mat and put up in a tree, a manner of disposing of the dead common among the Anguru and some Anyanja. Concerning death from dropsy, similar precautions are taken to those in the instance of a woman dying in childbirth,<sup>1</sup> and a tube is put down to the body from the surface of the ground.

A leper feeling that the end is near, will ask to be put in a hut built outside the limits of the burial ground. Here, provided with water and food for a few days, he will wait to die near the graveyard wherein he knows he cannot be buried.

Anyone who is wounded with a spear or any other weapon is not taken into the village, but is kept in a hut in the bush. If death results, the mourning ceremonies differ somewhat from the ordinary rites and are much curtailed.

**Initiation Ceremonies.** Under this heading I propose to deal with the three ceremonies, *Lupanda*, *Chiputu* and *Litiwo*. They are occasions of great importance in the life of the native and their educative effect for the good of the tribe is far reaching.

At *Lupanda* (*Ndagala*) the young boys attend; at *Chiputu* the young girls go through their initiation and a side ceremony for young married men takes place, while *Litiwo* celebrates the first quickening with child. All the ceremonies are included in the word *Unyago*. Macdonald in *Africana* while referring to "the mysteries"<sup>2</sup> gives scant information about the ceremonies and has, presumably, without much knowledge of what goes on, condemned these customs like many others as furthering "absurd superstitions." He has failed to recognize that they are occasions when a large amount of useful advice is imparted, good manners are insisted on, and tribal custom is made known. Sexual questions are dealt with in these mysteries, and, though mixed up with a large amount of superstition, a

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, ch. 7.



code of morals is imparted which is far reaching for the social welfare. Macdonald makes the statement that "when a girl is initiated, she must find some man to be with her on her return; otherwise she will die."<sup>1</sup> Speaking with reserve as to what happened among the Amangoche around Blantyre Mission thirty years ago, I believe that no such practice is or was part of the Machinga Yao ceremonies. I have heard similar stories from other Europeans but I am inclined to discredit the whole idea as a practice among any section of Yao. Of the Anyanja, I cannot speak with the same conviction. Similarly I believe that the practice of artificial dilatation of the vagina is foreign to the Yao though possibly introduced in some places from the Swahili.

At *Lupanda* and *Chiputu*, the youth have to undergo a good deal of hardship which is all for their benefit, but year by year, as civilization progresses, greater numbers forego these ceremonies. Their manners and morals suffer in consequence, and one is forced to acknowledge with the "old people" that the younger generation, decked in European clothes, with an air of smug self-conceit, no longer shows that decorum and self-respect which characterize the older, unsophisticated natives. My experience with regard to the attitude of natives to their initiation ceremonies differs from those related in *Africana* and I am afraid that Macdonald's native friends<sup>2</sup> were laughing at the inquisitiveness of the white man and not at their own experience.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1913,<sup>3</sup> Dr. Davey and I gave a short account of part of the ceremony at *Lupanda*. Since then, through the friendliness of some of the chiefs in Zomba district, I have been present at several more ceremonies. I have collected a number of fresh observations and made a complete set of sketches of the *inyago* or images in relief made on the ground at one of these ceremonies. I have also a complete account of the boys' ceremonies from a celebrated master of ceremonies or *m'michila* as he is called, named Mlemala (Kumpika) of Che-chamba, in his own words, with his own songs. In writing down the songs, I have simply recorded the words, without giving the many full and partial repeats, and I have never attempted to score down the airs to which they are sung.

In the account given below I shall follow Mlemala's practice, giving such variations as I myself have observed. It will be understood that each *m'michila* has his own way of doing things so that there may be many variations in detail.

*Lupanda*: Every year, a certain number of boys in a group of villages reach the age at which the ceremony is commonly performed. In response to requests made by the village headmen, the chief appoints a date on which the *unyago* shall be held; this is usually towards the end of the dry season (September) but before the long grass of the bush has been burnt, as this affords the necessary privacy to those taking part.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> H. S. Stannus and J. B. Davey, 'The initiation ceremony for boys among the Yao of Nyasaland', (*Jour. Anth. Inst.*, London, 1913, vol. 43, p. 119-123).



The chief, having appointed a day on which the ceremonies shall begin, sends a messenger with a fowl to a medicine-man whom he asks to conduct the ceremonies. The medicine-man is called *m'michila* "he of the tails." He carries his medicines stuffed in the tail-skin of a gnu or zebra and we shall see that his tail or tails play a very important part. Having sent word back to the chief of his acceptance of the invitation, he gets his wife to prepare some fresh castor-oil with which he will remake his medicines, and sends out the boys of the village to collect firewood. A big bonfire is made and dancing goes on all that night in his village. Early next morning he returns to the door of his hut where his wife hands him his "tails." He then immediately departs for the village of the chief. His wife trills with her tongue, this being the sign of his departure, and dancing men, some friend (often his brother) who acts as his chief assistant, his wife, and others will go with him.

He signals his approach to the chief's village by singing:

"Ku	musi'ko	ngwisa,	ngwisa'ne!	Tingaiche!"
"You	at	the	village!	I shan't be long!"

As he enters the village, all the women hail his arrival by trilling the tongue (*ku-luluta*). He goes straight to the open space in front of the chief's house where the chief meets him. The chief immediately goes into his house and producing a cloth, gives it to the *m'michila* who then places his "tail" on the ground, (*ndulilo*, "things put down"); these are the signs of the compact. A house is given to the *m'michila* wherein he may rest and sleep.

That night, all the mothers of the boys who are to undergo their initiation, now called *wali* (sing. *mwali*), pound flour for the morrow. Early the next morning, the *m'michila* visits the place where the pounding is going on and collects a little flour from each woman's basket into a small basket he himself carries.

The chief then gives him a cock and a hen, an axe and a hoe; with these he goes off accompanied by the fathers of the *wali* to the spot where *Lupanda* will be made. Arrived there, he first points out the spot where his own hut is to be erected. This is quickly built, followed by the shelters for the *wali*.

The cock and hen are then killed and cooked, also some porridge; the entire fowl is cooked; the liver is not cooked separately. When it is ready, the *m'michila* takes a piece of the liver from the pot and some porridge from the other pot together in one hand and then throws them into a little hole where his "tail" has been resting. At this spot, *Lupanda* is made. The *m'michila* then partakes of both again and eats; after he has finished, the other men eat.

After the building of the shelters is finished, fire-wood is collected. On the roofs of the grass shelters figures of animals in grass may be strung up on posts, but they have no definite significance.

In the meantime in the village, the chief has had *mbepesi* (ceremonial flour) prepared. It is made from millet by his head wife, who must not be near a menstrual period.

When the sun sets, all the boys to undergo the ceremonies (*wali*) together with their sponsors or guardians, *akamusi*, (*mkamusi* sing.) are called together to the village open-space (*pang'anya*). The *mkamusi* attends his ward throughout the ceremony; he may be an elder brother, an uncle, or someone else who volunteers for the service.

The *wali* are lined up and headed by a "leader," *nachilongola*, who is usually the most important boy, perhaps a relative of the chief; thus they pass one by one in front of the chief who anoints each on the forehead with *mbepesi* from a small basket. As each boy passes, his mother runs up and throws into the basket a string of beads or nowadays small silver coins. When all have passed, the chief sends some near relative with the basket still containing some flour and the beads or money to the *m'michila* who is waiting at *Lupanda*.

This is his signal to prepare to receive the *wali*; he dresses, and accompanied by drummers goes to meet the file of *wali*. The *wali* accompanied by their *akamusi*, their mothers and sisters, sing as they approach:

"*Tuuje kanga (unyago) ukakuli tuuje!*"

"Let us go back, perhaps there is no ceremony!"

The *m'michila* as he meets them sings:

"*Anachichi pakwisa nawo wanache'wa kuleka lilombe kwisa nalyo?*"

"Why to come with them these children to leave (a small drum) to come with it?"

and follows this in answer to the song of the *wali* with:

"*Ku mkuli mkauja, (Repeat) Kwa kwa! (Chorus) Mkauja wose!*"

"To the village don't go back. Don't go back all!"

The *wali* now on the outskirts of *Lupanda* are formed into a ring, behind them their *akamusi* and behind these their mothers and sisters. Then the *m'michila* leads the way to *Lupanda* singing:

"*Likumbo lya ndembo!*"

"Spoor of an elephant!"

Next, he calls all the mothers to form in two lines resting at right angles on *Lupanda* and sings to them:

"*Kapungu tula pasi kwin'ani kwangali ulongo!*"

"The eagle lighted on the ground as in the air there is not near relationship!"

The *m'michila* and his chief assistant each provided with a "tail" strike lightly on the basket which each woman has on her head; then each with a hand on the basket, they lift it down to the ground. Starting with the mother of the "leader," they go round to each mother in turn. The *m'michila* then to the sound of drums and clapping by the women dances and runs round peeping into each basket exclaiming, "I see so and so in this basket!" saying noses, penes, medicine, women's pudenda and so on, after which the women take the baskets of food away to the boys' shelters. The *m'michila* next sings:

"*Tingamtote mwanangu ku Lupanda, pingu uja'pa kundenda manganga!*"  
 "I will go and bring my child to *Lupanda*, when I am going home I feel nervous!"

and running round he seizes hold of one of the *wali* and makes him sit down at *Lupanda*, continuing this until he has placed them all in a circle round *Lupanda*. He then sings a song about the little basket which the chief sent him containing the remains of the *mbepesi* flour:

"*Kaselo asyene akuwilisya, napele mberemende, amao!*"  
 "Little basket the owner asks for it back, give me beans, mother!"

His wife who has been waiting in his hut nearby brings him the basket. Holding it in his hands, he prays to the spirits of his ancestors and all the previous medicine-men to whom his medicine-tails have belonged, invoking their aid that the ceremonies may go well.

Still holding the basket he begins to dance, singing:

"*Apakale mbepesi jao!*"  
 "Let them (us) smear flour their (Let us baptize them!)"

and dipping his right elbow into the basket he smears each *mwali* on the forehead with the *mbepesi* flour. He then goes into his hut and fetches a bundle of powdered roots (which no woman may touch), medicine called *mtibulo*, that is, a medicine used for its aphrodisiac properties. Holding the medicine between the palms of his uplifted hands, he starts singing:

"*Kukusimonga kuchigopola, twatawaga mlamu!*"  
 "I cannot find out how to untie this, we tied (with) my brother-in-law!"

He is immediately surrounded by his assistants and the drummers, who dance round him, all holding their hands about his own, after which he unfastens the bundle of medicine and puts a little on the tongue of each *mwali*, beginning with the leader. He then takes some sweet-beer made by the chief's wife and pouring it into his old medicine-gourd, he mixes in some *mtibulo* and gives some to each *mwali* to drink after which he sings:

"*Amwela,<sup>1</sup> amwela msunje wa imanga, chakulya mandanda*  
 "You have drunk a mixture of water and maize flour, of eating eggs  
*achileche panopano, Amwela, amwela ndundile makweso;*  
 you stop now, you have drunk (but) I have passed water (in it);  
*wati(ji) kalamuka!*"  
 you thought to be clever!"

Next he goes into his hut with the small basket containing the *mbepesi* and paints his assistant with the flour, a semicircle round the forehead, a line down the middle of the face, a band across the chest, a line down each arm with rings round the arms and forearms, and a line down the middle of the back. They go out again into the ring and while the *m'michila* sings:

<sup>1</sup> This may be a reference to *amwele*, the sacrificial cup.



"*Nampopo londola chisango amwali ku malembe kwendela kurwila!*"  
 "The lizard casts lots boys to graves as to going to die!"

his assistant with the basket held in his mouth acts the part of the *nampopo*, a medium-sized lizard with brilliant blue body and orange head which bobs its head up and down. The assistant lies on his belly and bobs his head and shoulders up and down, lifting himself on his hands. (Children often clap their hands as they watch the *nampopo* bobbing up and down "like a lot-caster" and call out to it to cast lots for them.) The assistant then crawls up to the leader and puts the basket on his head. Bowing his face to the ground for a moment, he again takes the basket and places it on the head of the next *mwali* and so on all around.

After this the *wali* go and sit near the bonfire which is not yet lighted, while the *m'michila* sings to the women:

"*Ngund(e) ateleche! kajosolo!*"  
 "The beans! Let him cook a cricket."

and the women give him a basket of beans with which he makes sifting movements, singing: "Shall I throw them away, shall I put them in the cooking pot?" while the women clap.

His assistants are then told to go and light the bonfire. He himself goes to his hut and places his "tails" in the *mbepesi* basket, and carrying it to the bonfire, he throws some of the flour on the fire, "to regulate its heat." This is the sign to begin the dancing which goes on all night while the *wali* lie round the fire, each lying with his head on the waist of the next, the leader in front.

In the early morning of the second day, the *m'michila* holding his "tails" in his hands runs astraddle over all the reclining *wali* and facing the same way, runs back, after which the boys are called.

He sings a song:

"*Masalau (a) 'go kundumaga!*"  
 "The red ants those bite!"

and he pretends to pick them off the boys. After this, he sings:

"*Natuteni kongo mkakuligwe! (mkakulugwe)!*"  
 "Push clitoris little mother!"

as he goes to each *mwali* and throws his "tail" into the boy's hands, receives it back and then puts it on his head till the mother places a coin on his head which is the payment made to the assistant. *Ku-kugwa* = to occur; *ngakugwa* = not at home; *mkakuligwe* = is it not at home, is it not present? The meaning of the phrase in the song is, "Is your mother not here to pay the fee?" *Mkakuligwe* is a pun on *mkakulugwe*, "little mother." This is followed by another song:

"*Kapimbi'gwe, ugwe sanga mtela!*"  
 "The little lemur, you jump from tree to tree!"

as he climbs a tree with his back to the trunk; at the top he hangs by his legs and looks down on the crowd, his assistants doing the same. Coming down he runs to his hut; throwing his "tail" into the air and catching it again, he enters.

This is about nine A.M.; all rest till about eleven o'clock, the *wali* meanwhile eating food cooked by their mothers in the shelters. About eleven o'clock, the *m'michila* takes a big gourd and putting his "tails" into it covered with a calico cloth, gives it to his assistant who carries it on his head and follows him to a pool of water, accompanied by all the women except any young ones who have not borne children. He invites them to go "crab hunting."

At the pool he enters the water with his assistants round him, except the assistant with the gourd, who stands on the bank. The *m'michila* makes movements as of hunting for crabs in the water singing:

"Chisasangala                      ngalili                      ugali wangu                      wosuma!"

"There must be hunting otherwise I should have had to eat porridge    my without relish!"

He pretends to catch a crab and his hands are immediately grasped by his assistants in the water who all help him to convey it to the gourd as the "tail" is taken out of it.

The crowd then returns to *Lupanda* to enact the *nambande* ceremony. *Nambande* is a representation of an animal made of bark on a frame-work covered with mud and painted with flour in spiral markings, hence the name (*mbande* is a part of a spiral shell from the Zanzibar coast much prized by natives as an ornament). The animal is really the sable antelope with horns and the *m'michila*'s "tails" in place; there is a man inside it. It is made perhaps a mile away and then brought near to *Lupanda* and placed in a cleared area.

The *m'michila* on his return from crab-hunting has gone into his hut and put on his full regalia; then, accompanied by his drummers, he comes out and is immediately followed by the *wali* and the rest of the crowd; knowing where the *nambande* will be put, he leads the people in the opposite direction calling out to them to look out for the antelope. They, of course, all look in the wrong direction, so when he knows *nambande* is in place, he wheels around and sings, "There is the animal!"

In the old days the chief was present for this, a platform being built for him. When the *nambande* appeared, he gave his hunters much powder (no bullets) and they shot at the animal. The animal would fall as if hit and the *m'michila* would approach to claim it as his beast, but it would promptly get up and charge, to be driven off by the crowd, whereupon it would run away into the bush.

Lots are then cast by the *m'michila*, using a tortoise shell stuffed with medicine. The *wali* all stand in a circle with their mothers behind them, while the *m'michila* goes to the leader and throws the tortoise at the boy's chest. If it sticks there, all is well and he proceeds to each boy. Should the shell not stick on the boy's chest, it portends ill-luck to that individual and he has to be dealt with further. The *m'michila*, holding his "tail," and his assistant holding a horn of medicine, stand back to back, with the boy between

them. They then rub the boy up and down with their backs, after which the assistant throws the horn at the boy's chest. If it sticks, the bad-luck is overcome and the women will trill joyfully with their tongues; if it drops to the ground, evil is foretold and forebodings as to the boy's fate at *Ndagala* are whispered round. He is given further medicine against the predicted evil, but lots will not again be cast about him.

Next the *m'michila* sings:

"*Namchechere maumbo, wanjoko nganawe, jisa ngumoje*  
 "The one who scrapes hairs, (your) father is still living, come that I may shave thee,  
*namchechere maumbo, wanjoko nganawe!*"  
 the one who scrapes hairs, (your) father is still living! (Chorus) "*Jondi, jondi!*"

*Jondi* is a word meaning "sticking up in all directions" and refers to the hair.

One assistant holds a pot of water, a second, a leaf of the *mpembu* tree, and the *m'michila* a razor. They approach the leader; water is rubbed on the forehead by the first assistant, the second smears the place with the leaf. The *m'michila* then removes a little tuft of hair from the boy's forehead and puts it in the boy's left palm, followed by the nail parings from the left hand, and a tuft of hair from the back of the head. This is done to each *mwali* in turn after which he sings:

"*Twamoje lipalamandule!*"  
 "Let us shave them" (*ku-palamandula*, to trim by shaving)

as he walks round them, after which the boys go to their mothers who are allowed to trim the hair on the forehead in any way they like. This may take ten minutes, after which they return, still holding their hair and nails in their hands. As they return, the *m'michila*, thrusting his "tail" under the left arm, starts off, all the *wali* falling in behind him, and thus he leads the way into the bush accompanied only by the *wali*, singing:

"*Kapili ka msolo! amwali!*"  
 "The Kapili snake the msolo tree *amwali!*"

He searches through the forest until he finds *chikula*, a small dome-shaped ant hill about a foot high. He carries his "tail" under his arm and a reed-buck's horn of medicine in his hand. Arrived at the *chikula*, he chips the top off the ant hill with the horn and his "tail," scoops a hole in the exposed surface with the horn, and then smears this hollow with medicine from the horn. The leader then approaches and drops his hair and nail parings little by little into the hole, followed by each *mwali* in turn; each immediately turns about and never looks back on the ant hill. When all have done so, the *m'michila* sets the top of the ant hill back into its place, having the "tail" and medicine horn in his axilla; he then turns about and becomes the last of the file as they march back to *Lupanda* while he sings the same song as before.

This particular ceremony is the most sacred of the *Unyago* as it is known only to the *wali*. It is the sign of burying the past of childhood. If another *m'michila* could find such



a place, he would take part of it and its contents and add to his own medicine "to make him a more powerful *m'michila*."

On the way back, the *m'michila* takes a piece of bamboo in his right hand and when he comes to a *mjombo* sapling, the boys all surround him in a ring; with the "tail" in his left hand he strikes the *mjombo* sapling, and as it rebounds, he strikes it with the bamboo; while the sapling swings backwards and forwards, he sings:

"Ngoma      ngomene                      mlasì      nì      mjombo!  
 "Striking I have struck together   the bamboo   and   the mjombo tree!  
*kalinolela*<sup>1</sup>                      amwali                      kalinolela!"  
 sharpen for yourself "

The *m'michila* takes both his "tails." Holding them in his left hand against the *mjombo* sapling, the bushy part of the tails uppermost, and in the other hand a stick smeared with beeswax, he rubs the sapling at a point just below the "tails," still singing the song given above. The stick is said to represent an axe. After this, he takes a real axe and cuts off the top of the sapling. Then all the boys seize the sapling and work the bark off without cutting it anywhere, while the *m'michila* continues to sing. The bark he puts in his armpit and sings as he jumps about:

"Tinjigwila      peyenje,      (lichenje)      chiguluka      guluka!"  
 "I shall fall into the pit,                      jumping about here and there!"

When they arrive at *Lupanda*, the *m'michila* unseen goes to his own hut to make string from the bark, the boys to the place where *Lupanda* is made. This is at about three in the afternoon.

When the string is ready, the *m'michila* takes it to cross-roads, plaits it into necklaces, and anoints them with medicine for the *wali*. On his return to his own house, the mothers have cooked porridge for the boys, and the baskets of food are put ready at *Lupanda*. The *m'michila* then steps in and sings:

"Tolo      (nji)                      winji      wana      amao, wosepe wakwagawilape!"  
 "(A) little mouse (has) many children, mother, all are to be fed!"

As he does so, he takes some food in his hand and puts it into the mouth of the leader, and so on all round, while all the people keep at a distance. Then with a hoe he makes a small mound where *ching'unda-ng'unda* will be erected and puts on it a little of the *mbepesi* from his house. Here he seats the leader and round him sit all the other *wali*. The *m'michila* then sings:

"Tinawule      chuma      changu      lelo kwakuja'ko                      akuwangala                      ngasauja!"  
 "I will take off beads my      today where they go to      it seems      they will never come back!"

<sup>1</sup> *Ku-nola*, to whet a knife.

He collects from the boys' necks the beads they are wearing, lifting them off with his medicine horn; these are all his perquisites, to be sent off to his house. He then starts singing:

"*Nachilongola Lupanda nyama ngulungwa yelele jakusomaga, mchila!*"  
 "The leader (of) *Lupanda* (is) an animal big worth killing with a spear, tail!"

This means to the leader's relatives that the boy is worth a spear; one is promptly brought and leaned against the leader; the *m'michila* steps up and taking it, bends the spearhead and sends it towards his house. He then sings:

"*Njejeka nati kalungu kwejeka nati*  
 "Things which are put to lean up against even little sugar cane to lean things up against even  
*kapamba kwejeka!*"  
 little arrow!"

The relatives then bring all kinds of presents and lean them against the boys; these are the perquisites of the dancing men. The *wali* go away to eat now with their *akamusi* behind the shelters. The *akamusi* tie up any food that is left in leaves, for later use. They then return to the roughly-made *ching'undang'unda* where the *m'michila* meets them. The *wali* stand in a circle round him and outside them in a ring, the parents, while the leader is set on the *ching'undang'unda* mound.

The *m'michila* sings:

"*Ananjati ndenga pa mtw'po tagani utandi, ankunga, ambiranja!*"  
 "You of the buffalo hair (lit. feathers) on the head you put flour *ankunga* call me."

as he then goes around and touches each *mwali* with his "tail." The idea here is that the *wali* with flour on their foreheads resemble buffaloes which have white patches on their horns, and they will therefore be as strong as these beasts in the bush whither they are about to go.

The *m'michila* then runs away to his hut and breaking a hole through the back, makes for the bush. The assistants know this disappearance is the signal of his departure for *Ndagala*. This happens about four o'clock. All exclaim "*Aaaah!*"; (to exclaim thus is *kwamira*, "to exclaim with apprehension.") The assistants head off in the same direction, followed by the *akamusi* and their *wali*, while the mothers of the boys who may never see them again, throw sticks on the path as they run away as the sign of forgetting their sons for the time being.

All the men will also accompany the *wali* until they find the *m'michila*. He having left the chief's basket at *Lupanda* has brought some of the *mbepesi* with him in his own basket. One of the men brings a gourd full of water; the *m'michila* pours some of the water into his basket of flour and gives a drink of this first to the leader and then to each *mwali*

in turn. After drinking, they sit down while the *m'michila* gives instructions that here they sleep tonight. He takes his basket and starts to run back to *Lupanda*, singing:

" Ku	twajile	yeleleiya	achambuje	kutwajire	ku Munde!"
" Where	we went to		masters		to Munde!"

Then going to the back of his hut, he enters and takes a piece of bark left there bent up into a dish containing medicine which has been put in by an assistant. This assistant holds in his hand the neck of one of the fowls which was killed at *Lupanda*. The *m'michila* washes his face and chest with medicine to cleanse his eyes and then leans forward to the assistant and bites a piece off the neck of the fowl which the assistant holds out, and eats it. This is *ku-lumira*, "to taste a small piece," often the liver, before starting to eat the flesh; this is generally done by the most important person. The *m'michila* has been followed by his assistants who do as he has done. They all follow him next round the cooking place for the boys at *Lupanda*, each standing for a moment on the stones which have supported the cooking pots, while the women sit looking on sadly. He begins to dance and the women join in, singing *likwata*. He then calls the parents of the *wali* and leads them to where the bonfire was. There assembled, he tells them they must not bathe, and that tomorrow morning early, porridge is to be sent to the *wali* which must be prepared by a woman who has had connection with her husband and who has not washed her hands; this is supposed to make the boys strong. Early in the morning, the husband, who likewise has not washed his hands, carries the food to the *wali* and personally gives portions to each boy to eat.

When they have partaken of the food, the circumcision is performed by the *m'michila* who has returned the same morning early. The *wali* one by one, commencing with the leader, go forward a little to the place where the *m'michila* awaits them. Each *mwali* is accompanied by his *mkamusi* who commonly says, "Come along and you shall eat of the honey made by the bumblebee." Such honey is very sweet and called *msoma*. This refers in sarcastic terms to the pain the boy is about to undergo. The boy squats down, leaning back on his *mkamusi* who supports him, while the medicine-man, having warned the lad not to cry out, performs the circumcision with a small knife called *chisondo*. It is a triangular knife with one cutting edge and a handle produced from the opposite corner. Properly the Yao method is, I believe, only to nick the free margin of the prepuce just to the right of the middle line near the frenum, but complete circumcision is now commonly practiced, possibly as the result of Swahili influence. In this case, the prepuce is seized and held by the fingers, and division made by a circular incision without using a clamp or forked stick. A dressing of charcoal and oil may be applied or medicine is chewed in the mouth and the saliva spat on the wound and the boy sent on to rest under some convenient tree.

When all the *wali* have been circumcised, they are gathered together in one place and the *m'michila* dividing them into groups, puts on the neck of the leader of each group a necklace made of plaited bark from the *mjombo* tree:<sup>1</sup> these necklaces contain medicine

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 254.



against all evils — witchcraft, attack by lions, etc. The *akamusi* then set about building shelters in which the *wali* will remain during their term of instruction. According to the number of the *wali* so the number of places where shelters are built may vary from one, two or three, to as many as eight. Each of these places is called *Ndagala*. They may be many miles apart and are so placed for the convenience of the mothers in various groups of villages who bring the food daily to the group of boys from those villages.

The boys when they originally left the village were wearing a large bark-cloth covering, with beads and calico, which latter articles have been taken by the *m'michila* and his assistants. At *Ndagala* they wear simply a loin-cloth of bark.

During their stay at *Ndagala*, the *wali* are given animal names by the *akamusi* who carry on the instruction of the boys until their return to *Lupanda*, the *m'michila* having gone back to his village immediately after the circumcision. The names given to the boys are commonly names of beasts of prey such as Alikule (*likule* = the jackal), Achisuwi (*chisuwi* = the leopard), etc.

Certain restrictions as to diet are laid upon the *wali* by the *m'michila*, e.g. no meat of an animal killed by a beast of prey, no mudfish, *likambale*. He will not allow any villager to visit *Ndagala* after seven P.M. and visitors may only be men who have been through the ceremony. An uncircumcised man is called *mbalale*, one who has not been to his *Unyago*.

Other restrictions as to foodstuffs may be made by the *akamusi*, generally in connection with the mythical origin of such food substances. A finger-shaped yam called *lipeta* is taboo, as it is said to have first sprung from the grave of a leper, the inference being obvious. After the *Unyago*, the boys have to undergo a special doctoring before they may partake of them. Bananas and rice are similarly refused them, the latter on account of a story to the effect that rice grew from the nostrils of a dead man, the idea doubtless having relation to the resemblance of rice grains to maggots. Fish is denied them by some masters of ceremonies, as it is said to have originated from the diaper of a woman which she threw away while bathing.

Each *m'michila* may have special observances of his own. One near Zomba caused all cassava to be roasted in a certain way. Rows of pieces of cassava were placed in split bamboo spits and so roasted before the fire in the manner of fish. If roasted in the ordinary way, the cassava would split and show the white floury material inside, signified by the verb *ku-lagala*. If this is eaten by the *wali*, it is said that the preputial wound would reopen.

The length of time spent at *Ndagala* varies from four weeks to as long as three or four months. In the first place they must wait till the circumcision wounds of all are completely healed. Delay may be occasioned by complications having arisen in some cases. Again, permission to return may be withheld by the chief for some reason or other. Should one of the *wali* die at *Ndagala*, the body is buried out in the bush and nothing is said to the parents until after the ceremonies are over and all have returned to the village.

During the period of seclusion at *Ndagala*, rigorous discipline is maintained among the boys, the day commencing with bathing in a stream whither the *wali* are driven before sunrise, a favorite form of punishment being to make the boy sit for hours in the cold water. Other disciplinary measures take the form of frequent beatings. At one *Unyago* I know of, there was a kind of mutiny among the boys. The *akamusi* from a nearby *Unyago* were called in and the boys received very severe "hidings" for their trouble.

For the entire time, the *wali* are occupied in receiving instruction given by their *akamusi*, on the discipline of manhood; they are taught native custom as applied to their relations with their fellows, an exacting code of etiquette to be observed to their elders, and the observances of married life. They learn to become proficient in the arts associated with their sex — the making of baskets, mats, traps, etc., the method of agriculture, drumming and dancing. They stay up late into the night listening to the stories of their tribal history.

Until such time as the circumcision wound is healed, each boy must cook his own food, after which food is brought ready cooked by his mother.

Posted in the bush a little way from the encampment are some of the boy's guardians, *akamusi* or *alombwe* (sing. *mlombe*) who act as pickets to warn off innocent or intentional intruders. They are armed with sticks, etc., and give pretty severe treatment to any inquisitive persons they catch. A visitor to *Ndagala* may be required by them to give visible evidence of not being *mbalale*. The mothers who come with food call from a distance, "*Alomwe ndute!*" Answer is made, "*Atutulile tulye!*" "Put down for us that we may eat."

When the chief decides that the time has come for the return from *Ndagala*, he sends for the *m'michila*. Arrived in the village with medicine which he has collected, he is given millet by the mother of the leader from which the malt for beer making is to be prepared, also a cock and a hen and a pot. Into the pot he puts a tail feather from the cock and one from the hen, together with his medicine; then the millet, and water is poured on, after which he goes to *Ndagala* and shaves the heads of all the *wali* beginning with the leader and then returns to his own village. When the millet has sprouted, the woman takes it out to dry on a mat, and the two feathers and the packet of medicine are laid on the mat by its side. From this time, all the mothers are busy preparing malted grain for brewing beer, and, when it is ready, the *m'michila* is again called to the village. He orders the women to prepare for brewing, to bring firewood, their brewing pots, and stones to support them on the fire. These are all set round in a circle in the presence of the chief and headmen. Across the stones the *m'michila* lays his "tails" and on the firewood he sprinkles some medicine; the "tails" are then removed and the pots set on the fire. Commencing with the pots belonging to the mother of the leader, he acts similarly all round. The following day, he again visits the scene of the brewing. Putting his "tails" on the ground, he dips from each pot in turn and pretending to drink the sweetbeer from the dipper, he empties it into other pots carried by his assistants. From his own pots, he then empties



some sweetbeer into a big gourd. These his assistants will carry away, together with a hoe, to *Lupanda*, whither the *m'michila* now goes to remain while brewing goes on for four days.

During their stay at *Lupanda*, the *m'michila* and his assistants live on flour and chickens begged from the mothers of the *wali*. On the first day nothing is done; on the second day they begin making the *Inyago* or figures in relief of animals, etc., to be described later; *Namungumi* is made this day. On the third day the other figures are made and on the fourth day *ching'undang'unda*. Into the ground where *ching'undang'unda* is made, some of the strong beer, known as *nganga*, which is added to the flour and water mixture on the fourth day as signified by *ku-kolojela*, is poured by the *m'michila*.

When the work at *Lupanda* is finished, the *m'michila* carrying his "tail" leads his assistants wearing their feather headdresses back to the chief's village singing:

"Ningalole	ukana	kanga	akolojele	ku	musi,	mulungu	achamao!
"I must go and see	beer	perhaps	they have mixed	at	the village,	ancestors	oh dear!
<i>Chilawile</i>	<i>chamajusi</i>		<i>ngalya</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>ningawile</i>		<i>sala!"</i>

The going out of a day or two ago if I had not taken tobacco I would have died of hunger!"

Arriving at the village where the brewing is going on, the *m'michila* takes a cup and putting his "tails" on the ground, he dips into the pot of beer belonging to the leader's mother, pours some on his "tail," and then drinks some. Then he puts more into a gourd, together with some medicine, and going up to the chief who sits in his verandah overlooking the brewing place, he kneels, and first drinking a little himself, he presents the drinking gourd of beer to the chief who drinks and then returns the cup to the *m'michila* who finishes it. Picking up his "tail," he then goes straight back to *Lupanda* while his assistants with some men nominated by the chief go round choosing pots of beer in turn. The assistants choose by striking a pot with a medicine-tail. These pots of beer are then put aside to cool, while moderate drinking begins in the chief's house. This takes place in the morning of the day on which the *wali* will return from *Ndagala* to *Lupanda*, and in the afternoon, the people from the villages will go out to *Lupanda* to take part in the return. The return is made about sunset.

The *wali* at *Ndagala* are put into their shelters and the doorways barricaded. At sunset or just after, the place is set on fire and the *wali* have to charge their way through the back of the shelters. They then form in line, wearing a slip of bark cloth round their loins and over this, a kind of kilt called *magajawisa* if made of frilled-out bark-cloth, or *majenga* if made of palm leaves. Accompanied by the *akamusi*, they proceed towards *Lupanda*, each carrying a stick of smouldering wood and an unlit torch of bark-cloth.

The burning of the huts at *Ndagala* has been the sign to the *m'michila* that the *wali* have left; he puts round his waist a bark cloth belt, *chamba*, and a calico sash round his chest with the ends hanging down behind and on his head he wears the *liunga* headdress made of the feathers of *chiunga*, the widow-bird. In each hand he carries the tail of gnu or zebra, held right end up, with the hollow end filled with "medicine." Thus arrayed, he goes out



along the path towards *Ndagala*, to meet the *wali*, accompanied by the drummers and all the women, singing:

"*Makomba kwiwanda sulo!*"  
 "The lemurs down the stream!"

When he meets the *wali*, they all throw their lighted torches at him and he flees back to *Lupanda*. The *wali* continue their procession and are brought round to the still unlit bonfire known as *chilangali*.

At the order of the *m'michila*, the fire is now lighted and the *wali* lie around it. The *m'michila* again appears with the drummers, and all the women and other villagers form a big circle round about. He sings:

"*Chomboko chikuweja mbeja, wandu'wa chikwajogopa!*"  
 "The (ford) fire is now flaring up people these it is afraid of them!"

Dancing and singing then go on all night while the *wali* lie round the fire where they are allowed to sleep. As dawn approaches, the *m'michila* again sings:

"*Chonde! Mwalira, amwali, Amsuse mwanache, mbule*  
 "Please! it is crying, you girl, arrange the child, the girdle of beads round its waist  
*uwoneche ukapagwe!*"  
 lest there be exposure of the person!"

*Amsuse*: a woman carries her child bound to her back by a piece of cloth passing under her own arms and tied in front. If the cloth gets loose, she jogs the child up higher on her back as she rearranges the cloth; this is what is meant by *amsuse*.

The *akamusi* waken the *wali* as the *m'michila* sings:

"*Kwambulira waka!*"  
 "To nose after the scent!"

That is, he is looking about for the *inyago*. He then leads them off to *nalumgumi*, the whale, the first of the *inyago*.

I shall first go on with an account of Mlemala's practice to the end of the ceremony and then discuss the *inyago* in greater detail.

Arrived at *nalumgumi*, the *m'michila* sings:

"*Nalumgumi nalitanda, nalumgumi asiwili kuchiko!*"  
 "The whale in the pool, the whale has blocked the ford!"

after which he straddles the head of the whale while one of his assistants does the same at the tail and thus sitting, they do a kind of wriggling dance, singing to the time marked by clapping of hands:

"*Nalumgumi atundumula, eh! eh!* (Repeat) *Apalapala wate kundema; apalapala*  
 "The whale showed his back above the water, eh! There it did fail me; there  
*wate kunumba; Kwa, kwa, kwa, kwa!*"  
 it did half break;"

The *m'michila* then gets off on the left side, his assistant on the right and they stand in the shallow depressions. The *m'michila* starts asking riddles; he says, "*Ndawi* (riddle)!" and is answered by his assistant "*Jiiche* (let it come)!" Here is one:

"*Kanyere, kapite pasi!*"  
 "The little mouse it has defecated, it has gone into the ground!"  
 Answer: "*Michiga!* (roots)!"

He then goes round the crowd for the answer — if they cannot guess, they say, "*Ali asyene,*" "it is yourself (to answer)." There are hundreds of such riddles.

The *m'michila* points to the tusks depicted in the *chinyago* and tells the people, "Long ago this used to be an elephant; look at the tusks." The hump at its back he tells them is the same as *ching'undang'unda* which they will find farther along.

They pass next to *mbunda*, the zebra; a pair, male and female, is always figured.

"*Ajiji ngati mbunda ja mbuje Achilemala! Yosepe yekoto!*"  
 "This one is it not the zebra of Mister Mlemala! everything (is) beautiful!"

Sometimes a story is told to show that the zebra used to go to the sea to drink but seeing the whale, he ran away and came to the country of the python.

Then to *sato*, the python; he sings:

"*Anasato kwajanji! yerere, eja! Yosepe yekoto!*"  
 "You python come and answer! all (is) beautiful!"

At the crocodile, *ngwena*, he sings:

"*Chengwena ulamba, yerere! eja! akugona mungulugulu mesi!*"  
 "Mr Crocodile cleverness, he sleeps at the side of the water!"

At *mwesi*, the moon:

"*Amwesi ulamba, yerere! eja, amao!*"  
 "You moon cleverness,!"

Next, they come to *wakolele ukana*, the people drunk with beer. Two men lie on the ground, feet to feet with nothing on; the pudenda are covered with bark-cloth and the whole of their bodies painted with earth and flour to look like two female figures in earth. The song is:

"*Wakolele ukana: kumlole amwali, wakolele ukana!*"  
 "Drunk with beer: come and see the women, drunk with beer!"

A moral is pointed: the disgrace to a woman who gets drunk, lies on the ground, and exposes her person. As the *m'michila* makes these remarks, the figures breathe stertorously as a drunken woman would. He conducts the *wali* and all the other people past many of the other images such as *chisui*, *ngaka*, *ndomondo*, *mbale*, etc., and only stays at those he considers his own special *inyago*. The seven specially dealt with by Mlemala were as above together with *mbalapi*, the sable antelope:

"Anambalapi    ulamba, yosepe                    yekoto!"  
 "You sable        deceit, everything    (is) lovely!"

Next comes *chomboko*, the ferry. There is no image but two posts represent the ferry; the *m'michila* stands on one side of the two posts with his two assistants opposite him, one holding a bunch of leaves, the other a burning log: the first fans the log of the second, using leaves as bellows, while the *m'michila* sings:

"Ngumba,        ngumba,        kujikututa, ngumba!"  
 "The female pudenda,        where it pushes itself!"

after which the *wali* one by one are pushed through between the two assistants. *Chomboko* signifies the passage from one part of the ceremony to another; here, from the *inyago* to *ching'undang'unda*. *Ku-jomboka* = to cross a stream.

As they reach *ching'undang'unda* the *m'michila* sings:

"Ching'undang'unda        nalilembile        jingawe        nguo        jakupochela        wailambo!"  
 "Ching'undang'unda        I have marked out if it were calico        distinctive of        chiefs!"

One of his assistants is told to go and get a pot of beer. When it is brought he sings:

"Amwali,        kamembe,        nawila                    kunyuma!"  
 "You girl, little fly,        wash your hands        behind you!"

This is the sign for the woman who volunteers for the service to the leader, to come forward, followed in turn, as each *mwali* is dealt with, by other women. The woman stands back to back with her *mwali* and they hold hands, while the *m'michila* comes and pours a little beer on their hands; they make movements as of washing the hands and then separate, the woman rejoining the crowd, the boy standing to one side until all have performed the rite. This woman ever afterwards is treated by the *mwali* as his adopted sister. After this, each *mkamusi* takes his *mwali* into the bush near by and holding the boy's cloth over the lad's head, he waits there for the boy's relatives to come and redeem him with fees. It is a point of honor that as many relatives as possible shall turn out to show that the boy is much liked, this being, of course, so much the better for the *mkamusi* who gets a present from each. The *akamusi* then uncover the boys' faces and hand over the lads to their mothers who take them away to rest in the shelters.

The *m'michila*, meantime, has withdrawn to his hut, where all the relatives later collect; he then comes out holding his "tail," singing:

"Kwende        akajoje        ukwanonyere        koga!"  
 "Come            and bathe        those who love        to bathe!"

Each adopted sister or woman guardian takes her *mwali* brother on her back and carries him off to the stream to bathe. The woman sets her *mwali* down on the bank and then leans across his back while the *m'michila* comes along and dipping his "tail" into the



stream, sprinkles the boy on the chest with the water. Then the positions are reversed and the woman receives the "tail" on her chest, after which they plunge into the water and bathe, each pouring water over the other. The woman rubs the boy's back and he in turn shyly rubs the back of his woman guardian. Clothes are not removed. Everyone looks on.

While this is going on, the *m'michila* and his assistants build a kind of fence across the return road; as the people start back, he sings:

"Moto wangu      akusuma      namsyene      wakumba masoka!"  
 "Fire my      they are buying      I myself      they give me the spirits!"

that is "everyone has got to buy from me the gifts I myself have from the spirits." As each woman comes up carrying her *mwali*, the mother runs out and makes a payment to the *m'michila* so that her son may be allowed to pass. The boys are carried back to the shelters where they rest. The mother of the leader cooks food into which the *m'michila* puts medicine; he then gives some to each *mwali* to eat, after which they partake of the food prepared by their mothers, while the *m'michila* goes to the village for the beer drinking, returning in the afternoon. In the interval the dancing men dance *chamba*, etc.

Oil standing in separate basins on the ground has previously been prepared for anointing the *wali*. The *m'michila* takes each basin and passes it across the palm of his hand on which he has smeared medicine, each basin being set down on the ground again. Taking a stick, he smears it with medicine from his "tail," and he dips it into each basin. He then comes with his "tail" to detect any woman who may have had any sexual intercourse instead of remaining continent during the stay at *Ndagala*. He dips his "tail" into each basin of oil in turn and holds it up for the oil to run off. If the oil runs off in a stream, the mother as she stands behind her basin of oil is welcomed as a good mother; if the oil runs off drop by drop, "*ndoli*," the woman is laughed to scorn. Her basin is changed for that of another woman or her oil is thrown away and some from another basin is put in its place so that no harm shall result to the boy.

The *akamusi* then take the boys into the bush near by. The *magajawisa* dress is removed, the body anointed with the oil, and fresh bark-cloth dyed black is put on. Little bows and arrows are made of small branches and grass and with these the *wali* shoot as they again enter *Lupanda*, putting the bows down on *ching'undang'unda* to the trilling of all the women present.

Immediately after this, the return is made to the village, just after sunset, the women having been busy gathering up all their belongings, while the boys were being anointed.

Some of the assistants lead the procession, the *wali* following in single file, all much subdued and walking very slowly, dressed in the new bark-cloth round the loins, with many ropes of beads round the neck and body, a headband of bark, and down the back a string of beads to which is attached a tassel. Each carries in his hand a wand about five feet long, *ngongo*, with a pattern burned in the shaft and two rattles, *masewe*, affixed at the upper end.

While the *wali* thus march solemnly along shaking their wands, the assistants begin singing:

"*Ku mlango asiwire!*"  
 "To the gate they have shut!"

to which the *wali* reply:

"*Kusowa kwakupita!*"  
 "There is no place where to pass!"

The *m'michila* remains at *Lupanda* till everyone else has left; he then sets fire to the shelters and leaving without looking back, runs to overtake the procession and then leads it on towards the village still at a slow pace, while all around is a yelling crowd of delighted mothers and other relatives and the assistants and drummers, all singing and shouting.

When the outskirts of the village are reached, the *m'michila* halts and waits for the chief to come out and give them permission to enter. The chief brings calico which unrolled on the ground measures the length of the procession of *wali*. Headed now by their leader, the *wali* walk over this calico, while the assistants roll it up behind them for the *m'michila*, as it is part of his payment. Flour may be brought him at the same time, carried by the chief's wives.

At an *Unyago* I witnessed at Kuminama's, the halt was called on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village where a bamboo arch had been erected. The arrival of Chief Malemya at this point with calico and flour was the sign for a demonstration by his young men who ran forward as if in battle, firing off blank rounds from old Tower muskets and executing a kind of war dance.

After the calico has been handed over, the chief returns to his kraal and the procession continues into the village, across the village open space to the fence round the chief's house. There, the *wali* enter by a gateway and disperse over the courtyard where they find their sleeping-mats laid out ready for them by their mothers. The *m'michila* lays his "tail" on the leader's mat to bring good luck thenceforth. With Mlemala, there is no further part for the *wali*, but in some cases they are called upon by the chief to give an exhibition of their dancing and drumming. The *wali* sleep that night in the kraal and disperse the following day.

In the morning, the *m'michila* takes his "tail" and a stirring stick made from a millet stalk with the roots on it, and strikes the ground at points in a row in front of the chief's house. Here the pots of beer which have been prepared are placed in rows, those chosen by the chief and those chosen by the *m'michila*, and drinking commences. The *m'michila*, before he joins in, takes the *wali* to an ash-heap in the village and there sprinkles them with medicine from a grain-mortar after which they go with their *akamusi* behind a house and change into new cloths. They then go and salute the chief by clapping their hands and depart to their villages, duly initiated and somewhat subdued by what they have been through. Their new names as "men" may be given them by the *akamusi* either at *Lupanda*

or after the return to the village. The boys often wear all their beadwork and new cloth for several days; after carrying their *ngongo* for a similar period, they give them up to their *akamusi*. Together they go into the bush where they break up their wands and put them either into a pit or in the forked branch of a tree. Before the *m'michila* leaves, he brings to the chief all his takings and these are divided between them.

Mention has been made above of the *inyago* and it now remains to consider these more fully. The figures vary in subject, in number and in arrangement. At the ceremony at Kuminama's, the following were arranged in a long line beginning with the whale and ending with the python before *ching'undang'unga* (Pl. X, fig. 2).

1. *Nalumgumi* . . . . . the whale (Pl. XI, fig. 7).
2. *Ngwena* . . . . . the crocodile (Pl. XII, fig. 1).
3. *Chisui* . . . . . the leopard (Pl. XII, fig. 3).
4. *Mbunda* . . . . . the zebra (Pl. X, fig. 6).
5. *Ngaka* . . . . . the scaly anteater (Pl. XII, fig. 2).
6. *Ndomondo* . . . . . the hippopotamus (Pl. XII, fig. 4).
7. *Kanga* (*nakanga*?) . . . . . (Pl. X, fig. 5).
8. *Mbalapi* . . . . . the sable antelope (Pl. XI, fig. 3).
9. *Wakongwe wa chitunu-balala* . . . the woman dead in child-birth (Pl. XIII, fig. 2).
10. *Lyuwa* . . . . . the sun (Pl. XI, fig. 4).
11. *Likoloto* . . . . . the scorpion (Pl. XII, fig. 6).
12. *Mbale* . . . . . the plate (Pl. XI, fig. 6).
13. *Likamambo* . . . . . a kind of cloth (Pl. XI, fig. 5).
14. *Njasi* . . . . . the lightning-lizard (Pl. XIII, fig. 4).
15. *Sakata* . . . . . the iguana (Pl. XII, fig. 5).
16. *Mundu* . . . . . the man (Pl. XIII, fig. 1).
17. *Liguluwe* . . . . . the wild pig (Pl. XI, fig. 1).
18. *Sungula* . . . . . the hare (Pl. XI, fig. 2).
19. *Sato* . . . . . the python (Pl. XIII, fig. 3).

Beside these, *Nyasa*, the lake, nearly always appears;<sup>1</sup> *Mwesi*, the moon, the drunken women, and certain animals may be represented, and in addition, *chiuta*, "the dwelling place of all the old spirits." Each particular *m'michila* has his favorite figures about which he sings, always commencing, however, with the whale.

Reproduced here is the series of *inyago* at Kuminama's village sketched at the time of my visit. It seems probable that originally the same set of figures was always reproduced. It is hard to trace their significance with any certainty. Natives aver that they are made only for instructional purposes. "The animals are made so that the boys may recognize them, while some of the other figures have reference to customs." They deny the more in-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stannus and Davey, 'The initiation ceremony for boys among the Yao of Nyasaland,' op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 2.



teresting possibility of a totemic origin and it is, of course, true that at the present time the Yao have few clan names referring to animals and practically no clan food taboo.

At Mkangula's village in September 1913, I saw the *inyago* figures being made. The long grass was cleared away and the earth hoed up into heaps, roughly of the shape and size of the figures to be made. A number of women were employed carrying water from the stream with which the mounds were well moistened and moulded into more definite form. The outlines of the figures were then drawn in, all by one oldish man, with flour smeared on by hand. In drawing *nalumgumi*, it was interesting to note how the efforts to keep to symmetry failed.

Of *ngwena*, *chisui*, *ngaka*, *ndomondo*, *mbalapi*, *sakata*, *liguluwe*, *sato*, I have little to add; the *wali* are told of their habits, whether they are good to eat, whether they are dangerous, etc.; and all the stories about them. *Mbunda*, the zebra, is always represented in duplicate for some unknown reason. *Sungula* is pointed out in reference to a story the boys have been told at *Ndagala*, namely, that the hare is good to eat but they must not eat it till after they are married and their wives have borne children; otherwise they will be childless. The superstition regarding the hare is mentioned elsewhere. *Njasi* is the hypothetical lizard-like animal which lives above the clouds and is seen as lightning. *Likamambo* is a cloth which the Yao used to wear. In the presence of his chief, a man must not throw a fold over his shoulder. *Mbale*, the plate, refers to the chief's plate from which he eats. *Likoloto*: It is said that the old people used to eat scorpions and the people of Mangoché, Amangoche Yao, used to call the Amachinga Yao the "*Makolokoto* eaters." *Lyuwa* is the sun, the giver of daytime. *Wakongwe* is a representation of a pregnant woman who has died undelivered because her husband was unfaithful. This is a well recognized superstition and one among others of equal moral value, inculcated into the youths during their stay at *Ndagala*. Though rough, *wakongwe* is a very realistic figure. The woman is evidently lying down, as one hand supports the head, the other hand grasps the thigh as if she were in pain; the breasts are made large and the figure being in relief, the prominent abdomen, and expanded umbilicus are noticeable features. The face and pudenda are modelled in clay and superimposed on the earth figure; a maize cob stalk is placed in the nose to counterpart the nose-button worn by women.

In contradiction to *wakongwe*, *mundu* is symbolic of the man who has led a proper life and is blessed with a child. The child is shown on one side. On his other side is seen a conventional illustration of a spear, possibly to indicate that the figure is that of a man. I am not very sure about *Kanga*; it may be meant for *nakanga*, the woman who officiates at *Litiwo*; there is nothing about the figure to suggest a woman and I could learn nothing concerning it.

*Nalumgumi*: There appears to be some difference of opinion about this animal. Formerly I accepted the translation given by Scott,<sup>1</sup> namely, the whale. Others have supposed

<sup>1</sup> David Clement Scott, 'A cyclopaedic dictionary of the Mang'anja Language,' Edinburgh, 1892, p. 421.

that the word refers to some large animal which lived or may still live in the big lakes. The older natives say of *nalumgumi* that "it lived in the big sea at Zanzibar. It would come and lie on the surface of the water, maybe near a village; then the people would go down and cut lumps of meat off without its knowledge; the wounds healed up immediately. Meat from different parts differed; some was nasty to taste. It was a very large animal indeed and never lived in the lakes." They distinguish it from *liporo* of the Anyanja which was "bigger than a hippopotamus but not so big as *nalumgumi*, lived in the lakes of Nyasaland, in the deep parts as at Tunde on Lake Chilwa; was very fierce and killed the hippopotamus; would upset canoes. There are no more *liporo* but probably there might be." One of my informants, a man of forty, said his father had been told of them by his father, but he had never seen them. At the present time, other natives say that the *nalumgumi* used to live in the lakes but they seem really to refer to *liporo* and I think looseness of speech only accounts for the idea that the word refers to anything but the whale. Hetherwick translates *nalumgumi* as a large fish figuring in the initiation ceremonies,<sup>1</sup> a poor description, since it always has four limbs. The word *nalumgumi* meaning a whale, occurs among the Mchiwambo people who live at Quilimane. These people do not make any figures on the ground at their circumcision ceremonies but it is interesting to note that their *wali* carry staffs similar to the *ngongo* on their return to the village. I think, therefore, there can be little doubt that the word refers to the whale which was probably well known to the Yao before they migrated so far inland as Nyasaland. Whether the word was adopted or not in these parts in the past and used for some indigenous animal now extinct, one cannot be quite sure, but I think it is improbable; I believe the confusion with *liporo* is of quite recent date. *Liporo* itself appears to have been some large mammal of the hippopotamus type, extinct probably for some time. The stories of *liporo* resemble those of the monster of Lake Ngami and are not without interest. The most weighty evidence against the animal now depicted at the *Unyago* and called *nalumgumi* being a whale, is found in the representations themselves. It has a neck with a knob at the junction of the head with the body and a second knob at the junction of the body, tail and hind limbs; the tail is well marked. The "webbing" between the limbs is, I think, a means of finishing the figure and is not supposed to represent some anatomical feature of the beast. The same is, I think, true of the markings, lines, dots, etc., which are purely decorative. Reference has already been made to its tusks. The little mounds on either side of the body of the animal, on one side within the "webbing," are spoken of as the "little hills" and are not suggested breasts as one might imagine. The hollows have no significance according to my informers except that they are where the *m'michila* stands; the mark which looks like a native hoe, I believe, is meant to represent the hoe which has been used in making the figures.

*Chinyasa*, the lake: the photograph in the article by Dr. Davey and myself of *Nyasa* <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 2.



gives an excellent idea of the average figure; it is circular in plan, often with a little hillock in the centre known as *katumbi kangongoli*, "the hill of debt," and disposed in the quadrants are four depressions.

When the *wali* are introduced to *Chinyasa*, they stand round in a circle while the *m'michila* stands in one of the depressions with perhaps two of his assistants in others. The *m'michila* sings:

"Nyasa kusyungula chinapagwile mwanache ningawile kwilambo, amao!  
 "The lake enormous was I born child I would have died on the plain, mother!"  
*Ningawile ningawile!"*

or

"I have lived by the great lake all my life; I should have died in the plains."

while all three make movements as of paddling a canoe. The depressions are said to represent canoes. I believe this is the recognized form but I have also seen an oblong figure with two outlines of unmistakable canoes. *Chinyasa* is usually found near *nalumgumi*.

*Chiuta*, when represented, stands beyond *mbunda*. It consists of two trenches at right angles forming a cross, which are covered over with logs and earth and the whole outlined with flour in a decorative pattern. The end of one limb of the cross is left open and round this opening a screen of grass is made. As the *wali* approach *Chiuta*, some of the assistants or *akamusi* descend into the trenches for the ceremony. The *m'michila* takes up his stand at the centre of the cross and sings:

"*Chiuta*, amao, kwalole *chiuta!*"  
 "*Chiuta*, mother, come see *chiuta!*"

Then as everyone says "Listen, listen!" crying is heard "coming out of the bowels of the earth," followed by drumming and the singing of the *chindimba* songs (sometimes *mkonde* or *mseche*); a horn is sometimes heard as well as *kululuta*, trilling with the tongue against the lips. *Chiuta* is called "the resting place of all departed spirits" and the sounds are said to be the echoes of their doings. The word is not met with elsewhere among the Yao, although it occurs in the Chinyanja and in other languages of this country with the meaning "the heavens."

*Chiwuta* is said by Hetherwick<sup>1</sup> to be "a large fish that forms one of the pictures at the *Unyago*," but I have never seen it or heard of it, and I am doubtful of the correctness of the statement.

*Ching'undang'unda*: Dr. Davey's photograph<sup>2</sup> is an excellent reproduction of this figure, which consists of a mound of earth flattened on the top, and decorated with geometric patterns in flour which extend to the ground. In the centre and at the four corners, so to speak, are implanted billets of wood with decorative lines and dots in black and red on the white wood (Pl. X, figs. 1, 2). The billets are three inches in diameter and project twelve to fifteen inches above the ground.

<sup>1</sup> Handbook of the Yao language, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 3.



The actual meaning of this figure it is very difficult to ascertain. It may be referred to as "the little hill of debt" signifying, I believe, an idea that everyone owes a debt to his *Unyago*, to his progenitors, and to his own future progeny. It is the spot where medicine has been buried to insure the *Unyago* success, and may be looked upon as the keystone of the ceremonies which take place at *Lupanda*. The derivation of the word is probably from *ku-unga*, "to heap up earth into a mound," or maybe from *ku-unda*, "to teach children manners," but it is uncertain as the word is variously spelled; the spelling I have given follows the pronunciation of the old people.

*Lupanda*: This consists of a mound of earth closely resembling *ching'undang'unda* in shape and decoration with similar wooden billets at the base, while on the top is often planted a branch from a tree (Pl. X, figs. 3, 4). The word is derived from the verb *ku-panda*, "to plant" and signifies the place which the *m'michila* marks for the ceremonies to take place.

Reference has already been made to the assistants of the *m'michila*. The chief assistant has been already mentioned; some three or four others who aid him are friends of the *m'michila* from his own village. They participate at the essential moments of the ceremonies, singing, drumming, or dancing, and together with some of the *akamusi*, take part in *chiuta*. Beside these, there are regular bands of trained drummers and dancers who attend *Lupanda* and dance in the village in the morning and at *Lupanda* in the afternoon of the day of return. They usually dance *chamba* and *sanje*. They are men who come for the fun of the thing and, of course, may gain a good deal from presents. On so important an occasion, there is much criticism of their performance. Should one of them not dance well enough to please the old people, they may call out, "Pluck off his feathers!" and the unlucky fellow has all his dancing kit and any clothes beside stripped off and he is driven forth naked, the laughing stock of the crowd.

*Chiputu*: The initiation ceremony for girls is on lines very similar to the boys' ceremony. The age at which the girls take part is from about ten to fourteen years, though lately they have been much younger on the whole, in consequence of the older people's wishes that their children shall benefit from its instruction before they come under civilizing influences and the recently introduced mission teaching.

When a number of girls have reached the proper age in a village or group of villages, as with the boys, the chief is approached and he arranges a date for the ceremony during the same season as *Lupanda* and for similar reasons.

The woman corresponding to the *m'michila* who arranges everything is called *mteresi*. Each girl *mwali* about to be initiated is looked after by a woman, her *mkamusi*.

The girls, their guardians, and the mistress of the ceremonies, together with the inhabitants of the villages adjourn, as in the case of *Lupanda*, to a spot some little distance from the main village, called *Chiputu*. Here grass shelters have been erected beforehand and food has been collected.

The evening of the first day is called *lyuwa lya makunami*, or "the day of singing," as singing is kept up far into the night, but the exact significance of the word *likunami* I have been unable to find out.

The second day is spoken of as *lyuwa lya manawa*, "the day of washing of hands," (*kunawa*, "to wash the hands") when the *wali* are specially instructed as to the necessities of washing hands before preparing food, etc.; precept is followed by practice. The night is spent quietly; for this day's proceedings few people probably will have remained.

On the third day, however, they come back again from their villages in crowds to witness the performance of *usame*, *lyuwa lya usame*, "the day of house moving" (*kusama*, "to change one's abode, carrying goods and chattels with one"). A representation is given of an onslaught on a village by enemies and all pretend to run away carrying their worldly goods with them. The part of the attackers is played by a number of women who, armed with guns and having donned belts and powder horns, rush in on the crowd from the bush and make prisoners of all they can catch. The men are put in miniature slave-sticks; women who are seen trying to run off with a child on the back, one round the neck and one on each hip, are driven as prisoners into a group. When all the noise and fun are over, the prisoners are released. This is often followed by a mock trial. Two women dressed up to impersonate chiefs of rival tribes, argue an old, imaginary quarrel, usually pretending that there has been a raid by one party on an ivory caravan going to the coast, with stealing of the ivory, while the other party in revenge has caught and killed some of the people belonging to the first mentioned. The thing may be kept up for an hour with much talking and great zest, all those taking part being women. Finally each party agrees to give compensation for the damage done; each presents the other with bundles of sugar cane, and friendship is reestablished. That night, everyone again rests quietly.

The fourth day is known as *lyuwa lya kusyunga* (*kusyunga*, "to go round about," referring to the dancing which goes on). Dancing takes place during the day and also the ceremony of *Lukwi* to be referred to later. One of the favorite songs sung this day runs as follows:

"*Ndembo'ji mkamba'yoiyo aninde mwana mkongwe'ya, amao! ambosango uganjanone!*"

"(Tusk this) a present don't give me free wait for me little girl, dear me! and we'll have some fun together!"

On the fifth day, return is made to the villages. The girl *wali* attended constantly by their *akamusi* then live together for the period of instruction in huts in a special enclosure in the chief's village or in similar enclosures in a number of villages. The *wali* may go out into the village but must go about with bowed head and look no man in the face; they wear bark-cloth called *liwiko* and should they meet anyone, they must pull over their faces the kind of hood with which their garments are provided. They may not share food with outsiders. If they did so, the latter would sicken with a disease called *chiumbelu*.



The *wali* thus remain for about a month under the care of their guardians, during which time they receive most valuable instruction as to their behavior to others, especially to their elders and to members of the opposite sex. Their faults are brought home to them and many little pieces of advice given. They are taught the household duties which will be their lot thenceforth and they are forewarned of approaching puberty and what it means to them.

During this period their child-names are not used and until their new names are assigned to them, they are called after birds and animals, generally some of the smaller animals e.g. Anyingalwe (*myingalwe* = the shrew rat), Alitawala (*litawala* = a big species of rat), Analyelye (*nyalyelye* = the shrew). I have been unable to ascertain whether these have any totemistic significance.

The girls are usually given a fright to impress on them the danger of lions; one night an imitation of a lion approaching their enclosure is made when all is dark; then all of a sudden one of the *akamusi* armed with big thorns instead of claws will spring upon one of the girls, generally picking out the worst behaved.

When the term of instruction is completed, they again adjourn to *Chiputu* for two days where *Unyago* is danced on the first night by women, on the second night by men. The first day is spent by a party of men and women in the bush, preparing figures of animals and their dress for the dance. The women wear a small garment of bark-cloth called *matakogaiula*, a word which literally means "buttocks of a frog" but which is used with the meaning of trousers and refers in this case to the fact that the bark-cloth is sewn round the upper part of each thigh into a garment like a pair of knickerbockers. Round the abdomen and chest are worn bands made of short pieces of small, decorticated millet stalks; similar bands are worn on the legs and arms, two on each thigh, two on the leg, one at the wrist, below the elbow, and one round the upper arm. In the dark these give the body the appearance of being painted in alternate bands of black and white. They also wear a head-dress of the same material.

On the first evening of the return to *Chiputu*, this party of women appears after dark; they dance in a row, advancing and retiring in step, swinging their arms and moving their bodies to exclamations of *Bi-di! Bi-di!* Other women dress up as men, wearing long beards made of *likanga*, a kind of fibre plant.

The second night, the representations of animals made of grass and bamboo framework supported by men appear, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and various antelopes being the common figures, also the zebra made of painted bark cloth. These animal figures are similar to the *vinyao* or *zinyao* of the Anyanja and to those of the Awisa,<sup>1</sup> but the *sanchima* is unknown among the Yao.

During all these presentations at *Chiputu*, the *wali* seated on mats are the chief spectators and are duly frightened by the performances of the last two days.

<sup>1</sup> Stannus, 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 293.



The following morning at dawn, each guardian washes her ward, anoints her from head to foot with oil and puts on her body new calico, ropes of beads being worn round the neck, and on the head a little bark-cloth cap fringed with beads called *chiwala*. At a given signal, each guardian picks up her ward on her shoulders and pretends to run away with her to her own village. This is the signal for the fathers of the girls to run up and redeem their children by making presents to the guardians. Each *mwali* is given her new name by her guardian, often the guardian's own or that of the girl's grandmother. The girls are then set down again, a procession is formed and all return to the village, with great rejoicing, as in the case of the boys. The girls then disperse and go back to live with their mothers or grandmothers. The *wali* may be made to give an exhibition of their dancing; they dance *chamba*.

On the occasion of the first visit to *Chiputu*, as a kind of accessory, there is a ceremony for young married men which forms, as mentioned elsewhere, the second part of their initiation ceremonies or *Unyago*.

It is known as *Kulukwi* and is a kind of test of manhood. It was formerly considered as important as *Lupanda*, but now, I think, the last *Kulukwi* has been performed; for the young men of the present day, largely emancipated from chief-rule and freed from the ties of tribal custom, care less and less for their old method of up-bringing.

When *Chiputu* is about to take place, any young newly married men whose wives have not become pregnant are pressed to go to their second ceremony. The wife may ask some woman friend to act as his guardian or some woman may volunteer for the service. Often the young fellow will make pretence of not wanting to go; he may be chased and caught, and with his hands tied behind his back, wearing bark-cloth, he is conducted to the ceremony by other men.

Each young man is attended by a woman guardian and during the first visit to *Chiputu*, they sleep in two rows of grass sheds facing each other, the women in one line, the young men in the other line, each facing his woman guardian, with fires in the free-way between the two rows of huts. Or they may sleep in one big grass shed, each woman guardian next to the young man she attends, and so in pairs all down both sides of the grass shed, the fires being made in the middle. The young men have to pay for a share in the food and beer made for *Chiputu*, but each guardian cooks for her man.

On the afternoon of *lywa lya kusyunga*, the young men are taken off to a place in the bush perhaps a quarter to one mile away from *Chiputu*, *ku-lukwi* "to *lukwi*" as is said.

Here they are formed into a semi-circle of from half a dozen to ten or twenty of them, each with his guardian and a crowd of the grown-up population from the village in attendance. Good advice is given them as to their behavior, especially in regard to their wives and mothers-in-law. Anyone who has any particularly bad trait is sure to hear of it now, the mother or father of the young man having arranged that it shall be brought up. The

woman guardian shows to her man red and white beads in her hand and tells him that white indicates health while red means sickness, thereby pointing out to him their deep-rooted beliefs in the diseases associated with intercourse or association with women during menstruation.

Then follows a test of manhood. The women guardians put little pieces of stick (*lukwi* = sticks or firewood) on their heads and sing:

“*Ngampe mkwangu lukwi kwa msuku'chamuno liu!*”

“I must give my wife (when sick) firewood of the *msuku* although it gives lots of ashes!”

What is meant is that when his wife is ill, the husband should fetch the firewood even though he does not know which woods give least ash; the *msuku* tree gives many ashes. The little piece of wood a few inches long with a notch in the middle is then handed to the young man by his guardian. He places it on the ground in front of him, kneels down, and with a small axe he attempts to divide the stick at the notch. If he is successful, he is greeted with cheers, clapping, and much rejoicing. By proving his power to hit straight, he has also established his manhood; it is prophesied that he will soon have children. Should he miss through nervousness, shouts of derision welcome him and his guardian shows her disgust with his performance. If he is a young fellow well-liked in his village, he may be allowed to make a second attempt. After this ceremony, each couple bathes each other in their shelters by pouring water over the head and body without removing the clothes, thus making brotherhood. Forever after the man must treat this woman with great respect, must not address her for some time, and then only after making her a small present.

The woman guardian picks up the two pieces of the broken *lukwi* and on the morning before they all leave *Chiputu*, the mother or sister of the young man gives her a string of red or white beads saying, “These are to bind up the bundle of wood.” The man’s guardian binds up the pieces of wood with the beads and gives it to her man. When they have returned to the village, they go to the young man’s wife and he presents them to her. The guardian, however, steps in and slips off the beads which she keeps, while the wife, pleased at her husband’s success, drops the two pieces of wood into the fire.

During the weeks that the girl *wali* remain under instruction in the village, those young men who have been *ku-lukwi* sleep in one big enclosure away from their wives and do not cohabit until after the second return from *Chiputu* is made.

Another *ku-lukwi* test sometimes, I believe, introduced into Yao ceremonies but really one practiced by the Mpotola people and not proper to the Yao, is as follows:

The guardian lies on the ground, wearing a small loin-cloth, and holding beads in her clenched hands, red in one, white in the other. Her man standing at her feet, bends over her and projects saliva on to her abdomen through a rolled up leaf held between his lips, at the same time choosing one of her hands. If he chooses the hand containing the white beads, he is hailed with delight as a man indeed, but should he choose the hand containing



the red beads, he is jeered at and laughed to scorn. In this case, the white beads are held to indicate semen, the red beads menstrual blood.

*Litiwo*: This ceremony is enacted at the time when a young married woman quickens with her first child. *Litiwo* (*ku-tiwa*, to plait) refers to the plaited cord put round the woman's neck. The woman and her husband both are present, and in addition, only women, possibly with their babies.

For the man, *Litiwo* is looked upon as the third or completing ceremony of his *Unyago*. He must have been to *Lupanda* and *Chiputu*, otherwise he cannot be admitted to *Litiwo*. If, however, the husband is not eligible, some other man who has completed his *Unyago*, is married, and has children, may act as proxy to a woman at *Litiwo*.

In every district there is generally some woman who arranges and conducts the ceremony. She is called *nakanga*; naturally, no European has been present at *Litiwo* but my information was gained from Kuliati, a woman who for years acted as *nakanga* in the villages round Malemya's kraal, and Chilandana, her old mother who had acted in the same capacity before her and who had come from the old Machinga country where her mother in turn had been a well-known *nakanga*.

When a woman quickens with child for the first time, her women-folk visit the local *nakanga*, saying, "We are going to shave so and so (naming the woman) and to get bananas. Tomorrow, we start pounding flour. In three days we shall be ready, and you will come over to arrange things." At the appointed time, the *nakanga* having partaken of food early because she will not eat for the rest of the day, goes out of the village to some spot a half-mile away in the bush and there sees that all preparations are made and sufficient food collected. The food is supplied by the mothers of the man and woman, and consists essentially of beans (*njama* and *ngunde*), porridge, sugar-cane, and bananas, but no beer.

All being ready, a procession in single file leaves the village for the appointed place, the woman's sponsor leading, the woman followed by the husband and his sponsor (a woman), and the married women assembled from nearby villages. The sponsor is known as *mkamusi* or *alombwe*. Neither *mkamusi* nor *nakanga* may have sexual relations with their husbands till after the birth of the child. The woman wears bark-cloth stained black, but may wear blue cloth on returning to the village, while her husband is decked out in his finest cloths and ornaments. They have partaken of food early in the day as they fast until the next day.

Arrived at the place, the man and woman take up their positions on mats separated from each other by some twenty or thirty paces, each with his *mkamusi*. The man's *mkamusi* sits on the same mat with him and never leaves him throughout the ceremony. The woman preserves a dignified quiet but the man is expected to make the most of himself sitting with hands on hips, and displaying his fine clothes worn after the fashion of a chief.

While all the assembled crowd of women sit round in a semi-circle, the *nakanga* commences the proceedings, singing a number of songs to the woman and the man in turn,



the other women joining in the refrain. A number of these songs are here given but each *nakanga* has her own favorites which she sings. They are only sung at *Litiwo*.

*Alitete, lisingeni: alitete lisingeni; Chorus Mbiranjirani.*

Now you are clucking before laying an egg. Be content then, you must not be running about any more: (Chorus) Call her back for me.

*Ku-tetera*, "to cluck as a hen" comes from *te! te!* the sound of the hen. Another song is:

*Atetereje atolo te. Chorus Atetereje.*

You must cluck, cluck, cluck, little mouse.

A set of songs sung by Kuliati are as follows:

1. *Mtwe ngulwala, kumalembe; amao!*

I have a headache, surely; oh dear me!

2. *Jogolo, jogolo, chemwali, kuutuka mwanayama!*

Startled (like a rabbit), little girl running like a wild animal.

3. *Asungula'wa walapire ulamba!*

The rabbit they praise for its cleverness!

*Kumkamula ngolokototo kumlemba ilemba!*

He caught (the name of a little bird) and cut his hair in the *ilemba* fashion!

4. *Uneji ndiri jua mtima; ndigonile, Chenjerero apite!*

I have a good heart; I am contented, Chenjerero has gone!

*Ajigere makwatagao, amao! achamao!*

He has taken away all his dancing things, dear me! oh dear me!

5. *Wakwambaga'wala, leere! nowe atulanjire twalole!*

Those who are speaking (an exclamation) show us that we may see!

*Mlasi ugwile mbungo, tetemera, chikata, ngolekwe, wajoje; ngolengolekwe wajoje!*

The bamboo has fallen with the wind, they shivered with fear (an alluvial plain), (a thing which is stuck) (well-dressed).

In native songs, full poetical license is indulged in and it is often difficult to give exact translations of them. The first has reference to the woman making a fuss because she feels ill with her pregnancy; this she is not supposed to do. Number 2 refers to the fact that she has a new experience which may cause her to be startled, but she need not fear. In number 3, *ngolokototo* is a bird which has a mark running back on either side of the mid-line of the crown of its head, resembling a method of hair dressing wherein two bands are shaved from front to back parallel to the mid-line. *Chenjerero* (number 4) is the name of a man but this reference is apparently now without point. Number 5 is sung by the *nakanga* when she hears murmurs of others in the crowd starting to sing other songs; she intimates, "Here are we singing, let us hear you others who wanted to sing; you are probably afraid now." In the latter part of this song, words are made use of which have a slang meaning known only to women. *Chikata* is a woman's slang word for the female pudenda; *ngoleko*,

when in child-birth there is delay in delivery it is said of the woman "*Akolekwe*," "she is stuck," from *ku-kolekwa* "to be suspended, to be caught by a thorn"; *wajoje*, well dressed, is a slang exclamation meaning "everything, everything is out!" The verse refers, of course, as all obstetricians will recognize, to the moment of crowning of the oncoming head during parturition when it appears to be stuck; then suddenly it slips over the perineum and "everything, everything is out."

The *nakanga* now gives way to the songs of the other women. In different districts different versions of the songs are sung, but the other women will quickly pick up the refrain of the song sung by a woman who has come in from some distance.

After these songs, the *nakanga* instructs the woman and her husband in the care they must take until after the child is born. Macdonald says, speaking of the instructions "but of the quality, we prefer to be silent."<sup>1</sup> What a pity he allows no one else to judge!

The woman is especially cautioned against sitting with her legs crossed; they must be kept apart lest the child in her womb be suffocated. She is also told many useful things concerning her pregnancy and confinement. The husband is cautioned to cease intercourse with his wife or if he has intercourse, his wife may not lie on her back, lest the child be injured.

While this instruction is going on, all the assembled women cook and eat the feast which has been made for them. When all has been said, the *nakanga* anoints the man with castor oil, which has in the meantime been warmed, and ties round the neck of the woman the *litiwo*, a cord made of plaited bark-cloth with a tassel in front; at the base of the tassel white beads are strung for good luck, and at the end of the tassel, red beads are affixed, having symbolic reference to the haemorrhage at the time of childbirth. The woman wears only a strip of calico of two hands breadth called *mletu*. She is anointed on the head, body, and limbs.

The tying of the *litiwo* is the sign for dancing to begin. It is a dance in which women try to excel one another. They come with all their tattoo marks on buttocks, thighs, and abdomen renovated; they wear diaper-fashion a narrow strip of cloth, always black in color, and round their bodies numerous strings of beads. With the beginning of the dancing, their other clothes are thrown off and practically naked, they vie with one other in exhibiting their charms and skill in dancing, which afterwards becomes the subject of much discussion among the women onlookers. "So and so is really too old and skinny for such exhibition," and "So and so has buttocks as flat as a wall," while "Such and such a one is fat and beautiful and dances wonderfully, with such *abandon*," etc. In front of the woman is set a wooden plate, in front of the man a mat, and on these are thrown donations by the dancers and onlookers, consisting of beads etc., or nowadays pennies and small silver coins to help to pay the expenses of the entertainment and, in the woman's case, to buy medicine which may be necessary should the baby fall ill. When the wedded couple are

<sup>1</sup> *Africana*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 129.



generous and popular, the donations may mount up to a useful sum. Dancing goes on late into the afternoon when all return to the village.

The man may not speak to his guardian again until after the birth of the child. The two women guardians, the *mkamusi* and the *nakanga*, as a rule cease sexual intercourse with their husbands during the same period or, at all events, during the last month before the birth of the child.

The child born of a woman who has not gone through *Litiwo* is buried alive.

**Chieftainship.** The Yao when they migrated to their present country were headed by a number of their chiefs. These eventually settled in different areas adjacent to one another, each ruling over a considerable tract of country. The chief was supported by a number of headmen, each of whom looked after a village; the chiefs and headmen in turn being assisted by the village elders.

Often among a chief's counselors one found a number of his relatives, and sons and brothers were often made headmen. A man assuming chieftainship often had to dispose of a brother of whom he was afraid.

Chieftainship is hereditary, the chief's name being passed on to each successor. Succession is to eldest son of the eldest sister or a son of some other sister. Failing these, it passes to a grand-nephew. If there is no acceptable adult nephew, a full brother may succeed.

Macdonald's account of the Malemya's succession<sup>1</sup> is, I believe, incorrect. The old Malemya (Nalutumbo) was succeeded according to custom by his nephew, Kasabola who, as Malemya, was called Ndalama. Kumtaja was not a younger brother of Nalutumbo or Kasobola, but a cousin of the latter. Ndalama was succeeded by a nephew, not the eldest but the second son of a sister, the eldest having already succeeded to the chieftainship of Kumtaja was therefore ineligible. The present Malemya will be succeeded by a grand-nephew, the son of a daughter of his eldest sister, his sister having no sons.

A successor inherited all the wives and slaves of the deceased chief and all his goods and chattels, guns, ivory and gardens. Any small possessions might be divided among the deceased's children and in the case of guns, those who had always used them often laid claims not to be separated from their weapons; these claims were often allowed by the new chief.

In the same way, any ordinary man's successor is his nephew, the son of a sister, who inherits all goods and chattels and slave wives, but not free-born wives, nor gardens, which go to the free wives. Stock is generally divided among the children.

Before 1891, when a British Protectorate was formally declared over Nyasaland, each chief ruled supreme. He was consulted as to the dates for *Unyago*; he directed the harvesting, etc.; he proclaimed war and generally was paramount among his people. It will be seen, therefore, that he was a busy man, but he received no direct remuneration. His wealth consisted of slaves and ivory. Slaves he obtained in warfare and as blood money,

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 190.



ivory by his own hunting parties or as a kind of tithe on other hunting expeditions. The ground tusk, i.e. the tusk on the side on which the elephant falls when killed, was the chief's share. In the same way, the hind leg on the ground side of any game animal killed was sent to the chief. He took a share of the spoils of war and most of his people yearly gave him either service in building houses, etc., or kind in the form of food-stuffs, but he enforced no service and levied no tax, except for the making of a new burial place.<sup>1</sup> New settlers in his village were expected to invite him to drink beer made with their first crops.

In return, he always provided cloth to invest the body of the dead. He also made presents at the time of *Unyago*.<sup>2</sup>

A chief's life, therefore, may not be "all beer and skittles," though he consumes a good deal of the former and a kind of skittles<sup>3</sup> was a favorite pastime of one of the Malemyas. A saying embodying this idea was used when pleading for a man who had committed adultery with his chief's wife "one who carries a tortoise (on a string over his back) is likely to get his clothes soiled"; a man has to put up with the troubles his belongings bring him. So a chief must bear with his own people who do wrong.

Ample opportunity for exercising such forbearance was provided, since the chief was formerly the adjudicator of all disputes and dispenser of justice in all crimes. The headman did the same in a smaller way but appeal could always be made to the chief. Cases were heard by the chief sitting in council. He and his headmen and elders would assemble in the village open space and here cases were stated, often at great length.

Each party to the case would employ some man well known for his powers of oratory as leading counsel. The speaker for the plaintiff would start proceedings by a recital of all the evidence he could collect. After him would follow innumerable speakers, whether actual witnesses or not, each telling as good a story as he could, and the defendant's case would then be put by his representatives. There was no cross-examination but at the end, a summary was made and judgment given. A chief often took the advice of some one of his old men whom he trusted.<sup>4</sup> The chief received no payment for his services, except in the case of murder; neither did the "counsel" receive anything for their efforts.

**Crimes.** Causing the death of a person by witch medicine, *usawi*, was the most heinous crime; a *mwai* ordeal might be held, but if the offense was proved, burning was the punishment which usually followed.

The offense second in gravity was adultery. This might be expiated by payment or by death, according to the circumstances under which it occurred; mutilation was often performed in the case of a chief's wife. All death sentences with the exception of those

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Vide supra, pp. 248, 264.

<sup>3</sup> Vide infra, p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> The old Malemya (Nalutumbo) has some very fine men among his counselors. Kuntupa and Chiupile, the latter renowned for his oratory, were his chief advisers in legal matters. Ndeleka, a slave, was his mentor in all personal and family affairs, while Chekasongo was in charge of all ceremonies and served with his assistant, Mpanje, as high priest on all occasions of intercession. Others acted as his emissaries, such as Mkopiti who always went on any missions to the Angoni, among whom he was known as Ndonjira.

for witchcraft were carried out by strangling with a piece of calico at a place appointed for the purpose some miles from the chief's village.

There was no case against a man who seduced an unbetrothed girl, the latter being considered entirely at fault.

After divorce, the children always remained with the mother. The man left his wife after the case, saying, "I will take my spear and some of the goats and chickens, but the children will always know their father."

Murder was a question of compensation to the deceased's relatives and was not punished by death.

Stealing was a serious offence but many who were found guilty were rather despised than punished. The thief with the stolen goods tied about his body but otherwise stripped naked would be driven through the village and prodded with sticks to the sound of drums and hoots of derision. Most crimes, however, might be punished by exacting compensation. Payment took the form of goods or slaves. In the case of murder, the accused might have to pay several slaves to the deceased's relatives, and in addition, a fine to the chief for spilling blood, consisting perhaps of one slave. The amount of compensation expected was mentioned by the plaintiff in the case. One of the expressions used was, "My compensation must cover an ant hill," meaning enough slaves, standing hand in hand, to surround an ant hill; ant hills in this country are sometimes very big. If a man had no slaves, he would send his relatives or he himself might be forced to become the slave of the plaintiff. There is a saying anent this practice:

*Chitumbili wachitawile mchila wakwe!*

The monkey they tied (with) tail his (own).

Slaves passed over to a man in payment for crime became free men; they were an addition to the village and might even be adopted in place of a murdered individual.

When compensation was made by the defendant to the plaintiff, the latter always returned some part of it as a sign that friendship was again established.

Goods or money received in compensation for murder, i.e. blood money, might not go for the purchase of food or clothing. Detection of a guilty party by means of magic and proof of guilt or otherwise by ordeal poison are dealt with elsewhere.

Bluffing anyone into giving something for nothing, obtaining goods by false pretence, was not considered a crime, as anyone was "fair game." For instance, a party of youths would waylay a man with a load of fish, saying they had been ordered by their headman to commandeer it. If the man parted with his fish, so much the worse for him; if he showed fight, he was respected and friendship made with a give-and-take of fish and snuff. Such bluffing is called *kulya nawo*, "to eat with them." To add to their appearance of *bona fides*, the party might have secretly borrowed some well-known article belonging to their headman.



**Slavery.** Slaves were acquired by capture or purchase, or were received as payment. Prisoners taken by the vassals of one chief in a fight with the partisans of another chief became slaves. Slave raids were also made by the Wayao upon the weaker Anyanja or again expeditions were sent out hundreds of miles away into the Chipeta country to buy slaves.

Slaves were a man's goods and chattels, to do with mainly as he pleased, but no man might kill a slave without bringing the case before his chief and obtaining consent. While some were bought and sold and sometimes found their way into a slave caravan bound for the coast, many, perhaps the majority, lived the life of ordinary individuals in the villages. A man who was unhappy in a village and wished to escape from his vassaldom might run away to another village and there commit some act so that he might be claimed as a slave. The custom was to go to the village and sit by the site of a house which had been pulled down after the death of the occupant, and the saying is, "He has been called by the dead man's spirit."

Many a slave has become an important man in the village and slaves were often the trusted advisers of their chiefs, but there was no means of becoming a freeman. Neither a slave himself nor a second party could purchase his freedom. A slave capturing another man in warfare, for instance, could not ask for his own freedom in exchange for his captive, but anyone so taken became, in a way, the slave of a slave, and the master could not sell the second slave without the permission of the slave captor. An old slave might often be allowed to do just as he pleased and to all intents and purposes was a free man, but he was never actually freed. A slave might earn a return for work done for others than his master; part of this he would probably give to his master, but there was no regular tax upon such earnings.

The idea in accumulating slaves seems to have been to increase the population of the villages and hence their power and progeny. This is borne out by the fact that marriage between free men and slaves was allowed. Marriage between a free man and a slave woman was unaccompanied by any ceremony and was therefore rather in the nature of recognized concubinage. Such a wife, if unsatisfactory, could be sold out of the village, but generally she was well treated. The children of two slaves were of course born into slavery; the children of a slave woman by a freeman husband, were not quite emancipated, as the father could not remove the child from the village of the slave mother's master, and in very extreme cases, it might be sold by him.

Women might marry slave husbands and often a master married his daughters to his slave men whom he thought well of. This amounted to a guarantee to the slave that he would never be parted with. A woman with a slave husband could not leave him informally; she could not sell him, inasmuch as women have no property.

**Land Ownership.** The ownership of all land was vested in the chief, but he appeared to hold it in surety for all the people over which he ruled. Headmen had no land rights.



There has never been any shortage of land and therefore the plotting out of gardens was a matter which caused little trouble. A man wishing to make a new garden the next season simply marked the site in the bush by scoring some trees or hoeing around some patches of grass and tying the grass ends into a knot. If anyone else came along and hoed this plot, the man who had marked it out still claimed it and need not pay for the hoeing done. Whenever a man was doubtful about a piece of land, he would ask advice of the headman of the village.

When an abandoned garden had become overgrown, anyone wishing to take it up applied to the headman who sent him to ask the original owners whether they wished to take it up again. The newcomer could take possession only with their permission.

Often if a village were moved, during the first season the people simply put up shelters in their gardens. Later, the site of the village was chosen and around it a medicine man sprinkled medicine to insure happiness and prosperity. The tree from which this medicine was made became sacred to the village and might not be used for firewood, or was subject to any other taboo the medicine man might care to make. He might also say, "In this village there shall be no pounding of grain at night," etc.

If a village were to be built near a spot previously inhabited, medicine and offerings were made to the departed spirits of the former occupants to put them at rest and "open" the place to the newcomers. The beer-pot from the grave of some former chief or headman, who was supposed to have directed the destinies of the old village, was brought to the new location and beer placed in it to insure his continued guidance.

In the case of a village into which a number of men had married, the sponsors of the wives went to the sponsors of the husbands and asked permission to move the village.<sup>1</sup> Later, beer was brewed in the new village and the sponsors invited to come and drink and "put foot in the new village."

**Relationship.** Family relationship among natives presents certain difficulties to the European accustomed to equivalent relationship of males and females on both sides of the family. In the diagram below (Fig. 1) the relationship of the two children (C 5) will be traced. The mother and father (B 10 and 9) are the *achikulu* and *wese* but are addressed as *amao* and *atati*. The maternal uncles older and younger than the mother (B 11 and 15) are called *akwelume* and their wives (B 12 and 16) *akwegwe*. The maternal aunts are addressed as *amao*, mother, anyone older than the mother being distinguished as *amao wakulungwa*, "the bigger" (B 13), a younger aunt as *amao wanandi*, "the lesser" (B 17); their respective husbands are addressed *atati*, *atati wakulungwa* (B 14), and *atati wanandi* (B 18). On the father's side the uncles are called *atati wakulungwa* (B 1) and *atati wanandi* (B 5), respectively, for those older and younger than the father, and their wives *amao wakulungwa* (B 2) and *amao wanandi* (B 6). The paternal aunts are called *atati wakongwe* (female uncles) (B 3 and 7), their husbands (B 4 and 8) *atati*.

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 235.

The children of maternal uncles (C 6 and 8) and of paternal aunts (C 2 and 4) are called cousins *achasiwani* (sing. *msiwani*), and, conversely, the children of maternal aunts (C 7 and 9) and of paternal uncles (C 1 and 3) are called "brothers and sisters"; one would address the other as "*chemwali*" or "*achimwene*," but either is *mbako* to the other.

It is interesting, therefore, to note that cousinship is of two kinds: the relationship between a child and his maternal aunts' children or his paternal uncles' children is *uwako*, whereas the relationship with his maternal uncles' children or his paternal aunts' children is *usiwani*.

It is easily understood why the maternal aunts' children are considered as brothers and sisters, as among the Yao, matrilineal descent is the rule, the children taking the clan of

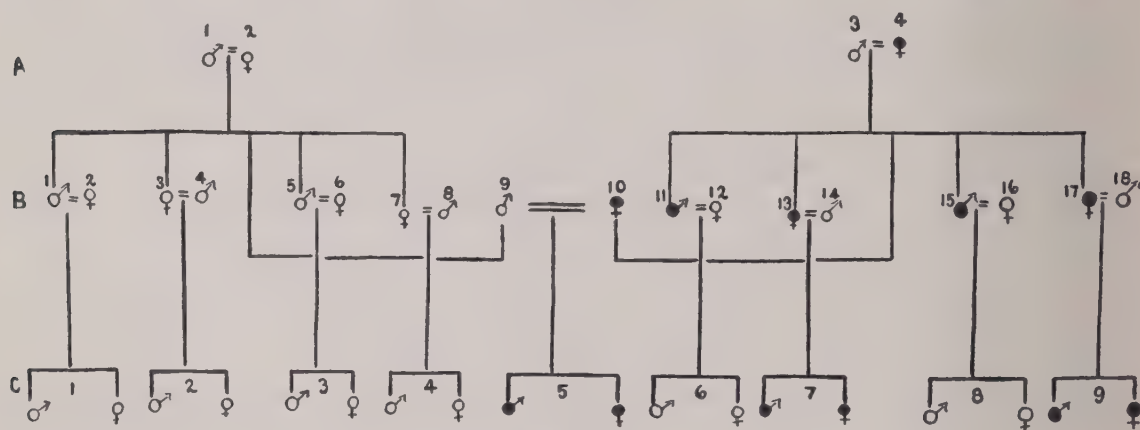


FIGURE 1

the mother. In the diagram, this is indicated in black. That the paternal uncles' children bear the same relationship would seem to indicate that matrilineal descent is not absolute but that dual descent from both parents is recognized.

Children C 5 may not marry C 7 and 9, nor C 1 and 3. In the case of the former, this is because persons of the same clan may not marry, but in the case of the latter, no such reason is given but they are simply said to be brothers and sisters. Children C 5 may marry their cousins C 6 and 8 and C 2 and 4, but this is not very common as it is said such marriages are always unhappy.

The wife of a maternal uncle (B 12) speaks of her nephew by marriage (C 5) as *msono*, husband, because, in the event of her husband's death, this nephew would inherit from him and he might marry the widow.

A parent-in-law or child-in-law is called *mkwegwe* indifferently. Paternal and maternal grand-parents, and great-uncles and aunts are all called *ambuje*; a grand-child, *chisukulu*.

The words *atati* and *amao* commonly mean father and mother, but, as given above, there are other words for these two parents, whereas *atati* and *amao* are applied to certain aunts

and uncles as well. I am inclined to believe that the words primarily refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives whose children bear the relationship of *uwako* to the person. A strange point, however, crops up, namely, that the paternal aunts are called *atati* (*atati wakongwe*) and their husbands *atati* again.

An elder brother is *akulu*, his younger brother *mpwakwe*, a sister *mlumbu*, *mlumbu wanandi* and *mlumbu wakulungwa*, younger and elder sister.

**Disease.** Apart from old age, the native recognizes in all illness and death the hand of an enemy or the result of transgression of some custom: some one has made medicine against him, or he or some one else has broken a custom founded on superstition which is visited on his head. These ideas are so deeply rooted in the native mind that it is with difficulty any appropriate treatment will be received. They rely, rather, on some medicine-man to cure them by medicine more powerful than that made against them. Even an ordinary accident or an attack of pneumonia is accounted for in this way.

The names given in speaking of sicknesses are, of course, applied rather to symptoms, but in some cases where the symptom named is pathognomic of a disease, the word practically stands for the disease. The word used may imply the supposed cause or refer to a resemblance to some object, or again simply state the part affected; thus *chitumbo* (the belly) meaning stomach ache, *meso* (eyes), conjunctivitis, etc.

The following words most of which are found in the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick's *Yao Language*, give some idea of the Yao native's conception of disease. The sense which the above authority gives is not always quite the same as I would venture to give. I shall not enter into the question of the diseases as such but only in so far as they bear on customs, etc.

The word *chilwele* signifies any disease or illness; *chitopa* and *chipindupindu* refer to epidemic diseases; the former refers to a disease of fowls and dogs characterized by wheezing and hence is occasionally used for bronchitis in man. *Chipindupindu* refers to a series of deaths from a cause unknown to the natives. The word *chaola*, which Hetherwick gives as meaning a plague, rather means arrow poison, I think.

*Chomboto*: a liver disease of fowls.

*Chipago*: a congenital deformity of any kind (*kupagwa* = to be born with).

*Chitwesime*: a patch of white hair on the scalp of congenital origin.

*Chisiwani* (a cousin): the word used for a birth-mark or freckle; helical fistula is also included. Children examine each other to see how many "cousins" each has; anyone with none is made fun of.

*Chindundumuli* (*tundumula* = a big lump): a hunchback.

*Chiwakula* (*ku-wakula* = to split): a "splitting" headache, or more commonly, medicine by means of which the possessor can inflict pain or death.

*Ching'alang'ala*: a localized pain in the head.

*Chisyungusyungu*: giddiness.



*Chibuli*: deaf and dumb (Chin); the word is used in slang to mean impotence.

*Chiwisuku*: an old word meaning high fever.

*Chilundulundu*: "*wakongwe wawile chilundulundu*," the woman died in confinement without giving birth (unopened). The sense of dumbness and constipation are secondary.

*Kululilwa*: constipation.

*Malundunguli*: colic; *Masyongo*, rumblings in the bowels, borborygmi.

*Mandindili*: "pins and needles."

*Chikusa*: sore and swollen gums, pyorrhoea; has been translated scurvy.

*Chingungulukuta*: hardened skin, like a corn on the hand.

*Njeseka*: without eye-lashes, as result of disease.

*Ndandagasi*, *Lungumbisi*: indistinctness of vision (Hetherwick).

*Lososo*: watering of the nose; nasal catarrh.

*Mamboko*: the secretion at the corners of the eyes in the morning, also the purulent secretion of conjunctivitis (Hetherwick translates "watering of the eyes").

*Namila*: nasal mucus.

*Chimbondogolo*: crusts from the nasal passages (Hetherwick translates merely "nasal mucus").

*Likosomola*: cough.

*Chisungusya*: after-pains of labor.

*Ngwikwi*: hiccough.

*Ng'anang'ana*: nystagmus, from a verb meaning "to look from side to side aimlessly."

*Iwenga*: any skin eruption supposed to be due to eating various substances, chiefly meat.

*Ku-lilimuka*: to have a rash on the body of the nature of urticaria.

*Ngolokolo*: the name of a condition in which the place where a man passes water becomes whitened; hence it refers to cystitis, lithuria, etc.

*Chikonokono* (*likonokono* = a snail): the white on the ground resembling a snail track left by a man with *Ngolokolo*.

*Nduwi* or *Mili*: smallpox.

*Ndonyola* or *Kasabola*: chicken pox; this term may also include other diseases with similar rash, i.e. modified smallpox and pemphigus.

*Chitembo* (*ndembo* = an elephant): elephantiasis.

*Matana*: leprosy.

*Magawagawa*: yaws (*chimatuli*, given by Hetherwick as "rodent ulcer," is a Chinyanja word for yaws).

*Chindoko*: (Swahili) syphilis.

*Chisonono*: (Swahili) gonorrhoea.

*Lulachilachi*: whooping-cough.

*Chikuku*: measles.

*Mbumu*: asthma.

*Chiukula* (*ku-ukula* = to scrape out): diarrhoea, dysentery.

*Chipango* (*mbango* = warthog): swelling at angles of jaws, mumps.

*Liundika*: nasal or bronchial catarrh.

*Masoka*: insanity; *mangwengwe*, delirium of fever (Hetherwick translates as periodic madness).

*Mbulu*: ascites.

*Litolomiso*: goitre (*lidotilo*: *pomum adami*).

*Naluwaula*: leucoderma of hands and feet.

*Chisungupute*: a pustule.

*Chisumbukute*: a boil.

*Chikanga* (*nganga* = the spotted guinea-fowl): ring-worm of face.

*Limasa*: any mark on the skin, e.g. birthmark, pigmented spot, ringworm, scar.

*Susuwa*: a wart.

*Ndundi*: a burn of the skin.

*Lipuluwa*: a keloid scar (Hetherwick gives "boil").

*Lonya*: a rash after shaving.

*Lituku*: a blister.

*Chipuluwa*: a wheal after a blow or an insect bite.

*Chiiya*: oedema of a limb.

*Chipupu*: whitlow.

*Lipute*: an abscess; *uwou*, pus.

*Liimbapa*: an abscess; (*ku-umba*: to swell).

*Liwanga*: a sore or ulcer.

*Mkwangwasya*: a chronic ulcer.

*Lisiuchila* (*ku-syuka* = to come to life again): an ulcer which heals and then breaks out again.

*Liimbachiga*: secondary enlarged glands in groin or elsewhere from a sore on the foot, etc.

*Ndesi*: Any freely movable lump under the skin, e.g. sebaceous cyst, patella, ganglion, etc.

*Chilumi* (*ku-luma* = to bite): rheumatism.

*Upere*: itch, scabies.

*Ilonda mkamwa*: thrush.

*Luwoga*: diarrhoea in infants with green stools.

*Lukweso*: passage of blood in urine; Urinary Bilharziasis.

*Ng'ala*: ulcer or leucoma of cornea.

*Ching'ang'a*: rabies in dogs.

*Lisichini*: round-worm of man.

*Manyongolosi*: round-worm of dogs or found in the ground.

*Wakongwe wajumu*: a barren woman (lit. dry).

*Chisungula*: sterility in the male.

*Chisyungula* or *gojo*: an impotent man or *Mundu jua iyoyo*: a useless man!

*Mpuli*: impotent.

*Mchese* (*ku-chera* = to cut off): a "cut man"; a man soon after he has been castrated.

*Mtonga*: a eunuch after he has become fat.

*Namtundira* (*nalimvimvi* Chin.): the word is derived from *kutunda*, to micturate. Natives say that when disturbed, the insect of this name which is a locustid, *Enyaliopsis durandi*, makes water which falling on the skin of the passer-by causes ulceration. I have seen a variety of cases of extensive ulceration due to syphilis, etc., assigned to the effects of this insect; I have, however, shown that it does secrete a corroding fluid from pores at the sides of the body which dropped on to the skin will dissolve the superficial layers of the epidermis and should such abrasions become infected, ulceration may, of course, result.

*Utendeu*: tremor, similar to the movements of one of the wasps.

*Manjenje*: tremor of old age, *paralysis agitans*.

The preceding short list of words will give some idea of the richness of the language in some directions and also its limitations. There now follows an account of diseases which are based on superstition, generally connected with the idea of uncleanness or the transgression of some rule of life. Whatever the symptoms, if there has been a transgression, the disease is labelled with the name of the disease supposed to follow the act. Similar diseases are to be remarked among the other tribes in the country; some of those relating to the Anyanja I have already mentioned,<sup>1</sup> and the following may be read as an amplification of the remarks previously made.

*Chinyera* (*Kanyera* Chin.) from *kunya*, to defecate: At the birth of a child, if the contents of the bowel (meconium) are passed before the body is born (as often happens in breech presentations), the child is said to be "born with disease." One of the women attending the confinement will always go out and inform the husband of what has happened, saying, "*Apali 'chenene*," (it is born well) or "*Apali ni chilwele*," (it is born with disease). This only refers to the passage of meconium and not to any antenatal disease.

When this significant event has happened, the husband may not occupy the same sleeping mat as his wife and have intercourse with her until the child of its own accord crawls from the mother's sleeping mat to that of her husband on the other side of the hut; *Ku-pitisya mwanache ku magono* (*Ku-pititsa mwana ku mpasa*, Chin.) = "to go the child to the mat." Should the husband disregard this custom, he will sicken with *Chinyera*. The symptoms commonly ascribed to *Chinyera* are pain in the loins and in the hypogastrium.

<sup>1</sup> 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit.



This has led to the word being translated as Bright's disease (Hetherwick). No symptoms referable to the pudenda are included under this disease. *Mwera* (Chin. *Kagundu*): hydrocele; said to be another sequela. A woman soiled by the excrement of her infant after birth is not considered unclean and intercourse will have no ill result to the husband. Sometimes in the event of *Apali ni chilwele*, recourse is had to the practice of intercourse between the woman and some other man. She is thus rendered "clean" and the man who is not her husband will not sicken. Such a man is called *Litunu* (see *Widowhood*).

*Lwaso*: a disease similar to *Chinyera*, which inflicts a man having coitus with his wife who has not been cleansed after abortion.

*Kusisimula*: a practice indulged in if a new-born child falls ill; the word refers to the "hardening" of pots when they are being made and the same idea is applied to the child. If the new-born child gets fever, the illness is ascribed to the *carunculae myrtiformes* about the vulva of the mother. These are cut off by an old medicine-woman and the blood allowed to drop into a mortar; water and some leaves are added and pounded together, and the mother attired only in a cloth reaching to the loins, washes her breasts with the liquid while the baby is supported on one thigh; the child is then given the breast and the mother, turning her back on the mortar, pushes it over backwards with her buttocks.

*Ya njete* (from salt; Chin., *dza mchere*): If a woman who, after the death of a child, has not been cleansed by medicine, adds salt to her husband's food, he eating it will sicken.

*Tsempo* (a Chinyanja word): If a man or a woman commits adultery and any member of the family falls ill, the natives say the illness is due to the unlawful act; the sinner is said "to have gone in front of the other"; *kwapunda* (*wapambana*, Chin.), "he has gone in front of," from *ku-punda* and *ku-pambana*, to go in front of, or *ku-sempha* (Chin.), to go slyly in front of. Hence the word *tsempo* which also is used loosely for *dza mchere*. If a child who according to custom has gone to stay with the grandmother, returns to the parents' house and the parents continue to have sexual intercourse, the child may sicken; it is said that the house is "hot" for the child and its disease may be called *tsempo*. Or if a child which has been weaned is again given the breast after the mother has resumed cohabitation with her husband, it may sicken with *tsempo*. And the husband is called *kwapunda*.

A child which is suckled after menstruation is reestablished, is not affected by any untoward symptoms.

In the event of a woman dying in childbirth, if it so happens the husband has committed adultery, he is held responsible for the death and her relations claim very heavy compensation.

*Ku-simanilwa*, to be met with (*ku-kumanidwa*, Chin.): if the act of coitus causes the onset of menstruation and the husband cannot draw back in time to prevent himself being contaminated, he will sicken, and he is said "to have met with (it)" when referring to his illness. In this disease, the penis is said to withdraw into the bladder. Soot from the roof

of the hut, *chenjelele*, and the red part of the flower of the banana, doubtless on account of its shape, are used as medicine for this disease.

*Kwimbangana* or *Ndaka*: If a man dies and his relations eat of the food-stuffs left by him, such as corn from his grain-store, before they have been cleansed by medicine, they will sicken with *ndaka*, the symptoms being anaemia and wasting. The word *kwimba ndaka* is also used for sickness due to partaking of food cooked by an unfaithful wife.

*Chipata* is a word used by both Yao and Anyanja to denote a disease which a man contracts from adulterous intercourse. Scott<sup>1</sup> derives the word from *ku-pata*, to stick to; the woman is so influenced by medicine made by her husband that should any man have adulterous intercourse with her, the disease will "stick" to him, while it will not affect the woman herself nor her own husband. Both the disease and the medicine made to cause the disease are known as *Chipata*. Secondly, the word has come to be used for any disease which may be gained by sexual intercourse and is sometimes used as a general term for venereal disease.

*Chipata cha chipula* (*chipula*, a knife): A man who is going away from home obtains medicine and doctors his knife with it. As he leaves his house to go on his journey, he pretends just to remember his knife and calls for it. His wife brings it to him and it is put into its sheath; he then goes out and sticks it in the grass of the roof of the house. The medicine is made from the tail of a dog, an animal in which coitus is prolonged and the two animals cannot separate. Should the wife commit adultery, it is supposed that just as the knife was unsheathed and doctored with dog medicine, so the adulterous pair will remain fixed *in coitu* and be found out. This may be called *chipata cha kutega* (*kutega* = to set a trap).

The Anyanja make medicine with the same idea, *chipata cha kuchera* (*ku-chera*, to set a trap, Chin.); medicine is put round the house and any man crossing the medicine and committing adultery with the wife will be trapped. In all cases, the man will become ill.

*Chipata cha miasi*, *miasi*, blood (*mwazi*, Chin.); disease caused by intercourse with a menstruating woman. Blood is passed in the urine.

*Chipata cha uwou*, *uwou*, pus (*mafinya*, Chin.): practically means gonorrhoea.

*Chipata cha litonji*, *litonji*, cotton (*tonje*, Chin.): the discharge from the urethra resembles a thread of cotton; it is supposed that this thread can be pulled out endlessly.

*Chipata cha ucheche*, *ucheche*, the white-ants (*chiswe*, Chin.): so called when a man passes whitish-yellow debris in the urine. It is supposed that when he has finished passing water, white ants rush up the penis and enter the bladder, thus causing the pain which characterizes this affection. The origin of the idea lies in the fact that if one sprinkles water or urinates on the ground near white-ant burrows, the ants will come to the surface of the ground in numbers and make a rustling sound.

<sup>1</sup> D. C. Scott, A cyclopedia dictionary of the Mang'anja language, op. cit.



Other hypothetical diseases which are caused by disobedience to custom are mentioned under various other headings. *Kasipa*: a disease generally characterized by ulceration of the legs but in some cases by pains in the back, or loosely used for a variety of symptoms, is said to be caused by the entry into the body of a worm which lives in water-pools. This worm which I have had identified is a gordian worm and not known to be parasitic in man. *Luasi*: When a man kills another in battle, he will slit open the belly of his victim; otherwise he believes he will sicken with *luasi* and his own belly will swell up like that of the corpse when putrefaction sets in. He is supposed also to hunger after more killing and blood. *Likango* is the name of a supposed disease which kills off one child after another in a family when they are about six months old. Congenital syphilis naturally suggests itself but I have never been able to verify this idea. *Likango lya kututa*: a supposed disease which causes the death of the first child when the second is born, the second when the third is born and so on, whatever the intervals between the births. Each child is said to push (*ku-tuta*) the previous one out of this world. Under these circumstances the disease is ascribed to something wrong with the mother or father and they are examined by a medicine-woman or medicine-man, and any carunculae or an external pile found will be cut away.

If a snake inflicts two bites, the case will prove fatal. If a crocodile emits a grunting sound when seizing its victim, though he escape he will certainly die.

**Treatment of disease.** Of surgical treatment there is very little to be noted. Nothing in the way of operation is performed with the exception of circumcision (see *Lupanda*).

An abscess is allowed to burst, the smallest tumor is left untouched, but accessory digits which are not rare, attached only by a fine pedicle, are snipped off.

The natives cannot extract teeth. They are incapable of rendering any assistance in cases of difficult labor. Dislocations are not recognized as such, but fractures are treated by the application of wooden sticks placed at intervals round the circumference of the limb parallel to it and held in position by twisted pieces of bark string (Pl. XXII, fig. 3). The principle of the tourniquet appears to be unknown.

The only instruments used consist of a small knife for incision, a cupping-horn, and a primitive form of funnel for administering enemata (Pl. XXII, figs. 1, 2, 4). The knife has a triangular blade with a stem which is commonly twisted at one of the corners. The knife is used for wet-cupping, tattooing, and circumcision (Pl. XXII, fig. 2). The cupping-horn is a small horn of a calf. The apex is pierced and after application to the part, suction is made with the mouth and then the hole sealed by working a piece of beeswax over it with the tongue. Six small incisions are made in the skin for the withdrawal of the blood. The cupping-horn is called *chuwi* (*tulumika*, Chin.). Cupping is used for headache and for pain in the chest and back. The enema funnel, *chigolya* (*ntimbiri*, Chin.) is made from the neck of a gourd to which is attached a hollow straw for introduction into the anus. Half a pint of an infusion of *nungaiu* is injected for constipation associated with pain.



Simple incision is practiced for relief of pain or again "medicine" may be introduced into the wound. Such medicine usually consists of charcoal prepared from various vegetable substances. There is no evidence that any active medicinal principles are involved and the most that is attained is probably a certain amount of counter-irritation. For pain, a string is tied tightly round the part; thus for headache one sees a string tied round the head and doubtless some relief is felt when pressure is made on the temples. A man with an abscess of the hand or foot will tie a string round the arm or leg, but I have never seen it so applied as to produce any effect comparable to that of Bier's hyperaemic treatment. By analogy a string may be worn round the chest for pleuritic pain and by limiting movement may be effective. In many cases a charm is attached to the string as an adjuvant.

The use of drugs as such is widespread but I have very little evidence of their efficacy. The methods of administration are various. The vapor bath is often used. Over a pot of water in which have been dropped herbs and stones heated in a fire, the patient squats enveloped in a blanket and is thereby subjected to the action of the medicated steam. This method is also adopted for exorcism. A case which came recently to my notice was the wife of a native hospital dresser who, suffering pain in the abdomen, avoided my ministrations and consulted a female medicine-maker. She was given a vapor bath as above described and after a few moments, the medicine-woman clapped her on the back and told her to rise. The old woman plunged her hands into the pot and brought forth some human hair tied in a piece of calico and a human metacarpal bone. "These are what troubled you," she said — fee £1! This is called *ku-logolola*, to take evil things out for.

Various powdered barks and leaves are applied to ulcers and appear to have an astringent effect in some cases but the majority seem to go from bad to worse. No other external applications have been observed except one for scabies. Incision of the skin and insertion of "medicine" have been mentioned above.

Large numbers of vegetable products are administered by mouth, always in the form of an infusion or suspension. It is probable that a number of these are really beneficial but I am not able to speak in detail of their effects. Many astringents are undoubtedly used for diarrhoea. Herbs containing oil are used for gonorrhoea.

Apart from magic medicine dealt with elsewhere and commonly employed for purposes outside disease, charms are used for the prevention and treatment of ordinary diseases and injuries. There are only a few varieties of charms. A vegetable substance, root or stem, may be worn on a string round the part of the body concerned. Thus one sees a couple of little pieces of stick, *mbiji*, on a string tied round the head, round the arm or round the chest for headache, a whitlow or diarrhoea as the case may be. The medicine may be in the form of a preparation, generally charred vegetable substances, and is made into a little packet in leaves and cloth worn most commonly round the neck; it is called *katumwa*. Such a charm is supposed to be effective against all ills.

Again, charm medicine may be contained in various articles which are also generally worn round the neck. The teeth and claws of the beasts of prey are so employed, generally arranged in pairs bound together so as to form a crescent and suspended from a string. The teeth of crocodiles, lions, leopards, and the claws of the same beasts and of some large birds of prey are thus employed. The teeth etc., are in themselves charms against injury, probably against what one might call homologous injury. The idea of stuffing them with medicine is probably a secondary consideration, a process of fortification of the charm so that its use comes to have a more powerful influence. It is interesting to see of late years that the native, recognizing the decorative value of these crescent-shaped amulets, has begun to copy them in lead and ivory. A series of these of graduated size is worn as a necklace by women.

When a medicine-man is consulted, part payment is made in advance, "payment to go and dig medicine (roots)." The rest of the payment is made when the cure is effected. Should a patient not be satisfied with his treatment and wish to consult some other medicine-man, he pays to the first a quarter of the fee he would have paid if his cure had been effected; this is called "paying him to get his medicine away." Unless this is done, should he recover later, he will be liable to claims for full fees from all of the medicine-men he has consulted; each will say his own medicine has gone on acting and has effected the cure. A medicine-man may take a case he is treating into his own house.

In prescribing medicine, very particular instructions are given with an embargo on certain things which may or may not have some use and significance. A medicine-man in 1891 at Malemya's, who inoculated every one in the forehead with bullet proof medicine, said that no one must step across a *mwisi* (pestle for pounding grain), and no one must eat the leaves of the sweet potato.

A medicine-man always partakes of part of the decoction he is giving to a patient to show that it is harmless; I think these preparations are mostly inactive. I should hate to sample all the castor oil I have prescribed, though many natives have had suspicions about me when I have not done so.

**Poisons.** Though there are a large number of species in this country, both vegetable and animal, from which poison might be extracted, those that have gained any reputation among natives and have come under my observation are but few in number. *Mwai* (*Mwabvi* Chin.) "the ordeal poison," is the bark of *Erythrophloeum guineaense*. The natives distinguish two varieties of *mwai*, the two trees differing slightly in leaf, flower and bark; *mwai* is the *Erythrophloeum guineaense*, the second variety known as *mperanjilu* is doubtless an allied species. *Mwai* is the poison employed in the poison ordeal.<sup>1</sup> It is administered in a poisonous dose as a decoction of the bark, recovery or otherwise depending on whether or not the poison is voided by vomiting. Natives give as the symptoms headache, giddiness, disturbances of vision, vomiting and purging, with slowing of heart beat. *Mper-*

<sup>1</sup> Vide infra, p. 296.



*anjilu* is a more deadly poison and is not used in the poison ordeal but is administered with intent to murder; it is usually given mixed with beer or in porridge. Death is said to be assured in a few hours. *Ligombela*: the Yao name of beetles belonging to the genus *Mylabris*, found in large numbers in June and July in the native gardens where they do much damage to the bean crops. The name is, I think, more especially applied to a species with yellow bands, those with red markings being said to be harmless. These beetles are prepared for poisoning food by frying and then grinding into a powder. In this form, they are administered with intent to murder or they may be taken for suicidal purposes, five or six beetles being used. These beetles contain cantharidin in a greater proportion than cantharis itself. The symptoms described by the natives as occurring after exhibition are constipation followed by high fever, and death eight hours later. This same beetle is known to other tribes and is the *zwezwe* of the Anyanja.

The bile of the crocodile, *nyongo* (*ndulu*, Chin.); *nyongo* and *ndulu* also are used, meaning the gall-bladder. Crocodile gall has the reputation of being a powerful poison over nearly the length and breadth of Africa. It is known, I think, to all the tribes in Nyasaland. In this district, they qualify their beliefs by saying that the bile of crocodiles from Lakes Chilwa and Chiuta which do not eat men is not poisonous. The poison is also said not to be used on the Lower Shiré River where, and where only, crocodiles are eaten as food by the natives. Among the Yao, the gall-bladder is removed with the contained gall, dried, and then ground in a little mortar or on a stone. The dose of the powder is said to be as much as would cover a sixpence. Symptoms are said to be great pain in the stomach, swelling and discoloration of the tongue, and loss of speech. Public destruction of the gall-bladder of any crocodile which has been killed is said to be the custom on the West Coast of Africa, and the same is true of some tribes in Nyasaland as at Kotakota, but so far as I am aware, this is not done among the Yao.

The gall of other animals is similarly used, but among the Yao I am not quite certain of the species. *Lipiri*, the puff-adder, certainly is utilized, and I think other snakes, such as *Nalukukuti*, a grey, ash colored snake, *Liuyi*, a water-snake six feet long, and *Songo*, the crowing-snake. Certain lizards are also employed, such as *Likwakwala*, and frogs, both *Chiula* and the running frog, *Chiswenene*. Scorpions too have found a place among poisonous preparations, so it is said, and likewise, the bile of some mammals. Bamboo fibre, animal hair, the bones of fish, and ground glass, I have also heard mentioned as being administered with the desire to produce a fatal enteritis.

Pupal cases made of twigs and the contained pupa (species of the family of *Psychidae*) called *chitemangu* or *chitema ngwi* (from *ku-tema*, "to cut" and *ngwi*, "fire-wood") are said when eaten by cattle to cause death. I cannot vouch for the truth of this nor can I say whether they are ever given to man.

A wild yam, *mtuu* (*malapa*, Chin.) is poisonous if not well boiled and the water thrown away, but is not used as a poison so far as I know. The same is true of *ngunga*, a kind of cassava.



*Strophanthus* is specially reserved for poisoning arrows and it is doubtful if it is ever given by mouth; *Kombe* is the name used in this country, but there are two species of *strophanthus* in Nyasaland, *Strophanthus kombe* and *Strophanthus courmonti*. The seeds and bark are used and, less commonly, the root. They are mixed with the roots of a shrub called *Nchazimba*, pounded together and boiled, and the liquid used to anoint the arrows. The use of poisoned arrows is a Manyanja custom adopted to some extent by the Yao.

A number of poisons are also employed in catching fish, *Ngunga* and *Mtutu* being the most common, also *Kamsimbile Ngachi* (*Nkadzi*, Chin.), and *Chinyenye*.

**Witchcraft.** In my article on the Anyanja,<sup>1</sup> reference is made to witchcraft and *mfiti*. Beside the Nyanja *mfiti* or the Yao *msawi*, all tribes as far as I know in Nyasaland have firmly fixed among their beliefs, the conception of the supernatural human-flesh eater. It is a little difficult to define the term *mfiti* or *msawi*, as it has come to have the somewhat generalized sense of one who practices witchcraft, but the original meaning is defined by Scott,<sup>2</sup> a person who has acquired the knowledge of occult medicine by which he can kill his fellow men; "what makes the power so dreaded is not that the *mfiti* exercises this power for reasons of spite but (as is supposed), to eat the body of his victim." It is at once interesting to note that the word *mfiti* does not belong, according to Scott, to the personal class of nouns but to the *ya-za* class, which seems to imply that they believe a *mfiti* to be something outside the idea of a person. Among the Anyanja in Zomba district, however, the word belongs to the first class of nouns (the personal class) as also does *msawi* in Chiyao.

The natives believe that any man in a village may be a *mfiti* or it might be more correct to say, is capable of changing into a *mfiti*. *Ufiti* is the state of being a *mfiti*; in Chiyao, *usawi*.

As I have pointed out under *Diseases*, practically all illness and death are thought to be due to the machinations of some person or persons. The inciting motive which may cause a man to compass the death of another may be spite, revenge, etc., or the desires of *usawi*. Until recent years, when the Government legislated to put down witchcraft, the charges of *usawi* were everyday occurrences. Whether or not the prevalence of the idea of cannibalism has any substance in correspondingly frequent practice has never been and now probably never will be surely proved. Duff Macdonald believes it to be so.<sup>3</sup> It is true that native graves have been and are still rifled and that the graves of some Europeans have been so opened in the past, as I have learned from eyewitnesses. It seems probable that the graves were tampered with by natives with the object of removing the human remains, possibly to be eaten or to obtain portions of the body to use as charms. Mr. L. T. Moggridge,

<sup>1</sup> 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Africana*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 213-214.

Resident Magistrate at Blantyre, told me of a case where the grave of a well-known European hunter was opened and his trigger finger removed, the reason being obvious. The same thing is said to have occurred in regard to the heart of a brave man. In the former case the finger was probably worn as a charm; in the latter, the heart partly eaten and partly made into medicine. I have found human fingers and skulls among the outfits of witch-doctors. Such practices seem akin to those of cannibalistic societies found in other parts of Africa.

The natives insist that *wasawi* are banded together in some sort of society. There are numerous discrepancies in the evidence brought forward about *usawi*, but such would necessarily arise and they do not, therefore, disprove the general belief in the actuality of *usawi*. Be that as it may, it seems probable that though there may be little or no cannibalism at the present day, the beliefs about *usawi* have arisen in consequence of common cannibalistic practices in the past. There are individual cases of cannibalism well known and one has only to call to mind that of Kamtukule of Malemya's village. This man more or less openly killed and ate a number of people. On one occasion after a fight, he was seen looking over the dead bodies of the slain foes and in answer to an enquirer, he denied that he wanted any spoils but said he was just marking the bodies, "that would be his share." Later on, his own son, who tells the story, brought an Angoni man into the village who wished to settle under Malemya. It was evening, so he was introduced into his father's (Kamtukule's) house where Kamtukule gave him food and later a mat on which to sleep, the son meanwhile having gone to a beer drinking. In the morning, he returned to take his Angoni friend to the chief, but his father said he had gone away. Entering the hut, however, the son came upon the Angoni's snuff-box, and said to his father, "No Angoni would go away and leave his snuff-box." But the father said, "Well, he has gone." The lad being suspicious again went into the hut and found the place where the Angoni had been sleeping drenched with blood. Going out again, he noticed blood dripping through the bottom of Kamtukule's grain-store and looking inside, he found the body.

This man Kamtukule was a great friend of the reigning Malemya's headwife, Kung'ando; after the death of Malemya and after his wives had passed to the present Malemya, circumstances arose in the village which cast suspicion on Kamtukule and the woman. One of two brothers was ill and, it appeared afterwards, that the woman had said to Kamtukule, "Won't you finish him off?" It is supposed that Kamtukule thought she meant the brother who was not sick; for it so happened that both died the same night. It was supposed they were killed in order that Kamtukule and the woman, his friend, might eat them. Malemya had the woman turned out of the village. She now lives near Zomba and has once come under my care. The man, who was also turned out, took up his abode near a highway where he is reported to have killed several Angoni porters whom he said he preferred, because "being travellers far away from their homes, no one would bother about them."



The father of one of my servants helped to clear out the remains of a body from his grain store on one occasion and shortly afterwards, it is supposed that his own sons who had said they could not allow it to go on any longer, employed some one to kill him, as he was found, one day, with his head smashed in. There are, I believe, a number of similar cases known.

A person is supposed to gain the powers of *usawi* by procuring medicine from some one willing to sell his secrets at a price, and by performing certain rites usually connected with his method of bathing. It is said that "such and such a one takes his bath on the top of an ant hill" or "on the roof of his house by moonlight." The usual initiation into *usawi* is a long business, the individual being successively initiated into all the various practices of *ukoma*, the supernatural. Medicines are made from a still-born child, from various plants, from the hyaena, etc., and used for preparing the individual in the new science. He is introduced to the hyaena, the fox, etc. It is also asserted that a man may acquire supernatural powers by having sexual intercourse with a near relative, a sister or mother. I have had pointed out to me an old man who is said to have wished thus to acquire power but the women refused and he has been a laughing-stock ever since.

On one occasion, a man related to me the pathetic life story of his attempt to find his favorite sister who, like himself, had been taken away to the coast as a slave. In desperation he has adopted the above procedure to try to gain supernatural powers to help him but without result. It would therefore seem to be a method not particularly associated with *usawi*.

The *msawi* is supposed to bring about the death of his victim not by administering poison or other such direct means, but by the more subtle mode of making medicine "against" him. When the victim has succumbed and is in due course buried, the *msawi* arrives at the grave to secure that for which he has been working. To the *msawi* is attributed the power of making himself invisible, and of taking the form of an animal; owing to the carrion-eating habits of the hyaena, this animal form is most commonly taken. Other animal forms which are associated with the *msawi* are the leopard, the fox, and the owl, all night-going animals. The Yao say, "The cry of the fox (jackal) is heard at night because he associates with *usawi* doings."

Arrived at the grave after sunset, the *msawi* blows his horn, the horn of a small antelope, to call his brethren; a fire with a blue flame is made by the grave and around it they dance, or the grave may be illuminated by blue flame without a visible fire. The *msawi* calls upon the deceased to rise from the grave, addressing him by the name he bore before he was initiated, i.e. his child-name. Obeying the summons, the dead man rises to the surface of the ground, though how he comes out is not quite clear — "the hole may be ever so small." The risen dead is then killed again by magic medicine and his body divided to be eaten by the congregation of *wasawi*. It is said that the skull is made into a gourd, the eyes are used as beads, and the ribs formed into a girdle.



A *msawi* may be met with under different circumstances. An educated native told me of his experience one night when riding a bicycle back to a township where he was employed. Coming along a smooth-hoed path with his lamp alight, he became aware of the presence of something in the bush in front and at the side of him. Suddenly his lamp was smashed and he was left in darkness, while something pushed him over so hard that he fell off his cycle. Picking himself up, he started to wheel his cycle on, when there appeared on the path in front, figures who, rubbing their hands together to produce a phosphorescent glow, held them up in front of the boy's face. He was, however, not molested further, and coming to a group of huts he knew, he went in and made inquiries as to the cause of his experiences and was promptly told that there was a man living in a hut near the spot on the path where they had occurred who was supposed to be *msawi*. Such a story is given for what it is worth. The boy was about twenty-two years old, a highly educated native with an intelligent appreciation of the worth of superstition.

Some *wasawi* demonstrations can have no object but to strike terror and keep up the prestige of the *msawi* class. Mr. Moggridge wrote me, "A boy of mine was certainly attacked and squeezed about the neck by a man whom he described as naked, huge, and slightly luminous, on the road at the back of my house in Blantyre. The boy was strolling up and down in the dusk and had nothing about him to provoke robbery; he was almost choked before he managed to let out a yell which determined his assailant to let him go. He was not a local boy and no theory of personal spite was supportable. I thought and still think that the motive was to show that even the Resident's servant twenty yards from the Resident's house was not safe from *usawi*." It seems possible that some natives with intent to rob had pretended to be *wasawi* but recognizing that their victim was likely to cause trouble, they went no further.

It is said that the phosphorescence is produced by rubbing in the hands two vegetable substances from local trees and that this is the method the *wasawi* adopt to announce their presence.

**Poison Ordeal.** As I have said above, when anyone sickens or dies, the illness or death is likely to be considered the work of some one who is *msawi*, and action will be taken by the relatives to find him out. The proceedings in such a case where witchcraft is suspected will now be briefly sketched; though I give an account of a case from beginning to end as if it occurred at the present time, it must be understood that the giving of *mwai*, the ordeal poison, is now much less common than formerly. A man becomes ill in some village and does not get better, so the caster-of-lots is consulted. The sick man's relatives or friends go to the lot-caster and approach the subject indirectly by asking him his advice about a number of imaginary cases; they may say, "Things have been stolen from our house." The lots are cast and the caster replies, "No, you have not come to see me about that." This may go on for hours before the facts of the case proper are mentioned to him. Finally, they tell him that one of their relatives is ill in the village, the lots are consulted and advice is given

as to procuring medicine for him from a medicine-man. If the caster of lots is suspicious that some one has caused the illness, he will at the same time add, "Let so and so pray," mentioning the name of the man whom he suspects. Following the advice given, the medicine-man is consulted. He promises to get medicine for the sick man and goes into the forest to search for it. Having returned, he prepares his decoctions and having first partaken of a little himself, he gives it to his patient with further instructions. The friends of the sick man having returned to the village, indirectly ask the man on whom suspicion has been cast to pray for the sick man saying, "He is covered by some spirit." The man prays, sometimes using *mbepesi* and beginning *chonde! chonde!* "please! please!" and goes on to ask *Mlungu* to take away the spirit which has covered the sick man, adding that he himself is innocent of any ill doing against the man and that any grudge he may have had against him is now forgotten.

If the sick man recovers, well and good, but should he die, there is more to be done. The morning following the burial, the relatives go to the chief and in answer to his inquiry of what they are going to do, they say they must again consult the caster-of-lots. They will choose some one who lives a long way off and is not cognizant of the death of their relative: those who go to him have not been shaved after the funeral. Much the same business is gone through as on the first occasion but, in the end, the caster-of-lots is told that they suspect some one unknown to have brought about the death of their relative. The names of all the possible persons are given, the lots cast in each case and, eventually, one is picked out as the guilty man; the caster-of-lots saying, "If I am not telling the truth, you can test my words by giving *mwai* (ordeal poison) to a fowl; if it does not die, come back and break up all my properties."

He may have gained information from his lots that the suspect is a man of power gained by some special rite, e.g. the midnight bath on the ant hill, in which case he will insist that the fowl poison-ordeal must take place on an ant hill or he will give other specific instructions. On the way back, the relatives will buy two fowls; *mwai* will be prepared by a boy who has not passed through his initiation ceremonies, and two of the party will be chosen as pleaders, one for the deceased, the other for the accused. One fowl is then selected to represent the accused and the poison administered according to the conditions laid down by the lot-thrower, while the two pleaders give injunctions to it, one saying, "You are guilty; you shall die"; the other, "You are innocent and you shall show your innocence by vomiting the poison and recovering." If the fowl dies, a third man cuts off its head, saying, "I am the burier of the dead." *Mwai* is then administered to the second fowl to ascertain whether any other persons are involved. The head of the first fowl is singed, stuck on a stick and carried back with the party towards their village. A little way outside, they halt in the bush, and send word to the headman that they are returning. He then comes out privately to see them, asking what has happened, and is told all the events in sequence.



One of the group is chosen to go in the morning and summon some one to appear on behalf of the accused man. He and the headman join the party in the bush when the whole of the case from the beginning of the deceased's illness, is again related, ending with the fowl test and dramatic statement of the name of the accused, whereupon the fowl's head on its stick is planted in the ground opposite to the man who has appeared for him as he squats listening to the story. The man who has been called to defend the accused, though the latter may have no particular claim on his kindness, is in honor bound to do his best. As the fowl's head is planted opposite him, he will shift quickly to one side, protesting the innocence of the accused. All then adjourn to the village to put the case before the chief. One of the men acts as prosecutor, again going through the whole case, calling witnesses and others to aid him in speaking. The accused is then defended by the man chosen for the purpose, assisted by others whom he asks to help him. They may speak for a week or more. The chief decides the case, and the result will be communicated to the defendant by his pleader.

If he is found guilty of causing the death of the deceased, he must pay the fine inflicted or if he has been accused actually of *usawi*, he may have to undergo, or may offer to undergo, the *mwai* ordeal poison himself or the test may be made with a dog tied to the leg of the accused man. If the ordeal is satisfactory to the defendant, the man claims compensation for wrongful accusation. If he dies with *mwai*, his relatives have to pay compensation for the crime he is thereby shown to have committed.

If either party is dissatisfied with the chief's decision, recourse may be had to a hearing before another chief, the first being very glad to be rid of the case. The second gives judgment quickly. If the case goes on to a poison-ordeal, a day is fixed and the accused is taken out to some spot two or three miles from the village where a hut is built called *ndawo* (place of torture). Accompanied by the two pleaders, he remains here for several days. People from the village come out and attempts are made to make him confess any accomplices; beans are fried over a fire and when very hot are put into the accused's hands and his fists closed over them, or they are put in a cloth which is fastened round the perineum, or bamboo sticks are arranged one on either side of the head and tightened by a string.

The third day, natural undyed bark-cloth is obtained and men go out to fetch the *mwai* poison, two men from each party, the prosecutors and the defendants. One man sent by the prosecutor has actually to take the bark from the tree, while the others look on to see fair play. The bark can only be taken from the east or west side of a tree; it may not be cut with a knife or axe or be pulled off, but must be cut with a stone and allowed to fall; only a piece which falls with the inner surface lying upwards is taken. Any of the party may carry it but they must on no account leave one another. Having returned, they hide the *mwai*.

On the appointed day, the big drum is sounded and a crier goes round saying that everyone who wants to see so and so drink *mwai* must go to the appointed place. Every large



village had its regular place of torture and *mwai* drinking, two or three miles from the village. Those used by Malemya, the old Zomba chief, may still be seen.

A clear way is made two feet broad and fourteen feet long in the bush and here the accused takes up his position attended on either side by the two pleaders, the defending pleader on the right, the prosecuting on the left. Facing east or west or following the directions originally given by the caster-of-lots, that is, taking up the position in which the accused is supposed to take a midnight bath, or practice some rite under a tree or an ant hill, etc., he is given a decoction of *mwai* to drink from a gourd. This decoction is made on the spot, the bark being pounded up on a stone by one of the prosecutors. The accused must have had no food that day. He then starts to walk up and down the short cleared path with the two men, one on either side of him, the one saying, "Now you have drunk *mwai*, you shall die as you deserve; you did in So-and-So," the other denying the accusations, saying, "He shall vomit the poison." He is watched by the assembled crowd who note the various symptoms of which vomiting is the first and said to be the most characteristic. After this has gone on for some time, they watch for what is called the *nyongo* which is said to be "a ball of bile formed in the mouth and expelled by vomiting so that it bursts on reaching the ground but not before", followed often by a second ball, twenty minutes later. Should this be expelled, recovery may be expected, foreshadowed by clearing of the vision. If he recovers, he is indeed a wonderful man and is hailed on all sides. The women trill with their tongues and shout, and he is carried back in triumph; the defending pleader will swagger about and demand anything he wants for his client.

A fatal termination is characterized by little and non-forcible vomiting. Purging is common but said to be painless. Vision is affected and as time goes on, the spectators ask what he can see, "Do you see that over there?" indicating a hill. If he makes mistakes, then they say, "Ah, he is going to die!"

The poison may not take full effect for three or four hours. The end is ushered in by a last stage when the legs become weak; he staggers, then unable to stand any longer, falls to the ground dead, execrated by the onlookers who rush in and hurl stones upon the body, crushing it. The relatives take the mangled corpse and lay it on logs covered with grass in the bush. No other covering is permitted. It may be placed in a tree by people acting as *awilo*. Burial is forbidden.

In some cases *wasawi* used to be burned, not being given the chance of the poison trial. This took place at a recognized spot like *ndawo*. The last man to be burned by Malemya was Mtulula in 1892. Burning was also a punishment in some bad cases of murder. Such was the fate of Chingale. The man was put in a slave-stick, a pile of logs was built round him and then set on fire.

**Witch-finder.** In addition to ordeal poison, another method of discovering a *msawi* is by "smelling out." If a number of people have died in a certain village, the inhabitants may begin to think that there is a *msawi* among them, and procure the services of a *mbisalila*.

*Mbisalila* is a Chinyanja word from *ku-bisa*, "to hide," referring to his custom of hiding in the village; the practice is originally Mang'anja, since adopted by the Yao. *Mbisalila* is often a woman and may be young.<sup>1</sup> She comes to stay in the village unknown to the people, lives in a watch house in the gardens and is said to go about at night when she is able to summon *msawi* persons from their houses. The fee for her services is paid beforehand. Later, the villagers are assembled and going round the company holding out flour in her hand, she calls upon So-and-So as the guilty man saying, "This is his 'night-name.'" The villagers all answer, "There is no one of that name in the village." She then goes round again and throwing the flour over the accused, utters his ordinary name and runs off into the bush, not to appear again. The accused may then offer to take *mwai* (ordeal poison) to prove his innocence or if it is a case of illness only and not death, he may be treated by a medicine man, the process being called *ku-logolola*, "to take evil things out of."

A *msawi* man is sometimes said to renounce his old practices and may then be received into the company of *mbisalila*. A famous *mbisalila* near Zomba affirms that he used to be *msawi*. The mode of action of *mbisalila* varies greatly with different men; for some the ceremony is quite a minor matter; in other cases, it is an important affair.

**Witch-destroyer.** Where death is suspected to have resulted from *usawi*, steps may be taken immediately to catch and kill the *msawi*. For this purpose, the help of the *mundu juaseketela* is sought. *Ku-seketela* means "to break off the end of a stick"; it appears to be both a Chinyanja and a Chiyao word. The word refers to the practice of the professional witch-killer who is supposed to run a stick through the anus up the bowel of his victim and then break it off, leaving part inside. The *juaseketela* having been informed of the approaching funeral hides in the bush near the graveyard and watches the interment. After everyone has gone, he is free to put in operation that for which he has been called. The following *modus operandi* is related of a celebrated *mundu juaseketela* called Angoni of Zomba. The water in which the corpse had been first washed was obtained and put in an earthenware dish. He also provided himself with a gourd containing medicines and some stones, and another gourd filled with poison made from crocodile gall to anoint the *seketela* sticks. He also had a small antelope's horn containing medicine which when smeared on the head rendered him invisible, together with the stalks of a species of millet called *mbalwe* which sheds its grains at a touch, and a whistle made from the horn of a small antelope, the *oribi*.

So provided, he proceeded to the grave, around which he drew a ring with medicine contained in still another horn. Within this circle, all was safe. This was followed by a square immediately around the grave with a stone from the gourd placed at each side, north, south, east and west. The plate of water was placed on top of the grave. The *mundu juaseketela* then anointed himself with the medicine which made him invisible to the *mswai*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Scott, op. cit., p. 299.



and sitting within the circle, he blew his whistle which was irresistible to the *mswai* man who was then induced to come out of his house. When he had reached the grave, the water was sprinkled over him by the *juaseketela* with the millet stalk from the dish on the grave, or he was struck with the gnu's tail; in either case, he fell to the ground senseless. He was then ready to be dealt with. The *seketela* sticks, small bamboos filled with crocodile poison, were pushed up the anus and broken off to liberate the poison. Sticks might also be inserted behind the ear or in various other spots. The *mswai* was then beaten to wake him up; he ran off to his own village and there, a little later, he sickened and died, telling no one the cause. After death, the *awilo* when preparing the corpse of the hitherto unsuspected *mswai*, might find the end of the stick projecting from the anus or see the punctures elsewhere with the medicine adhering to them, and the man was revealed in his true colors.

At Mtwiche's village, there was a man called Liunga who professed to be able to extract the poison injected by the *juaseketela* by causing his patients to undergo a vapor bath and to drink certain decoctions. This man would never reveal the name of anyone who came to him for treatment but would brag that "trade was brisk." The symptoms of the mortal malady caused by the *seketela* are said to be intestinal obstruction with tremendous distention of the abdomen (peritonitis).

Of this same village, a story is told which, if not true, at all events illustrates the sort of thing that is believed. As has been mentioned above, whenever the *juaseketela* blows his little horn, any *wasawi* will hear it and thinking it is one of their band calling, will go to meet him. A woman of this village told how she and her husband were sitting over the fire while the evening meal was cooking, when he suddenly jumped up and said he must go outside for a bit. She remonstrated and asked him to wait for his food, but he hurried off. Later he returned, complaining of feeling very ill; his belly swelled up and he died soon after. It was said that this man was very friendly with a woman named Abibi and that when he went out into the bush, he was heard calling in a low voice, "Is that you, Abibi?" When his body was examined, two punctures were found on the left side of the chest. It was supposed that it was Abibi he expected to meet and with her enjoy a cannibalistic repast, whereas it was a *juaseketela* who had called and killed him.

This brief outline of a case of sickness, suspicion of witchcraft, death, and the consultation with the caster-of-lots, the witch-finder, ordeal poison, death, and the catching of the cannibal witch, has been given as a more or less consecutive story in order that it may be most easily understood. Some further details concerning the lot-caster, witchcraft, etc., must be added.

**Lot-casting.** Medicine men who cast lots were at one time fairly plentiful and were consulted on many matters, often of small importance from a European point of view. Chief of all were questions of witchcraft. The *modus operandi* varied in different cases. In *usawi* and other important matters, the medicine man always used the *chisango* (divining in-



strument). These were of various types but the most usual was made of a gourd, *chitumba*, called *ndumba*,<sup>1</sup> containing a number of small articles, each of which had some special name and if it appeared in the casting, a special significance. Among these articles are:

(a) *Achikalekale*; small pieces of broken white earthen-ware. These have the significance of whiteness, cleanness, innocence, or answers in the negative to questions as to any particular person having done some action.

(b) *Chiwamsagaja*; the body of one of those beetles which feign death. This indicates death in answer to the question asked. *Chiwamsagaja* is the name of the beetle.

(c) *Ugono*; a small piece of a sleeping-mat, signifying illness.

(d) *Liwale*; a small piece of stick or grass.

(e) Or *Mawale* the plural; little pieces of stick, said to indicate that the people have previously consulted some other diviner, whose findings are called for by the man who is then casting lots.

(f) *Msengo*; the horn. For convenience the small horn of a guapi is used. It indicates witchcraft, referring to the fact that witches like medicine men are supposed to keep their medicines in horns.

(g) *Ngoleka*; the coiled tendril of a vine, indicating a dispute, etc.

The lots are cast, and according to the disposition of the various articles, an interpretation is given in answer to the question put to the instrument.

*Chipendo* (plur. *ipendo*) is the word used in referring to instruments used for divination in minor cases and several of these are usually included in a diviner's kit. They may be called *chisango*.

1. A small heap of flour or ashes is raised and any article, such as a knife or a piece of stick is flipped towards it; interpretation is based on the direction taken by the article flipped.

2. A small tortoise shell filled with medicine propelled by a feather stuck in one end is similarly used, and is called *chisango cha ngongo*;<sup>2</sup>

3. A horn and feather may be used in the same way.

4. The stuffed skin of a weasel, *chindindi* (*likongwe*, Chin.) is also used, in the same way as *gologolo*, the squirrel.<sup>3</sup>

On February 4, 1914 at Zomba I witnessed Chiunganire of Chapita village, a Manganja man, use a small outfit for divining, consisting of: (1) A small oribi horn in a gourd with pieces of stick (Pl. XVI, figs. 3, 5); (2) a piece of bamboo matting with a horn fixed on each end of the strip called *chisango cha ugono* (Pl. XVI, fig. 2); (3) medicine in a gourd (Pl. XVI, fig. 1); (4) a rattle (Pl. XVI, fig. 4). He commenced by taking these things out of his bag and dusting them by rubbing in his hands. The gourd cup was cleaned out with his finger and spit into. The horn was spit upon, rubbed in the hands, and anointed with

<sup>1</sup> Stannus, 'Notes on some natives of British Central Africa,' Pl. XXVII, fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Pl. XXVI, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 304 and Pl. XXVI, fig. 9.

medicine from the gourd by means of a stick; then placed at the forehead, point forwards, held for a second at each armpit, and finally rubbed over in the hands again. The cup was similarly anointed, especially the edge, and rubbed in the hands, as were the horns on the *cha ugono*. All this was done with great precision and evidently in definite order, each article being laid on the ground in turn, and the string of matting rolled up. Four pieces of reed of a size that would lie over the mouth of the gourd cup overlapping the edges about an inch were then selected from among others and set ready on the ground. The rattle was treated with medicine from the same gourd. The horn was placed in the gourd by the operator, point upwards and lying towards himself, as he held the gourd by its body in the palm of his left hand, the handle towards him. Shaking the rattle in the right hand, he constantly muttered to the *chisango* "to tell him truly," "to answer his questions," and so on. By slight movements of his left arm which were well disguised but quite easily perceptible to the watcher, he could make the horn assume the erect position in the gourd and then fall backwards or forwards or to either side. The first position indicates "all is well," "nothing need be done"; the second means "there is trouble," "some one is talking at the village," "there is a case to be settled." These answer questions put to it by the owner who is being consulted about some case of illness, etc.

Another method of divining is with the horn in position as before mentioned and the four pieces of stick set across the mouth of the gourd touching one another, the ends projecting at the sides. The operator is able to make the horn appear to force off all the sticks without moving the gourd, or he can make any number of the sticks tumble into the gourd, and repeat the performance. If they fall off, it means a good day to go on a journey; if they fall in, the journey should be postponed.

The *chisango cha ugono* is held similarly in the left hand by the middle so that two wings are formed, each with the weight of a horn at the end. The caster-of-lots is able by almost imperceptible movements to make the two wings open and fall away from each other or swing together, and together partly roll up. When they fall apart wide open, it is an indication that all will be well; when they close, death may be expected. The gourd and horn and this *chisango cha ugono* form a pair which are called female and male.

*Chipendo cha mbingu*: *mbingu* is a word relating to omens in regard to journeys. Thom Cheonga told me that he remembers as a boy, when his father was going on a journey, he would take some pieces of root, moisten them in his mouth, and stick them on the wall of the hut. These pieces of root were daily watched by Thom's mother, as unaided they gradually took up a position lower and lower on the wall until they reached the ground. Then she knew that her husband had safely reached his destination.

Omens may be told in yet another way, *chisangu cha kuwecheta* (*ku-wecheta*, to speak). *Ndumba* is put in an empty house and the medicine man and his clients sit outside. The medicine man is asked some question which he puts to the *ndumba* which then answers like an oracle. I have never seen this done but my native informants tell me the voice that



speaks is invariably nasal in character and Chinyanja is the language always used. It is doubtless a case of what we should call ventriloquism. The custom is evidently of Mang'anja origin but in great favor with the Yao.

Divination also plays an important part in tracing thieves or stolen property or in picking out from a number of people anyone guilty of some crime. Several modes of procedure may be adopted. The *chisango* called *ndumba* may be used as the *chisango cha chipeta* (*chipeta*, a kind of basket). Medicine in the form of certain roots is placed on the ground and covered by the inverted basket on which is placed the *ndumba*. Each person in turn is requested to lift the basket and the guilty one is at once revealed by his inability to budge the basket off the ground. This method may even be used to reveal a man guilty of *usawi*.

Other methods of divination include a kind of trial by ordeal somewhat similar to a boiling water ordeal. *Kaundula* (from *ku-undula*, to tramp round, referring to the peregrinations made in search of what is lost, or *namlonda*, the Chinyanja word from *ku-londa*, to follow on the footsteps of) is the name of the witch-doctor who searches for stolen property or traces the thief. The same man may be called *mabvumbula* in Chinyanja (from *ku-vumbula*, to reveal) when he uses his instrument to detect in a crowd the person guilty of some crime. The *kaundula* uses the horn of a kudu stuffed with appropriate medicine, the actual *mise en scène* and methods adopted varying somewhat with different practitioners. The practice I believe to be a Mang'anja one and I think most of the operators were Anyanja men and not Yao, though the Yao, as with other customs, adopted the system fully. In my district, the *kaundula* was usually armed with a rattle; when the horn indicated the guilty individual, he intimated the fact to the assembled crowd by throwing flour over him.

When a search is to be made for stolen property, the horn is put into the hands of four men, alternate men pressing down and pulling up on the long horn, while the medicine man stands by, operating his rattle and exhorting the horn to do its work of revelation. I know a man who has on several occasions assisted in holding the horn; he said it simply seemed to drag him on in a series of jerky movements, sometimes going very fast, at other times moving slowly, dragging the holders "along the footsteps of the thief with the stolen goods" in and out of the house, through the bush, and across streams, until suddenly the horn dropped from their hands to the ground, where on digging, the stolen goods were found buried. (Cf. table turning, planchette, etc.)

A good description of *kaundula* under the headings *mabvumbula* and *namlondola* is given by Garbutt,<sup>1</sup> who describes the Mang'anja operators. In this same article, he makes the mistake of describing as *mabisalila*, the *juaseketela*. As I have stated above, the *juaseketela* is an order of medicine men who trap the man who is an *msawi* while in the *msawi* state, but the *mbisalila* points him out while he appears as an ordinary man of the village.

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Garbutt, 'Native customs in Nyasa,' (Man, London, 1912, vol. 12, p. 35-40).



**Witch-medicine.** The making of medicine against people has been shown to occupy an essential place in *usawi*, and it plays an important part in all occultism. So by insensible grades, the ordinary use of drugs in common diseases is reached, though it is probable that very much greater faith is placed in a packet of burnt roots put under the floor of the house than in the efficacy of any concoction taken by mouth.

There is a general belief that by medicine extra ability verging into supernatural power can be acquired. This power in a general sense is represented by the word *ukoma* and a man so possessed is spoken of as *mundu jua komala*. The desire for increased power may be a perfectly natural one, such as a desire for influence and popularity as a chief, or on the other hand, the power of *usawi* may be aimed at, or again, the knowledge of magic medicine for thieving or for any other practice. *Ukoma* is, therefore, a relative matter. The necessary medicine or initiation into the understanding of magic can be purchased from persons already practitioners, the honest herbalist merging by imperceptible degrees into the most criminal witch-doctor. A single practitioner may prescribe a charcoal dressing for an ulcer, exorcise an evil spirit by a vapor bath, sell medicine to enable the buyer to win a case at court, arrange medicine on a pathway to act as a selective love potion, or prescribe a drug to change a man into a lion.

Deserving of special mention are the people who thief by the aid of medicine which they have either purchased or prepared themselves. Such a man is called *chitaka* and the medicine *mtela wa chitaka*. The active principle of this medicine is said to be prepared from the tail of a hyaena, an animal which is said to be able to enter a house where people are sleeping and kill and carry off the fowls without waking the occupants. The medicine is often carried in a hyaena's tail. The *chitaka* is supposed to approach the house he would rob and chewing some medicine in the mouth, gently blow towards it to put everyone to sleep. The door is supposed to unfasten itself and the thief is free to take what he wishes. He is even said to kill, cook, and eat food in the house while the inmates remain unconscious. A special characteristic of the *chitaka* is that whatever he lays his hands on in the house he must remove, though he does not want it, so that in the morning many unwieldy, useless objects may be found outside the hut.

There are many other magic medicines. One of these, *luunga*, if introduced into a village, will cause the illness and death of some inmate. Anyone handling the body of the sick man or the corpse after death, sickens and dies until the whole village is wiped out. There is a man serving a life sentence now at the Central Prison, Zomba, who was convicted of having caused the death of many people in a village in Angoniland. He is said cheerfully to have admitted the power of his medicine.

Medicine made from a cousin is supposed to be efficacious in various ways. The blood of a cousin is instilled into the ear for otorrhoea. Drinking the water which has been used by a cousin to wash his face relieves intestinal colic. Medicine is made from the hairs of the beard of a cousin or from an *mbilo* and used for chest trouble.

*Mpasi* is a love potion. Men are often anxious that women should ask them for love (*ku-pala*). A man seeing a woman whom he fancies, takes up some of the dust where she has trodden and mixing this with medicine puts it in his hair. If he meet her again, though he takes no notice of her, she will come to him.

When crops are harvested, a layer of the cereal is laid at the bottom of the corn-store, and *umba*, which consists of medicines contained in the skull of or made from the body of a still-born infant, is then put in and the store filled. In this way, he who has only a small garden may be sure that his grain will last a long time. Similar medicine is put in gardens with the first rains to insure heavy crops. A man on the approach of the planting season should never give away seed to anyone until his own seed is put in or it may bring bad luck to his crop. This is evidently a superstition arising from the fact that if he gives seed away, he may not have enough left to raise a crop sufficient to support his family. Some people are considered "lucky at planting pumpkins, other people when they plant, reap only watery pumpkins." A man, therefore, will often ask one of the lucky people to plant his pumpkins for him. My hospital boy always got the cook to plant his pumpkins.

A man wishing to become a person of importance, with a village of his own, takes a medicine made from a certain tree and then builds his hut in a new place, hoping people will flock to him. The tree is known as *chukambili*. Another medicine, taken in the belief that people will flock to a man in consequence, is made from the bush called *mtola*. Cf. *litule* planted at the threshold to attract visitors.

**Conjuring.** There are other performances akin to magic in the eyes of the natives, which I have never had the opportunity of witnessing but which would appear to be of the nature of juggling or possibly hypnotism; some resemble the tricks of jugglers; others are more like some of the performances in India. I naturally supposed that they had been learned from men at the coast (Zanzibar), but I am assured that they belong to the Yao themselves.

Kambenje, a Yao of Chiradzulu, well-known at dances and *Unyago*, after some preliminary dancing, stands still and is covered by a cloth; when the cloth is again removed, he is discovered with a number of squealing puppies held in his loin cloth, which he then hands round. He begins to dance again and the persons to whom the puppies have been given watch him and then find they are holding excrement, not puppies. Or mud-fish are handed round and the people find they are holding women's diapers.

Another trick often performed by Kambenje was the burial of a man in the ground, covered up completely with earth; at the sounding of the drums the buried man comes running in from the back of the watching crowd.

Kasonga, a Yao of Malemya's, priest, and medicine man, after an *Unyago* ceremony used to put on his red blanket and walk over the hot embers of an enormous fire in the village open space. He admitted that he smeared himself with medicine and an eyewitness told me that when he put his feet on the hot logs, it caused a sizzling sound.



Tingulingu was another well-known performer; he used to do the same tricks as Kambenje. He also was possessed of an elastic skin and is said to have been able "to tie his ears together behind the back of his head."

Mpechetula, a Yao of Mkanda, is a man with considerable renown. He is said to be able to produce a lion at will from a lion's tail and claw. He would offer to show this if there were any brave enough to go through with it. On a moonlight night, he would expose on the ground in a cleared space near a village the tail of a lion held cross-wise in a piece of split bamboo. At the split end of the bamboo, he would place a lion's claw and round this, a woman's belt held in position by three bamboo pegs, around which he would draw a circle of *mbepesi* flour. Everyone would then withdraw to a hut in which the seance was to take place. After an hour or so, Mpechetula would send some one out to inspect the lion's tail where probably all would be found intact. He might then pretend to be uninterested and sleepy and suggest that some one should go out again in half an hour. Sooner or later, a man would come back, having found the tail gone; then everyone would go out to see what had happened. The pegs would be found in place but the tail and claw gone. A little way off, the split piece of bamboo would be found and further still a bead or two from the woman's belt. These, Mpechetula would pick up, and leaving a little trail of flour on their way, all returned to the hut, while he whistled as if calling some one. Suddenly they would be aroused by the sound as of a lion brushing against the hut walls, as the beasts are known to do, and next, a loud roar. Mpechetula would immediately open the door half-way so that the people could look out into the moonlight and there, a little way off, would be the lion. It would immediately advance towards the house and then, as it prepared to spring for the door, Mpechetula would offer it some of the flour in his left hand, armed with a stirring-stick, *mtiko*, in his right hand. As the lion landed, he would strike it on the head with the stick and lo and behold! the lion would vanish and the tail and claw would be found in his hand.

**Superstitions.** Scattered throughout these notes, particularly under *Usawi* and *Disease*, mention is made of practices which show a strong belief in superstition. Below are given a number of minor beliefs, and it is interesting to compare them with many well-known superstitions in other parts of the world.

1. A child who cuts the upper incisor teeth first will be unlucky. Such children used to be killed by the Yao. (Other tribes make medicine against the threatened ill-luck.)

2. A woman with polydactylism may not take food out of a corn-store. Otherwise the stock of corn will not last long. (Rudimentary sixth fingers are not uncommon.)

3. An insect called *chisyene mesi* which lives in the mud at the bottom of pools, if killed causes the water to dry up.

4. If a boy puts a water-spider in the armpit when learning to swim, he will learn quickly.

5. A man wishing to prevent rain falling on a day he is making a journey, will wrap some of the leaves of the *mtomoni* tree in his loin cloth and go without drinking.



6. It is believed that signs of guilt are visible in the eye of a murderer; medicine is procured in the hope of getting rid of these signs.

7. The possession of the hair of another person is supposed to give the possessor power over that person, hence a medicine man, when the patient he has been treating is cured, shaves the patient and keeps the hair until payment is made.

8. A native with light greenish-grey eyes is not to be trusted. He is said to have eyes like a cat and is called *majerijeri*; these eyes are rare among natives.

9. It is unlucky for a child to get into a basket; he may be burned.

10. Should a woman turn the porridge pot upside down, every one who has eaten will become constipated. For the same reason, a woman, after turning out the porridge from the pot, just touches the top of the mass of porridge with the bottom of the pot.

11. A woman will never leave the pounding stick in the grain-mortar. Should she do so, the heavens would fall.

12. When a zebra is killed, a knot is tied in its tail so that eating of the meat shall not cause indigestion.

13. It is unlucky to sit upon a headrest, the *msamilo*. The person would surely be bitten by a snake.

14. If a man commits murder, and his wife is pregnant at the time, she must sleep on the spear used.

15. Children are told that they must not eat at night; that if they are hungry, they must lie quiet and try to go to sleep again. If they don't obey and sit up eating porridge, a long hairy arm will come through the fastened door and beg for some, the voice of the unseen saying:

*"Nyao chimkuti'choni nusya ni mjasal!"*

"Give me that which you put to your nose to smell and throw away,"

the repeated movements of the hand to the mouth (nose) and back to the pot being supposed to make the "bogey" think that they are not really eating but merely smelling and throwing away the food.

16. A male should not scrape the porridge off the porridge stick; this is only allowed to the woman. Should a man do so, it is supposed that when he goes hunting, he will hit anything he shoots at, only in the tail.

17. There is a saying that the men and boys may eat little pieces of porridge which fall out of the pot, while cooking, on to the supporting stones and it will give them power to escape unhurt from battle. The fragments are called *ngulupuko*, (from *ku-lupuka* "to escape").

18. Children are instructed to take their food sitting down instead of being in a hurry and standing to take it. They are told that if they do not obey, their porridge will not go into their stomachs but into their legs and swell out their knee-joints.

19. That portion of the gut of animals having folds of mucus membrane inside, may be eaten only by old people past the child-propagating age. If a young woman should eat it, she would have difficulty in labor.

20. It is believed that people who eat too freely of a little fish like whitebait called *matemba* get obstruction of the bowel by the wedging together of the bones. The treatment adopted is to pass up the rectum a smooth stick with a pad of rag at the end. This cannot be done by the person himself and so the aid of another has to be called in; only an intimacy, such as the relationship of brother-in-law gives, will warrant this service being asked.

21. The Yao believe that there is a little insect which lives in the ear, called *chisyene lipikanilo*, which tells the person what is said to him, the wax in the ear being its excrement. The pupil is called *mwanache jua liso*, the child of the eye.

22. Among women, the uterus is called *nameso* (*meso* = eyes); it is supposed to be a little person who holds the foetus. When the child is born, *nameso* cannot find it and starts looking about, the movements causing the afterpains.

23. A man making his first journey to the coast used to sprinkle himself with water from every stream he crossed to give him a safe journey. In the same way, women at the present day going between Zomba and Blantyre sprinkle their babies with water from each stream.

24. An ant-like insect called *ndupatumba* (*tumbatumba*, Chin.) [*dasylabris mephistis*] is lucky. On seeing it a native pats its belly and then rubs his own, wishing for plenty of food that day. If he is embarking on a journey or beginning some enterprise, he will wrap one of these insects in a fold of his loin cloth and take it with him for luck.

25. When a native hears the *mwiyi* bird call (its call is like the mew of a cat), if he wants something, he immediately says, "Oh *mwiyi*, I want so-and-so. Be quiet and I will then be quiet, too!" If the bird ceases calling, he knows the wish will be granted. The female bird is said to be the more certain prophet.

26. The snake, *nalukukuti*, which lives in trees and is of a buff clay color with green markings, is said by natives to pierce the chest and tie a knot in itself on each side so that it can only be withdrawn by cutting off one knot. When the snake is thus withdrawn, its blood mixes with that of the man and he will die.

27. Natives have a habit of marking the spot where any event takes place by a stone by the side of the path, and every passer-by will add a stone for luck. In this way some large piles of stones have been made.

28. A man resting on his way home from a long journey places a stone in the fork between the branches of a nearby tree, so that on his arrival he may find his wife has put by some food for him and has not used up the day's stock of flour.

29. A chameleon found digging in the path is said to presage the death of the finder's nearest relative.

30. If a chameleon is found holding on to the grass at both sides of the path, the path is "closed" and a man will turn back to his home and not proceed on his journey. It would be unlucky to continue.

31. Snakes seen *in coitu* are a bad omen.

32. The slow-worm known as *litumbula masugulu* ("the cutter open of ant hills"), and the scaly anteater, if seen on the path, are of bad import.

33. To knock the toes against a stone on a journey is bad luck; if blood flows from the big toe, it points to good luck.

34. A man knocking the sole of his foot against a stone knows that some one is speaking ill of him.

35. A person whose hands itch knows he will receive a present.

36. Tremor of the circumorbital muscles of the right eye indicates that something good will be seen. When the left eye is affected, the outcome is less sure.

37. The cry of the bird *ngulukulu* (the green turaco), indicates to the hearer that he is about to meet some one, either friend or enemy.

38. Anyone who kills one of the large stick-insects (*Phasmidae*) known as *chikasa chiwiga*, will always be breaking the cooking pots afterwards.

39. The natives believe that the caterpillar of the *Hippotion osiris* moth will jump at the breast. It is called *chisumbila mawe*, "that which jumps at the breasts," and children seeing it will cover up their nipples with their hands.

40. Of *Lisulu*, the Mongoose, there is a saying:

" *Lisulu*                      *gapochelangene*                      *mbilol* "

"The banded mongooses relieve each other (at) the races!"

It is said that mongooses assist one another when being hunted. When one is tired, a fresh one runs in so close to the pursuer that he goes after this one and leaves the tired one, and so they keep it up till the pursuer is exhausted.

41. *Chiula*, the frog. Children are told they must never kill a frog, or its spirit will come at night with porridge made of excrement and make them eat it. If a small child playing with a frog kills it by mischance, he will tear off a small piece of his calico cloth and place it by the frog as an offering.

42. *Chindindi* (*likongwe*, Chin.) the weasel. It is said that the weasel hides its body and leaves exposed its anus, so that a chicken seeing it, goes up to peck at it, whereupon the weasel turns round quickly and catches the chicken with its mouth.

43. *Chinyeru*, the skunk (from *ku-nya*, to go to stool), so named on account of its color, is said to apply the anus to a rat-hole and make wind. This will render insensible all the rats in the burrow and he can then dig them out at leisure.

44. *Mkuli*, the honey badger, when hunted is always said to attack a man by attempting to seize the testicles. Natives when they hunt this animal, tie stones in their loin cloths so that they hang down between the legs to defeat the badger.



45. A child, when one of its milk teeth drops out, stands some five yards away facing the door of the hut and throws the tooth over the roof of the hut, saying:

"A! *likungulu lino lyenu alyo, mbani lyangu lyambone 'lyo!*"

"Oh! crow tooth your there is, give me my of good one!"

**Religion.** The matter of the religious beliefs professed by natives of East Central Africa is one beset with many difficulties to the student of today. It has been the subject of many essays by workers in the missionary field, but the wide contact of the natives of Nyasaland with missionary effort during the past thirty years has done much to confuse the problem, and one feels that many missionaries in their writings rather color the picture with their own feelings.

I think probably the Yao with whom I am now concerned have a truer conception of their own beliefs than many of the subject tribes among whom mission teaching has more easily taken root. The religious beliefs of a people are to a large extent the reflection of the circumstances under which that people lives. The outstanding event to all natives is death. At death, something is lost to the body, without which life is impossible. This is the *msimu* which may be translated "soul" or "spirit." The *msimu* is said to leave the body of the dying man when he becomes moribund or unconscious. It appears that this same *msimu* may leave the body during unconscious states unassociated with death, as when a man faints, in epilepsy, and during sleep.

Apart from this evidence of the dissociation of the *msimu* from the living body, the Yao believe that a man's shadow is an objective manifestation of the soul and they will say "the shadow is the *msimu*." Fear is experienced if a man jumps on the shadow of his fellow. Light is also thrown on the constitution of the *msimu* by the belief in a certain evil-spirit which dwells in deep pools. It is called *chimala-mesi*, which means "one who may finish (drink up) all the water." The superstition regarding this evil spirit is that it can suck the blood from your shadow as you stand at the edge of the pool, till you become so weak that you fall in and are drowned.

After leaving the body at death, the *msimu* goes to take up its place in the spirit-world, occupying a position corresponding to that held by the man during his life. With a truly materialistic conception, the soul is supposed to have all the attributes of the dead man, to be wealthy in proportion as the man was so on earth, and its relative position will be identical with that which he held among the living. The tribal chief becomes a paramount chief in the spirit world, the lesser chief holds sway in his lesser capacity, etc. We shall see that in intercession, when the tribe is threatened with calamities, it is the late paramount chief who is appealed to for help, and when one feudal chief is at war with another, the chief's dead predecessor will be called upon for aid. When a village is moved, it is from the spirit of the dead headman of the village that success in the enterprise is sought. Similarly, in family trouble, some dead ancestor is entreated to set things right, while a native

setting out on a journey may ask the intercession of his deceased father to assure his safe conduct.

The spirits of the dead are in general said to dwell "above." They haunt the graveyard or visit the scenes of their life, and may be associated with natural objects or with certain animals, into which they are supposed to enter temporarily. Thus a dead man's spirit will visit the earth mound which marks the site of his old house in the village. The spirits of headmen are often thought to haunt the big trees of the village open space; such trees are held sacred for this reason. Some time ago in the old village of the chief, Malemya, a party of women cut down one of these trees for firewood, ignorant of its sacred character. With the crash of the falling tree, they became frightened, and one of the present Malemya's wives came upon the scene, predicting all kinds of evil to follow unless reparation were made to the insulted spirits of the dead chiefs. The remains of the tree lie there to this day, untouched except by natural decay.

To quote another example, near a bathing pool called *jogawali* (from *ku-joga*, to bathe, and *wali*, the initiates) where boys bathe after initiation, on the Domasi river, there is a small cataract whence a cloud of spray rises and a continued rumbling sound comes forth. Here, the old men say, you can hear the drumming of the spirits, while you may see pythons and the crowing cobra in whose bodies the spirits live.

As I have already mentioned, the spirit-world so far as the native has speculated on the problem is "above" in a semi-materialistic heaven. If questioned closely, the phrase "I do not know" will figure largely in his replies. He will not say there is any "marriage or giving in marriage." If a child dies, they often say, "So-and-so (some deceased person) wants a water-carrier." Indeed they often use a phrase under the circumstances identical with an English expression, "They are calling away the children."

Natives attribute to the spirits of the dead the power to partake of anything on this earth, such as food. They have no exact ideas with regard to animals and what happens to them when they die. They will not tell you that an animal has an *msimu* but at the same time, a goat is often killed at a funeral, with the remark, "The goat will follow the dead man." The goat's meat will be eaten by those assisting at the funeral; hence there is the suggestion of the idea that animals' spirits do go to the spirit-world.

In referring to the spirit-world, the native generally uses the word *ku-mulungu*, and here we have the second element in their religious beliefs, namely a supreme being; *ku-mulungu* means at the place of or with *mulungu*, the supreme being. *Mulungu*, however, takes a very secondary place to the *msimu*. He is referred to only in a general way. In answer to such questions as why has a woman an albino child born to her, she will say "*Mulungu* made it so"; in fact in reply to many questions to which the native has no answer, he will use practically our English phrase, "Oh, God knows!" and with about as much meaning.

To *Mulungu* is ascribed the sending of the rain, but apparently he has no part in giving good crops or causing a plentiful harvest, neither has he any direct interest in men's affairs,



nor is he "God the creator," of man or earth. He, however, receives the spirits of the dead. Should he refuse to do so, a man continues to live. When a man has recovered from some commonly fatal disease, the natives say, "*Mulungu wakanile* (refused him)!" or if he has been very near to death and then recovers, they say "*Mulungu wasunile* (spat him out)".

It would thus appear that among the spirit hosts there is a regular law of precedence, and presiding over all is a supreme being, but all this is so remote as to have little importance for the living. The vagueness concerning *Mulungu*, I must admit, has given rise to some doubt in my own mind as to how far he was a deity with an entity of his own in their religion of a little time ago.

Ancestors tend to be forgotten in proportion to the length of time which has elapsed since their death, unless they played some important part during their lives: then some particular one may be remembered to the exclusion of others, and to him prayers of intercession are offered. In the case of chiefs, the names of a long line of rulers may be remembered on occasions when all else about them has fallen into oblivion. It seems possible originally *Mulungu* was the oldest ancestral chief who was raised up as a supreme being but who, in the process, has lost all other attributes. On the other hand, the word often refers only to the place where the spirits dwell; this may have been the original meaning.

There is no religious worship in the proper sense of the term but only propitiation, prayer for intercession, and return of thanks for favors granted. The keynote of this ancestor worship, the sum total of their religion to the exclusion of the belief in a supreme being, is fear. We have seen at the funeral that everything is done to lay the spirit at rest. The people wish never to hear of the spirit again. It is chiefly with a view of averting some evil that worship takes place or with a view of expiating some crime that sacrifice is made or to alleviate some suffering that communication is sought with the spirits. It is a question of, "Do us no harm, do not vent your wrath upon us for what we have left undone," rather than "Keep us from doing evil, save us from being our own enemies." It would appear to be a religion of spite, not of love and kindness, though there are glimmerings of a search after "a hand to guide and protect," as in the prayer given below and also in the action taken when removing a village.

As a corollary of this system of ancestor worship, there is no real priesthood. A man asks for favors for himself; the head of a family petitions a deceased father or some more remote ancestor of greater importance; the headman intercedes on behalf of the village with the spirit of a predecessor; a chief takes the place of high priest on the occasion of a tribal supplication to a former ruler, though he may be replaced by some one of his wise men who acts as intermediary.

Some form of sacrifice is offered with the prayer, and often some omen is sought as a sign that the prayer is granted. For this purpose, flour made from millet called *mbepesi* (*nsembe*, Chin.) is commonly used. The word *mbepesi* probably includes any sacrificial offerings.



A man leaving his village on some expedition and wishing to be assured of safe conduct will procure some millet flour. Going quietly into his house, he squats down in one corner and gently sifts the flour through his hand so that it falls on the floor in the form of a little cone, repeating as he does so, his prayer for safe conduct beginning and ending with the word *chonde!* please!

"*Chonde! chonde! wa-ku-mulungu ambuje mlangusye meso gangu niliwone*  
 "Please, please! those at above ancestor clear eyes mine that I may see  
*litala, ngaiche 'chenene kunguja, chonde! chonde! choooooonde!"*  
 the path, may I arrive well where I go, please, please, please!"

He then covers the cone of flour with a basket. On the morrow, he will uncover it to see what has happened. According as the cone has remained intact or has fallen to one side or the other, the omen indicates whether or not the journey should be undertaken, the reaction being caused by the spirits to whom his supplication was addressed.

Again, there may have occurred much sickness in a village and the people conclude that the pest has come to remind them that they have not been attentive to their deceased chief. "His grave-house in the village has been allowed to fall into decay," and so on. They will decide that his spirit must be propitiated. The grave-house is rebuilt, a pot is sunk in the ground, and beer is poured in, and round about heaps of flour are placed. Prayer is made to the chief at whose grave they are worshipping, supplicating him in person and "all others who are with you at *Mlungu*," asking that he will no longer cause ill to befall the village.

When a village is moved, the beer-pot from the grave of the old chief is taken to the new village and a ceremony similar to that just described takes place, with the prayer that he will come to the new village and continue to exercise his benevolent care over its people.

In 1880 when there was a threatened famine on account of long drought in Zomba district, Malemya decided that supplication for rain must be made to the spirits of his illustrious predecessors. Kasonga, one of Malemya's wise men, acted as high priest. A large amount of beer was brewed and the night before the ceremony, twenty sheep and fifty goats were slaughtered. Plates of the meat, of rice and porridge were then placed on the ground round the grave-house of the old Malemya, and pots of beer set into the ground at intervals. At the head of the grave, little heaps of *mbepesi* flour were arranged. This flour had been prepared by such of Malemya's wives as were not near a menstrual period. The following morning, a fence was built round the grave, outside which all the people collected, while beyond them again was a second fence. Kasonga, accompanied by an assistant then appeared, and amid absolute silence entered the inner enclosure. He addressed to the old Malemya, at whose grave they were all assembled, a prayer for rain. He then repeated the prayer, invoking the aid of all the past line of chiefs down to the reigning Malemya, repeating their names. Returning to the outer enclosure, he again uttered the prayers, all the assembled multitude repeating them after him while lying face down, resting on their

knees and elbows, at intervals swaying their bodies from side to side and clapping their hands. Kasonga then ordered all to go and bathe, men and women separately. As they returned from the stream, rain began to fall.

Intercession on behalf of the sick may be made, especially by anyone who is likely to be accused of causing the illness by witchcraft.<sup>1</sup> The man standing with arms outstretched, downwards and a little in front of his body, the hands supine, takes some water in his mouth and discharges it in a stream on the ground, (probably as a sign of purification of his tongue), and then invoking "all the spirits above," asks that they will intercede to restore health to the sick man and bear witness to his own innocence of any wish to do the sick man injury. *Ku-pesya* is the word meaning to offer sacrifice and prayer.

Harvesting and hunting are occasions when sacrifices may be offered. It was formerly the custom for the chief to determine the day on which harvesting of millet should begin. On the day appointed, a big drum was beaten in the village and word passed round; then everyone would go down to his garden, gather a head of millet, and bring it back to the village where it was all handed over to the chief's headwife. After drying and threshing, a little of the grain was laid at the grave of an old chief by one of the reigning chief's advisers, the remainder being again distributed to all the people gathered together in the village meeting-place, who ate it raw. After this ceremony, harvesting began.

In passing through a millet garden, if a child asks his mother to give him some to eat, she plucks a bunch or two and reverently laying one at the foot of a *msoro* tree for the spirits or at the base of some other tree, if she cannot see a *msoro*, she gives the rest to the child.

When a hunting expedition makes its first killing, part of the flesh of the animal is laid at the base of a tree as a thank offering to the spirits and in anticipation of further favors to be conferred. All such offerings are supposed by the natives to be partaken of by the spirits, though they are well aware that they do not actually diminish in quantity. There is an interesting point in this connection: any man who has acted as *mbilo* (undertaker) to some well-known man may appropriate these offerings. In the case of the hunting offering, he will run round the tree, saying, "I am a hyaena, the spirits will not mind me," and will then take part of the flesh-offering and eat it.

In the same way, a *mbilo* may drink from a grave beer-pot after three days, when the spirits are supposed to have taken what they want.

With the exception of the *msoro* tree above mentioned (*ndima*, Chin.), and possibly another called *nsila-nyama* (Chin.), which is never used as firewood and which is supposed to be used by *msawi*, I do not think there are any sacred trees properly so-called. Miss Werner supposes that many of the big trees (often a species of *Ficus*) in villages are sacred.<sup>2</sup> The truth is, I believe, simply that a village is made naturally round a big tree which conveniently offers its shade for the village meeting place. The spirits of deceased chiefs may

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> The natives of British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 62.



be supposed to live in such trees. They are convenient natural objects for them to occupy, in fact practically the only ones to be found in villages. Trees may secondarily, therefore, be looked upon as in some degree sacred. About such trees strings or pieces of calico may be placed as an offering to the spirits of the departed. But the Yao do not erect little huts in their vicinity, hung about with strips of calico as is the custom among the Anyanja.

Macdonald<sup>1</sup> mentions the spirits in connection with Soche and other hills round Blantyre and supposes them to be the spirits of the places themselves. This I think is unlikely; they would probably turn out to be spirits bearing the names of long departed Anyanja chiefs whom the immigrant Amangoche Yao venerated just "to be on the safe side," since they had come and taken the country which long ago belonged to the former tribe. When approaching or passing any spot held to be the dwelling place of spirits, salutation is made by clapping the hands.

Spirits of the departed may enter into animals or may take the form of animals, commonly lions and sometimes large snakes (python), but this belief is not so general among the Yao as among other tribes, in my opinion. An animal which is so possessed is called *lisyuka*, from *ku-syuka*, "to be transformed."

Apart from this habitation of inanimate objects above mentioned by *msimu*, there is nothing that points to a belief in Animism among the Yao, so far as I know. Neither hills, rocks, streams, lakes, nor trees have their own spirits, nor are they endowed by the native mind with life.

Deceased persons appear to the living in dreams, the native apparently believing that the deceased appears in his material body.

They believe also in revelation of wishes of the deceased through the medium of the living. The spirit of the deceased is supposed to enter into the medium. The medium, I am informed, is always a woman, never a man. From the descriptions of some of these revelation séances, there can be no doubt that they are manifestations of *la grande hystérie*. The medium works herself up into a frenzy of excitement and in her delirium gives out the name of the deceased, the voice which speaks being that of the spirit within her. She rolls on the ground and foams at the mouth, uttering the word of revelation which is generally to the effect that some deceased chief's spirit is feeling aggrieved at the neglect of his tomb; the voice may go on to say that certain practices are forbidden, or demand that certain rites be observed by the people. The spirits which possess her are generally spoken of as *masoka*, a word which, though sometimes used as equivalent to *msimu*, usually seems to have rather a sinister significance. Insane persons are called *masoka* and are thought to be possessed by a spirit, and vapor baths with exorcism may be practiced for their cure. In the case of the death of anyone who is possessed, in answer to my interrogation, I have been told that both the spirit which has entered into the man and his own *msimu* leave his body.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 70.



As an example of another kind of intermediary may be mentioned a woman called Bimbi Chikasowa, who, though an Anyanja, was well known among the Yao of Zomba. She was consulted on many occasions about the future, about rain, or the prevention of disease. She was a woman of quiet ways and greatly respected; she had no fixed abode but was received everywhere and given food and shelter. She would sometimes disappear from the district and travel to far distant places. A son, born to her when a young woman, was lately a patient under my care, a man of about forty-eight. On one occasion she was consulted about an epidemic of ulcers among the people near Zomba. She asked all the people from the villages to go down to Lake Shirwa and to take a white fowl with them. When they had all collected, she appeared, carrying in each hand a little gourd containing *mbepesi* flour, and a small open basket on her head. She took the fowl in one hand and then proceeded to walk into the water, saying she would have to go to a little hill on an island in the lake called *Chidia Mpiri* and that she would come back in three days. She then walked on into the water and disappeared below its surface. In three days time, she returned to the village and said that the women must give up dancing the *chiponda* dance for twelve months and all would be well.

On other occasions she usually worked along similar lines. Consulted as to whether or not some sick person would recover, she always answered with the same formula, if she thought he would die, "The house is prepared for him and medicine would avail nothing!"

There are certain other supernatural persons or spirits to which reference must be made. *Chimela-mesi* has been mentioned above. *Manunu*, a word which Hetherwick translates as "madness, idiocy,"<sup>1</sup> really refers to the delusions and hallucinations which form part of the perceptions of the insane. The word also has the meaning of obsession, phobia, and intuition; thus the natives say of an ox about to be slaughtered that shows signs of realizing the approaching evil, "it has *manunu*." On the other hand, they say the hartebeest is a foolish animal that does not know what to do when hunted: "it has *manunu*, it is a deluded animal." Again, the baboon and the crow "have *manunu*"; they are possessed of senses or faculties which warn them of the approach of any enemies before they can be seen or heard; they cannot be stalked. In all these cases, the crowd of hallucinatory men pursuing some melancholic, the rats of the delirium tremens patient, and that which appears to warn the crow or the baboon, are all *manunu* and are, I think, supposed by the natives to have some kind of materialistic form.

*Ndodocha*: when the *wasawi*<sup>2</sup> do not wish immediately to devour the body of a deceased person which they have raised from the grave, they cut off the arms and legs at the elbows and knees and insert medicine into the stumps; these living-dead are then compelled by the *wasawi* to live in caves and hollow ant hills during the day and to follow them at night in their travels, "like a herd of goats," to be eaten as required. The *ndodocha* may be heard as they wander along in the night, making sounds like a cat's mew. A woman will

<sup>1</sup> Yao language, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Vide supra, p. 293.

never leave any food outside at night, not even the chaff from the grain she has been pounding, lest these most miserable of beings be attracted by it.

*Chitowe* is a word common to several tribes and among them appears to have various shades of meaning. Among the Wayao, the *itowe* are "the little people" of the leprechaun order. They rob the gardens and cause rot among the pumpkins; their little footprints can be seen where they have passed hither and thither; fruits and vegetables that they touch will become bitter. To prevent these disasters, the Yao, at the time when their crops are ripening, place different kinds of vegetables at cross-roads, hoping thereby to satisfy the *itowe* and prevent them coming into the gardens. As far as I am aware, the *itowe* have nothing to do with famine and are in no way connected with *Mtanga*, to be mentioned below, as Macdonald believed.<sup>1</sup> The *chitowe* is variously said to be "like a man but rather like an animal." He has two legs but goes on all fours.

The Yao describe another legendary race of "little people" who used to live in this country and who may still be met with, — "who knows?" They were of a very small stature, grew long beards, were very touchy, quarrelsome, and fierce, and carried spears. When anybody met one, he was immediately asked: "*Mumbonele kwapi?*", "From how far did you see me?" and it was always well to pretend to have seen the little man coming a long way off and make him believe he was considered quite a big person; if you said "Hullo, I have only just spotted you!", he would immediately spear you. They are commonly supposed to dwell on the tops of high mountains and are iron workers. They are called the *Mumbonele kwapi*.

There is no relation as far as I know between these two classes of "little people," but I think these stories go to uphold the theory recently reiterated by Hastings Guilford in his Hunterian Lecture (1914) that folk-lore fables of hobgoblins, etc., have a basis in fact. He believes that dwarf races at one time were to be found, possibly over a very wide area of the globe. In this country, I think it may be that one sees the transition from historical facts to true fairy stories.

The Anyanja have the same legend about these "little people," the *mwandi onerakuti* ("where-did-you-see-me"); it is indeed not only wide-spread throughout this country, (the Ahenga and Ankonde in North Nyasa district speak of the *mwandioneranku* who ask the same question), but there is a very similar legend among the Akikuyu in British East Africa.<sup>2</sup>

The *chitowe* is doubtless the *chiruwi* of the Anyanja, mentioned in Scott's dictionary,<sup>3</sup> as Miss Werner<sup>4</sup> has supposed, for one finds that among the Anyanja at the southern end of the Protectorate, the *chitowe* is described as having only one side to his body so that he is invisible when viewed from the off side, thus resembling the *chiruwe* who has one half of his body made of wax.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> M. W. H. Beech, 'Pre-Bantu occupants of East Africa,' (Man, London, 1915, p. 40-41).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 59.



*Luembe Mtanga* is the prophet of famine, a man of great height who stalks the round of the country, stepping from hill-top to hill-top along "the fairy way," the "*Mlira wa Luembe Mtanga*," which is supposed to run right around Nyasaland and never to cross a river, starting and ending somewhere near the junction of the Shiré with the Zambesi river. As he goes, he can be seen from a hundred miles away. He carries the *lulimba* instrument and plays as he walks, singing:

"*Kulira                                      nayo      isugugu      kutiga sonje                      matendeu   namiaka   sala!*"  
 "You cry out (in trouble) with the midges therefore I must call up the wasps, this season of famine!"

which might be rendered, "You people grumble about small troubles, so I will teach you to know better by inflicting great ones." When he is seen, there will be famine.

It will be convenient here to allude briefly to some of the beliefs connected with meteorological phenomena, as some of them have a bearing on native religious beliefs. The remarks made under this heading for the Anyanja hold good for the Yao. The morning and evening stars are called *Namteleka* and *Namapalasya*, the good cook and the bad cook. They are looked upon as the two wives of the moon, one of whom feeds him so well that he grows fat, the other who does not, so he wastes away. The constellation of the Pleiades is called *Ilimila*; the Milky Way, *Lichinga usiku*, "the watcher of the night," when high in the heavens, dawn is near. When shooting stars are seen, natives exclaim "*msagala mbujo!*" *Msagala* is a many-pointed arrow. Eclipses are recognized but no explanation is vouchsafed. Thunder is supposed to be the noise of rain falling in the heavens before it reaches the earth. The rain is sometimes supposed to be the condensing steam from an enormous pot of water boiling over a furnace fire in heaven. The lightning is conceived as a lizard-like animal which dwells in the clouds and darts out from behind them and comes to earth and breaks up trees and may kill a man. Mica is supposed by the Yao to be its excrement. The animal is called *Njasi*, and is the same as *Mpambe* of the Achipeta who consider the mica to be the broken egg-shell of the lightning dragons' eggs. There is a large red compound lily, a species of *Haemanthus* also called *Njasi*, which is in some way connected with the lightning. No Yao child would ever touch this flower. Children are always advised never to seek shelter under a big tree but always to make for a bamboo thicket, for if the lightning strikes the bamboo and splits it, it will get caught inside the hollow stem.

Gales of wind are said to emanate from a plant called *Changula*. It is described as having one process like an elephant's trunk and others like two fingers. It is found on the tops of very high mountains, growing alone and surrounded by bare rock. This plant is used by medicine men to gain supernatural powers. *Changula* is also the name of a parasitic plant on the charcoal trees in Nyasaland.

The world is taken by the natives as they find it; to them no explanation for its being is necessary. So far as I can find out, there is no idea among the Yao of a Creator. The



origin of mankind is explained in a story given elsewhere; *Mulungu* takes no part, nor is the supernatural even invoked in explanation.

The religion of the Yao may then be summed up as ancestor worship plus an ill-defined, uncertain belief in a supreme being. Their religion is not animistic. There are certain spirits of evil, demons, fairies and supernatural beings and animals which, however, do not play any real part in their religious beliefs.

**Native Sayings.** Natives are very fond of sayings, many of which are of the same nature as our own proverbs. The meaning of many of them is, however, not always self-evident but depends on some little story with a moral.

The following are some of those which I have collected among the Yao near Zomba:

1. *Akamwile likambale!* (or *lipuku!*)  
He caught a fish, (a mouse!)

An expression meaning "He slipped down." The variations being used when wet or when dry under foot.

2. *Ulamba uli m'meso!*  
Cunning is in the eyes (evident).

An expression meaning "Look out; some one is after us!"

- Kalulu chenjera!*  
Rabbit be clever!

This is a Mang'anja equivalent to the above.

3. *Changapikana wachitelechele mwiponda!*  
A thing that did not listen they cooked in among the herbs!

An insect which had not listened to advice about the dangers of sitting on herbs used as vegetables, was gathered up by a woman and cooked with them.

An expression used with the sense "If you do not take advice and anything happens to you, it will be your own fault."

4. *Mtela uli m'mapikanilo!*  
Medicine is in the ears!

Meaning "You are forewarned; it is your own look out!"

5. *Nangalamuche wamlechele chikalakasa!*  
Mr Would-Be-Clever they left with the skull!

*Ku-kalamuka*, to be clever (to show off); an expression made to a newcomer who unbidden joins in a discussion. It has reference to the following story and means that anyone joining a party unbidden may find himself in an awkward situation. Some strangers came to a village, and after being given food and quarters, all retired for the night. One of them, however, Mr. Would-Be-Clever, hearing something going on outside crept out of the house to find out what was happening. Seeing some people playing at catch-ball, he

joined in the game, unasked. Next moment, the ball came in his direction and catching it in the moonlight, he suddenly found himself grasping a bleached human skull, while everyone else had vanished. There he had to stand frightened as he was till the morning, when he was found in this ridiculous predicament.

6. *Tungawe watisisye majani gasyene!*

Mr. If-We-Were-You let escape the baboons of the owner (himself).

*Ningawe*, meaning "if I were you" is also used.

This expression signifies "A man cannot serve two masters" or "He who tries to please everybody will please none," as is explained in the following story: Mr. Tungawe and another man had their gardens adjacent to one another but the latter's was next to the forest and the baboons used to come and ravage his crops. He therefore consulted a medicine man who gave him medicine to put all over the garden, which would cause all the baboons who came to the garden to die. "But," said the medicine man, "you must promise to bring me the *Mtalya*!" (the little baboon which acts as sentinel and guide). The man did as he was told with the medicine and in the morning found all the baboons dead in the garden; so picking up the body of the *Mtalya*, he was just going off with it to the medicine man, when Mr. Tungawe in the next garden who had been a witness of the good wrought by the medicine, said, "If I were you I should not take the little *Mtalya*, but the biggest baboon to give to the medicine man," so after hesitating, he picked up the biggest baboon to take instead of the little one. Immediately, it and its fellows came to life again and ran away into the forest!

7. *Mkokoya wa wawile wanache njusi!*

While they delayed, the children singed the serval cat!

This expression has the meaning, "If you do not do a thing at once, you may be too late!" and has reference to another story. Some youths out hunting killed an animal which they did not recognize, so one of them went back to the village where he found the old men all chatting and told them they had killed an animal they did not know. The old men said, "We will come and see it", but they went on chatting until a second message came. Still they said, "Yes, we are just coming," but they did not go; so the boys not knowing any better, instead of removing the skin, which is of value, with the hair on, singed all the hair off which was their custom with some animals, so that eventually, when the old men arrived they found they had lost a valuable skin. Another saying with the same meaning is: *Mkokoya wawechele wanache pa ugono*, "By delaying she gave birth to a child on the mat."

8. *Angulola lyuwa wasokonechele!*

(He who said), "I look at the sun", he went astray! [Cf. Johnny-head-in-the-air.]

*Che nguusya waiche ku musi!*

Mr. The-One-Who-Asks arrived at the village!

An expression intimating that a man who is cocksure about doing a thing may come to grief, whereas the man who takes the trouble to get information gains his object.

9. *M'lwesi mwangalengula mwiwa!*

In the moonlight you cannot cut out a thorn!

A free English translation of this saying would be, "There is a proper time for doing everything." It involves the implication that doing a thing at the wrong time may result in evil.

10. *Apakamwa waulesye ambuje wao!*

Mr Mouth hurt master his!

An expression intimating that careless speech may bring a man into trouble: the mouth is looked upon as the slave of the body. The expression has reference to a story which points a moral against smoking hemp. There was once upon a time a big chief who had a headman (Apakamwa) to whom he entrusted all his messages. One day, the chief brewed beer for hoeing and the big drum was beaten to call all the people together, and thus, the chief leading, they all went to the gardens, but the headman who used to smoke hemp lingered behind and in coming later, while crossing an open glade between the village and the gardens, he saw a human skull beside the path. Half intoxicated with the hemp, he kicked it, saying "Who killed you?" The skull answered, "Apakamwa!" The man was frightened and so kicked it again; then going off to the chief, he related what had happened. The chief and all the people returned with the headman to the place where the skull was and the headman, kicking the skull, asked again who had killed him, but no answer came, and so with a second interrogation. Then the chief had the headman bound and said, "What you say cannot be trusted. You waste our time with your untruths," and he had him killed.

11. *Kola lulasi ngasisaga lwembe!*

Having baldness you must not hide the razor!

An expression meaning "If you have no further use for a thing yourself, do not throw it away; it may be useful to others!"

12. *Lelo lelo mlamba wapilile!*

Today today the *mlamba* was blackened!

A saying meaning "he who hurries will not do best!" *Lelo*, today; *lelelelo* here has the meaning "in a hurry." *Mlamba* is the name of a small jet black bird. The story goes that when all the birds were being painted, the *mlamba* bird was very impatient and coming up to the painter, said, "I must be done today; I am in a hurry." The painter said it would take longer but acting on *mlamba's* persistent cries to be done quickly, he just took up a brush and painted him black all over. The following is sometimes added:

*Kwembecheya wanda wapatile mawala (or ilemba)!*

Being patient the *wanda* bird came by spots (or marks on its head).



13. *Chembugo, walile nganga mbisi!*

Chembugo, they ate guinea-fowl raw!

An expression depending for its meaning on the story given below, used by a husband to his wife or by one woman to another, intimating that the woman has delegated her work to some one else and is not looking after things properly. A man killed a guinea-fowl and gave it to his wife to cook. She, however, gave it to her servant, Chembugo, to cook in the house while she sat doing nothing on the veranda, calling from time to time to know whether it was cooking well, to which always came answer in the affirmative, "eh." When the meal of porridge was ready in the evening, and she went to get the guinea-fowl from the pot in the kitchen, she found that it lay in the pot in cold water as her servant had only put one handful of grass to make the fire under the pot and then left it.

14. *Ku-m'mulika sungula akanagone!*

By holding a torch aloft (to see if the hare was asleep) before it had lain down!

An expression used to a man who by precipitate action without due caution loses that which he seeks to gain as in the following case: If a man seeks a girl in marriage whom he wants to take to live with him far away in his own village, instead of himself settling in her village according to custom, he must not let this be known or he would be refused.

15. *Walosisye mtiko!*

(Your wife) she is showing the porridge stick!

An expression used to a man who is homesick.

16. *Mtau wa kulombela!*

(He has or you have) the perseverance of a suitor!

An expression used to anyone who keeps on asking for something and is a nuisance.

17. *Mbepesi kupakalaga ku meso ni ku ndungu kwakwe!*

The flour (ought) to be painted on the forehead and on the back of the head also!

*Mbepesi* is the offering of millet flour to the departed spirits, or as here, the sacrificial flour used by the chief to smear the front and back of the head of each boy at the end of the initiation ceremonies. The meaning of the expression is that "one should not only look forward to the good things of the future but also remember all the help that has been given one in the past."

18. *Mkaujauja vam'somile mpamba pe tako!*

He who comes and goes and comes again they shot him with an arrow in the buttocks!

Of which the sense is "a man may do wrong once but if he continues to do so, he will suffer for it."

19. *Liguluwe lyawilile ululu!*

The pig was made a scapegoat (on account of) the gleanings!

A pig who was found picking up the remnants of a crop in a field which had been robbed, was thought to be the thief and killed.

20. *Wawilile galausya mbani!*

He was "let in" badly over the fish-sticks!

A man had put a lot of fish on spits to roast round the fire. While he went to get some more firewood, a thief came and took all the fish. A stranger then approached and was examining one of the sticks, saying, "There must have been a very nice fat fish on this stick," when the owner returned and immediately accused the innocent stranger of stealing his fish. A native coming across a corpse will run away, using the above expression; for if he reports the matter, he may be the first to be accused.

21. *Sungula wa welechele (mwanache) mu uwilo!*

The impotent man had born to him a child in a joke!

A native man who is impotent is very much looked down on and he is the laughing stock of the village. He is constantly made fun of by the women. The story goes that such a man when being chaffed, said, "All right, let me have the prettiest girl in the village," and they said, "All right, old *sungula*, you can do her no harm." But it came to pass that she became pregnant and the women were disgraced. The meaning of the expression is: what is done as a joke may become a reality.

22. *Mowa winji ng'omba sya nyama unandi!*

Days many, hairs of an animal few!

There are more days than there are hairs in an animal's coat! If A has done a good turn to B, and B behaves badly to A, A will remonstrate, using the above expression, meaning, "You may want my help again some day, but I shall then refuse and you will suffer."

23. *Chilambo changalinga makono!*

The (country) earth cannot (be) measured in cubits!

Meaning, "You never know when you may want return for your good deeds."

24. *Kusowela kusalasya, kusuka kulijimiya! or kponya pa moto!*

To be generous (is) to save up, to be stingy (is) to deny oneself! or to throw in the fire!

Kindness returns to the doer.

25. *Uwili ukoto, ujika wanalikunda kunyuma!*

Two-ness (is) good, oneness he cannot rub the back!

*Ku-kunda* = to rub the back of another person while bathing, a thing a native appreciates very much. An expression often used with the meaning, "There is safety in numbers," (*winji iskoto!*)

26. *Kulagaga ukusiulitawilila!*

Being in a state of poverty, one must not hang (oneself)!

*Ku-laga* = to be poor, to be in trouble. Do not give up hope.

27. *Kusichilaga kajangalile kwiwogo!*

Having become rich one must jump for joy in the dark corner of the house.

Meaning "Though you are prosperous at the moment, do not make a show; all these things may pass away quickly," or *Kusichila ukasiujangalila pasa!* "One should not rejoice openly."

28. *Walile masuku pa mtwe!*  
They have eaten *masuku* fruit on the head!

The intimate of a household who betrays the friendship of the husband by culpable intimacy with his wife is said "to eat *masuku* fruit with the wife over the head of the husband." (Cf. French, *faire cocu*.)

29. *Mpamba wa kuulolela wangakawa kuichila m'meso!*  
The arrow he is watching, it does not take long to reach the eye!

A man who looks on and does not take steps to stop an ill at the beginning will suffer heavily in the end.

30. *Mwangamwisye liganga!*  
You kept me holding a stone!

You are late in your appointment; you have kept me waiting.

31. *Likule pilikumila mbinji (or mbindimbi) likulitika!*  
The jackal when he swallows *mbinji* fruit is confident; (i.e. a jackal knows he can void the seeds of this fruit).

*Likulitika* has the sense of when jumping over a stream, the jumper is sure of landing on the opposite bank. The expression used of a man means that he feels pretty sure to get through with what he is doing. (Note: lions in contradistinction to jackals are said to eat *masuku* but always to expel the seeds from the mouth, as the seeds are sharp-pointed and very irritating. I have myself seen a man die from perforation of the bowel by these seeds.)

32. *(Akwete) mpache mpache walichinji!*  
(He has) smearing smearing of the bat!

Reference is made here to the habits of the bat which often makes a meal of figs and then flying to other trees, leaves its droppings under them also so that one might take them to be fig trees, too. The saying refers to a man who manages to involve a lot of others in his own trouble.

33. *Mapwisa akulapa sajo!*  
The marsh-mongoose they (people) admire (its) footprints!

The *mapwisa* is a small rodent whose footprints may be seen all over the gardens in the morning, but seldom the animal itself. The meaning of the saying is, "If you are going to steal, it does not matter if you leave your footprints, but do not hang about and get caught!"

34. *Ndende chenene wamkoleche matumbo!*  
Mr I-Must-Do-Well they on him hanged the entrails!



Well meaning people often get into trouble! This refers to a story of a man who had a great friend in another village who died. Hearing he was dead, he went to the village and found all the relatives mourning the dead man. To show his friendship, he commenced wailing and went into the house and lay down by the corpse among the chief mourners, though not one of them; later, he fell asleep. While asleep, evil spirits (*msawi*) came and cut open the corpse and removing the liver, they took out the entrails and hung them about the sleeping man's neck, and smeared his hands with blood. In the morning, the mourners found the man in this condition and to avenge what they supposed to be his desecration of their dead, they killed him. The interpretation put upon this story and the meaning of the saying is that "however well intentioned you may be, you should not transgress custom."

35. *Nguku ja chilendo uleu chikuni!*  
The fowl of strangeness long tail!

A newcomer in the fowl-yard is pecked at by the other fowls and if it had a long tail, this would be noticed. In the same way, "If you are a stranger in a place, anything you do will be remarked; therefore your conduct should be exemplary."

36. *Nkambaka manyi ga Chikolo!*  
Do not smear me with the excrement of Chikolo!

This is a woman's saying, meaning, "I don't want to be dragged into your quarrel!" *Chikolo* is an interesting word. It is a girl's name used as Polly is used in English in speaking to any girl child whose name you do not know: "Come here, Polly, and show me the parson's house." For Tommy used in the same way, the Yao says *Manganya*.

37. *Nakoma akupinda anasi!*  
The beer basket he deals in a neighbor!

*Nakoma* is a small flat basket with ornamented rim. The meaning of the phrase is: "one's neighbors are not always disinterested."

38. *Ajiwile mandanda!*  
He has stolen eggs!

This is an expression used of anyone who has hiccough. It is said that he is so surprised at being thus accused that the hiccough stops.

39. *Amwali, ichimugwaga apile ndundi ku nyuma!*  
You girl, (with) expectation he burnt blistering to the back!

In a native house, the man and woman lie side by side on a mat between the fire and hut wall, the man next the fire, facing it when sleeping. When he wishes to enjoy marital relations, he turns towards the woman and lies on his side with his back to the fire. The saying refers to the uxorious husband whose advances are refused by his wife, but he persists until his back is blistered by the heat of the fire. The saying intimates that it is no good going on wanting a thing refused you; you only suffer for it.

40. *Gonera lwala mtukuta!*

Lying on the rock, heat!

This is a slang expression which in full would read, "It is nice and warm lying on a rock in the sun, but it is not so comfortable as being in bed in company with your wife; you can go on waiting but you won't get anything." This might even be said to a dog, watching as a dog will, every morsel of food lifted to its master's mouth.

41. *Kulupilila mesi ga mbisu!*

To have hopes of water for maggots!

It is a custom before lying down to sleep on the floor mat, to take it up and pour boiling water on the earth floor to kill any blood-sucking maggots (Congo floor-maggot, *Auchmeromyia*). If you see a pot cooking on the fire, you naturally think there is food being prepared but you may be disappointed; it may only be the pot for heating the water to kill the maggots. The saying is thus used to a man who has made an assignation and is disappointed but goes on waiting.

42. *Kuluma upeu!*

To bite cockroach-like!

The cockroach is described by natives as going up to what it will eat, remaining quiet for some moments, and then suddenly taking a bite. This is said of a man who comes up to you smiling and then hits you a hard blow.

Among the Yao as among other tribes that I have previously mentioned,<sup>1</sup> signs of salutation to a superior are made by clapping the hands or patting the breast or buttock with one hand, at the same time crouching down. A woman will go off the path and kneel, looking away from a superior passing along the roadway.

A person going by the door of a hut where others are sitting, will say "*Kumlango kuno!* At the door here." Passing behind anyone, he will say "*Ku-nyu^ma!* At the back!" Meeting anyone on a path, a man will simply say, "*Icho*, here," adding perhaps, "*Ku-chele!* all is well!" A chief or headman on returning to his village after a journey, is greeted by the women with trilling of the tongue (*Ku-luluta*).

Man and wife do not greet each other in the morning. The wife rises first and draws water and places it in the hut for the husband's use but nothing may be said.

When a visitor is entertained and a chicken cooked for a repast, the "pope's nose" is always for the visitor. The right hand only is used in dipping into the common pot. A man of small importance, though replete, will go on making pretence of eating at a common meal by taking very small amounts so that his superior shall finish first, and rise and go away before him.

I may here add the words used by the Yao for the sounds made by various animals; they are interesting to compare with those of other languages:

<sup>1</sup> 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 291-292.

The dog.....	<i>woo woo!</i> (as in <i>boot</i> ).
The cat.....	<i>nyao!</i>
The cock.....	<i>kokoliliko!</i>
The hen.....	<i>ku ku ku!</i>
The duck.....	<i>kwa kwa kwa!</i>
The cow.....	<i>moo!</i>
The sheep.....	<i>bee!</i> (as in <i>better</i> ).
The goat.....	<i>mée!</i>
The dove.....	<i>coo coo!</i>
The lion.....	<i>ng'wnang'u!</i>

Among the Yao, abuse and obscene language are rare; expressions which appear in other languages all the world over are only used on great provocation and commonly with dire results. This, too, is opposed to the ways of neighboring tribes, the Anyanja and Angoni, who freely make use of such expressions as "*Nyini ya mako!*" and "*Nkongo wa mako!*" "The pudenda of your mother! Clitoris of your mother!"

The following exclamations of abuse and expressions of obscenity will be seen to follow very closely upon those in other countries.

1. *Mwisichana!* (to a girl or woman), *mbalale!* (to a boy or man) means you are a person who has not been to your *Unyago*, and therefore "you are without manners!"

2. *Mwana mkongwe!* an expression to a child meaning "you little wretch," "you nasty little thing!"

3. *Akulila kusi ligasa!* he eats with the back of his hand, he is uncircumcised, i.e. "he is a dirty person!"

4. A man with big ears is hailed "look at your ears like a lemur!" (*Likomba*, a lemur).

A Yao woman seldom or never sneers at or uses bad language to a man nor the converse; the woman, however, is not behindhand in the art of bitter complaining and nagging.

Pulling down the lower eyelid with the finger accompanying some exclamation has exactly the same significance as in European countries, "I am not so green as I look!"

*Ku-sonya* is to make a sound like "pish" with the mouth, and is a great insult, for which a man will fight.

Screwing of the lips to one side as in the action to get rid of the sour skin of a fruit, *ku-mun<sup>^</sup>g'unya* is an expression of contemptuous disgust.

The similarity to European ways is again seen in swearing or taking oath. A Yao swears by the spirits of his ancestors or by a chief:

"*Chirisi cha Malemya!*"

"(By) the grave of Malemya!"

or he may indirectly name some ancestor:

"*Ngulumbila lipanga!*" or "*Ngulumbila lisimba!*"

"I swear by the spear!" "I swear by the lion!"



meaning I swear by the spirits of him who was killed with a spear (or by a lion), referring to some one well known to have in such wise met his end, or again:

“ *Ngulumbila kumala kwa wandu!* ”

“ I swear by the finish of (all) men! ”

an equivalent to swearing by the day of judgment; or again a man may swear by his own death:

“ *Litaka linyinjile m'mapikanilo!* ”

“ Earth may it enter (my) ears! ”

or he will intimate that his throat should be cut by drawing his finger across the neck, if he does not speak the truth.

There is a gibe around Zomba in swearing. A man saying, “I swear so and so,” is asked, “By whose grave-house? *Msati wa cheni?* ” The man who is in reality only bluffing will say, “*Chekoma!* By Chekoma's grave!” Chekoma a small headman near Zomba of whom much fun is made.

**Native stories.** The fables or stories found among the Zomba Yao are many of them variations of well known tales, and have been collected to some extent by others. I only propose to add here free translations of a few I do not remember to have read elsewhere.

#### THE HARE AND THE ELEPHANT

The elephant made a big garden and planted sugar-cane. When it had grown, he asked all the other animals to come and partake of it with him. When they had all assembled, the buffalo, the eland, and all the other antelopes, the zebra and all the smaller animals, the elephant invited them to eat. He made one condition, however, anyone who, having chewed the sugar-cane, made a sucking sound as he swallowed the juice before spitting out the fibrous part would be killed (*ku-jonga*, Chin. *ku-yonda*, to suck, making the sound “schlech”).

So the animals all sat in a long line and the buffalo started chewing his piece of sugar-cane, but when he tried to get all the juice out of his piece, he went “schlech!” so the elephant twisted his head till he was dead, and then picking him up, threw the carcass aside. The same fate followed for the eland, for all the antelopes and the lion, so that the other animals became afraid and would not volunteer to eat the sugar-cane but went away and the carcasses of the dead animals were buried. The elephant then appointed another day and invited the animals to come again and try.

That day, the hare came and made salutation by clapping to the elephant who demanded what he wanted, so the hare replied, “I have come to eat sugar-cane.” “You know my rule,” said the elephant. “Yes,” said the hare, “I know your rule but I want some sugar-cane.” So he was given some while all the other animals looked on to see what would happen. “Please,” said the hare to the elephant, “may I have the outside part stripped

off, as I have not got strong teeth?" This was done for him and he started munching some pieces of sugar-cane as he sat on a stone with the rest of the cane beside him, while the elephant watched. "Did you kill the buffalo just for saying 'schlech'?" said the hare, as he sucked the juice from the fibre. "Yes," answered the elephant. The hare pondered awhile as he chewed up some more cane. "Did you kill the eland for saying 'schlech'?" again asked the hare. "Yes," answered the elephant, as the hare each time spat out the sucked-dry fibre. With each mouthful the hare asked about another animal until he had finished all his sugar-cane.

Thus the elephant, seeing that the hare had finished and had not once made a sucking noise as he swallowed the juice, said, "You are a wonderful animal" and he gave him half his garden and they have been friends ever since.

This is one of the many stories illustrating the hare's supposed cleverness and cunning.

#### THE HAWK AND THE COCK

##### *How the birds of prey came to ravage the fowls*

At one time, all the eagles and hawks used to be afraid of fowls. The cock inspired them with awe; they thought with his crest of red horns, he must be very dangerous. One day after talking it over, they decided to send their little brother, the Katotola (the smallest of the hawks) to investigate matters. So Katotola flew down to the earth as an ambassador of peace to interview the cock who was strutting about with his family. He explained to the cock that the eagle, Kapungu, their king, wished to be on friendly terms with the cock but that they were afraid of his crown of red horns. The cock answered that it was not made of horn but was quite soft; "Come and feel it," said he, "it is nothing to be afraid of." Katotola was frightened, but when the cock repeated the invitation, Katotola did so. He was surprised to find it soft and evidently nothing to be afraid of. The cock accepted the eagle's message of friendliness, so Katotola said good-bye and prepared to fly away. Just then, he spied one of the cock's daughters and no longer being afraid, he darted down and picked her up and bore her away to the presence of the eagle to whom he related how the cock was nobody to be frightened of, saying, "See here, I have carried off one of his daughters." So all the eagles and hawks saw that the fowls and their cock were a weak tribe and they could easily make war on them and carry off their children.

#### THE PIG AND THE BABOON

##### *How once friends, they parted, the baboon staying on the tops of the hills, the pig going down into the plains*

Long ago, the pig and the baboon used to live together on the hill-sides. One day, it was very cold and a cutting wind was blowing. As the pig and the baboon sat on a rock in the sun trying to get warm, the baboon turned to the pig and said, "This wind is enough

to wear the end of one's nose to a blunt point." "Yes," answered the pig, "it's really enough to blow the hairs off one's buttocks and leave a bare, dry patch." "Look here," said the baboon getting cross, "you are not to make personal remarks"! "I did nothing of the kind," retorted the pig, "but you were rude to me first." This started a quarrel and they came to the conclusion that neither cared for the other's company. So they parted and the baboon went up on to the rocky top of the hill, while the pig went down to the plains.

#### THE COCK AND THE CROCODILE

*"Kokoliliko! Che Ngwenambusanga!"*

"Cock-a-doodle-do, the crocodile is my friend!"

When the reptiles heard the cock giving voice, one morning, they were much annoyed, saying, "What is the cock that he takes in vain the name of our King!" and they made a case about it, and all the birds and reptiles came to attend the case, and the crocodile and the cock were also present.

After the reptiles had made their charge against the cock, the eagle Kapungu, king of the birds, spoke, saying, "This is a matter of clan relationship. Can the cock claim the crocodile as his *ambusanga*? What is the crocodile? What is the cock? We must get to the bottom of the question. Is it not from an egg that each comes?" To which the crocodile answered, "You speak truly but we had never thought of it before; we are friends," and then he swore that inasmuch as men killed his brother the cock, he would kill men, and from that day to this, he is man's enemy.

NOTE: This is an interesting story with its reference to clan relationship. The native seems to forget, however, that a crocodile will devour fowls along with most other things, including his own brother.

#### THE TORTOISE AND THE BABOON

*Why the baboon has no tail*

Once upon a time, the tortoise made friends with the eagle and invited him to come and pay a visit. So one day the eagle alighted at the tortoise's home and was there entertained and fed. When leaving, he asked the tortoise to return the call but the tortoise having explained that he could never walk to the eagle's place of abode, it was decided that the eagle should then and there carry him. So the tortoise asked the eagle to wait for a few minutes and he went into his house and got a bag. Into the bag the tortoise crept, asking the eagle to fasten up the bag and tie it to his leg and thus fly with him to his home. Arrived there, the eagle gave his guest fish to eat and the next day when the tortoise wished to leave, he received some fish to take with him. This was put in the bag fastened up with a long piece of string, the other end of which the tortoise tied round his neck. Saying good-



bye to the eagle he asked him to toss him down from the tree so that he could reach the ground and walk home. On reaching the ground, he started off for home with the bag trailing by the string behind him. On the way, he met some baboons, one of whom seeing the bag ran and took it, saying it was his find and belonged to him. The tortoise naturally argued the point and they decided to go to the elephant to have the dispute settled. After hearing the evidence of both sides, the elephant gave his verdict in favor of the baboon. "The baboon had found the bag and therefore it must belong to him. If it had belonged to the tortoise, he would have been carrying it on his shoulders." So the tortoise had to go home without his bag of fish. After a few days, he thought out a plan of revenge. Going to a place where he knew the baboons often met, he dug a hole under a stone and getting into the hole, he lay in wait. Presently the baboons arrived and one came to sit on the stone. Creeping out of his hole, the tortoise laid hold of the baboon's tail, calling out, "I have found a *chikoti* (whip)." The baboon immediately replied that it was his tail. "No," said the tortoise, "I have found it trailing on the ground. Finding is keeping; anyway we will go to the elephant about it." So they went again to the elephant who upheld the tortoise, and ordered the baboon to cut off his tail and so the baboon lost his tail.

#### THE SNAKE AND THE PARTRIDGE

Once upon a time, there was a partridge who lived in the grass on the plain. One day a bush fire spread towards the place where he was feeding and he decided that he must fly to a place of safety. As he was taking his little run preparing to fly, a snake called to him, saying, "I can find no hole to get into and I am afraid I shall be burnt. Let me coil myself about your neck and you could thus carry me to a spot which is already burnt." The partridge agreed and with the snake wound round his neck, he flew away and alighted on a place over which the fire had already passed. "Now," said he, "would you mind unwinding yourself from my neck?" But the snake answered, "What am I going to eat here in this burnt place?" and tightening his coils, he strangled the partridge.

There is a saying apropos of this story:

"Ndende 'chenene wauleje angwale!"  
 "I may do well killed partridge!"

and one in Chinyanja:

"Ukonze unapa nkware!"  
 "Kindness killed the partridge!"

*Ndende 'chenene* and *ukonze* have the meaning "the wish to do a kindness; Misplaced kindness is fraught with danger!"

#### THE HARE, THE LEOPARD, AND THE BUSHBUCK

Once upon a time, a man hoed his garden and planted it with beans. When the crop grew, he was much troubled by the animals from the forest which came and damaged his

beans, so he set a snare to catch them by the leg. One day, a leopard came that way and got caught in the trap. After a time as he lay there unable to move, he spied a bushbuck with his mate and four young ones and called to him to come and help him. The bushbuck, when he saw the leopard in the trap, took pity on him and undoing the rope, set him free. Said the leopard, "I have been here three days and am famished. You have been very kind to me. Will you extend your kindness and take me to your home and give me food? I am very much indebted to you, and to show my gratitude, I will remain with you." So the bushbuck assented and led the leopard to his home where beans were cooked and put before the leopard to satisfy his hunger. But the leopard refused them, saying that he did not eat beans. So some fowls were killed and cooked and given to him to eat. Every day he was given fowls to eat until none were left and the same thing happened with the goats. So when there was no more flesh for the leopard's food, they cooked some beans for him. Then the leopard again explained how greatly he was indebted to his benefactor, the bushbuck, and that he would like to show his gratitude by staying with him but that he really could not eat beans and asked the bushbuck to give him one of his children. The bushbuck did not like to refuse, so one of his little ones was killed and given to the leopard who ate him. Next day, the leopard asked for and received another child and so on until all had been sacrificed and only the bushbuck and his wife remained. The leopard demanded the wife and the poor bushbuck, not knowing how to get out of it, had to give the leopard his own wife to be eaten. When the leopard again felt hunger, he said to the bushbuck, "Well, now you have been very kind to me and given me all you have but you still remain. I think I will have to eat you, too." But the bushbuck being now really frightened, made off into the forest chased by the leopard. After running for three days, the bushbuck met a buffalo who asked him, "Why are you running so fast with a leopard running after you?" So the whole story was told and the buffalo's advice asked in the matter, to which he answered, "Well I don't think that you can do anything except continue your kindness and give yourself up to the leopard." But the bushbuck ran on again and meeting the elephant the same question was put to the bushbuck and in answer to the story, he received the same advice as the buffalo had given. So with nearly all the animals of the forest until he met the hare who, after listening to the bushbuck's story, offered to act as judge in the case. So when the leopard came up, the hare told him he would like to see how the whole thing had come about from the moment he got caught in the trap. All then repaired to the place where the snare was. "Now," said the hare setting the trap, "will you just show me how you got caught? Of course if you are trapped, I will free you again." So the leopard stepped on the trap and was immediately caught by the leg. "Ah," said the hare, "that is the way it happened, is it?" with which he went off, taking the bushbuck with him, leaving the leopard now to die of hunger. Later, some one came along and finding the leopard in the snare, killed him.



## THE HARE AND THE HYAENAS

Once upon a time, a hare went to seek work with a lion and agreed to attend to the drying of the meat the lion killed. One day, when the lion was away hunting and the hare was busy attending to his work of drying the meat, some hyaenas came by and seeing the meat asked the hare to give them some, but the hare refused, saying it was not his own but belonged to the lion his master. So the hyaenas just went and took and ate of the meat, and made off. This went on every day and the hare becoming much distressed about it, decided to try and trap the hyaenas, so he dug a game-pit and having put pointed stakes in the bottom, he covered it up with grass. In the afternoon, he went out for the daily supply of firewood, and on his return he was dismayed to find that the lion, his master, had fallen into the game-pit and been killed. After this, he abandoned the pit and thought of another idea to defeat the hyaenas and avenge the death of his master. He got the lion out of the pit and carefully removing the skin, he dried it and stuffed it with grass and fixed up the stuffed body in the forest close by, and attaching one end of a rope about its neck, he carried the other end to the place near by, where he went on with his work of drying meat. Presently the hyaenas came along and as usual asked for meat. The hare this day invited them to come and take what they wanted. Pretending to be friendly, the hare remarked how well one of them would look with a nice piece of rope tied round his neck, like a necklace, and the hyaena's vanity being touched, he allowed the hare to fasten the rope round his neck. Now this was the rope to the other end of which was attached the stuffed lion, and when the next moment, the hare called out that the lion was coming back and the hyaenas started to run away, they found that the lion followed them. Wherever they stopped to get breath, there he was still on their tracks, so they decided to run for a hole they knew where they could hide from the lion. After they had been in the hole sometime, one of them peeped out, but there was the lion waiting at the mouth of the hole. Day by day they got more hungry but every time they peeped out, they always saw the lion waiting for them, and so it happened that they grew weaker and weaker and eventually died of starvation.

## THE HARE, THE ELEPHANT, AND THE HIPPOPOTAMUS

The hare challenged the elephant to a tug-of-war, the understanding being that if the elephant pulled the hare over, the hare would pay, but that if he did not succeed in pulling the hare over, then the hare should receive the wager. To this the elephant agreed, and away went the hare to the hippopotamus and made a similar proposal to which the hippo in turn assented. On the day appointed for the contest, the hare handed one end of a long rope to the elephant and arranged with him that he, the hare, should signal a blast on a horn when they were to begin pulling, the second blast to be the signal for the end of the contest. The hare then trotted off with the other end of the rope and found the hippo,



with whom he made a similar arrangement. Then, taking up a position midway, he blew on the horn and the elephant and the hippo started pulling against each other, each ignorant of his opponent. Neither could pull the other over, for they were both equally strong. So the hare blew a second blast on his horn, and going to the elephant received the acknowledgment of his defeat and the wager, after which he went to the hippo who was also defeated, and so received his second wager.

#### THE STORY OF THE DZIMWE

Once upon a time there was a woman and she was with child. One day she wanted some meat to eat and asked the Dzimwe to give her some. The Dzimwe agreed to give her some meat if she would give him her child when it was born. To this the woman assented and received the meat. In due course the child was born but the woman thought no more about the Dzimwe until one day she met him and was reminded of her promise. So the woman arranged with Dzimwe to send her child to the garden to gather pumpkins so that he could catch him. The child's name was Kalikalanje which means "he who fries himself in a pan." The Dzimwe went down to the garden, changed himself into a pumpkin, and waited for the boy's coming. Presently Kalikalanje arrived and looking at the pumpkins, said, "I only gather one that dances," so the Dzimwe in the form of a pumpkin started dancing about and the boy ran away calling out, "No! really I don't gather pumpkins that dance." A few days later, the Dzimwe sought out the woman and related how he had been duped, so the woman proposed to tie the Dzimwe up in a bundle of grass in the forest which she would then send her son out to get. Kalikalanje, sent out by his mother for a bundle of grass, came across the bundle containing the Dzimwe, and remarked that he only took bundles of grass that danced. And when the bundle started dancing, the boy ran away, calling out that he did not really take bundles of grass that danced. So the Dzimwe a second time was frustrated. Again he went to the boy's mother and asked her, saying, "You promised me the child, you must make some other plan to deliver the boy into my hands." This time she hit upon the idea of sending the boy to another village to play *niengo* (a kind of game of nine-pins), and told Dzimwe that he would be able to recognize her son as she would shave his head and give him a piece of red cloth to wear. So Kalikalanje went to play *njengo* with the boys in another village, but arriving early, he got them all to shave their heads and tearing up his piece of red cloth, he gave each boy a piece to wear. When the Dzimwe arrived, he was again baffled as he did not know which was the boy he ought to have. Once more he met the woman and explained how her plan had miscarried, so she suggested that she should send her son out hunting in the forest and the Dzimwe could catch him there. So the youth went out hunting and he took his four dogs with him, including his dog, Mawalayenje. As he went through the forest, he suddenly came upon the Dzimwe, so he climbed up a tree. "Ah," said the Dzimwe, "I have got you at last!" and commenced to cut down the tree. Then Kalikalanje called to one of his

dogs to attack the Dzimwe and the dog rushed in at him but fell dead, killed by the wind passed from the bowel of the Dzimwe. The same fate fell to two more dogs. Then Kalikalanje called his dog, Mawalanyenje to attack the Dzimwe. Mawalanyenje flew at the Dzimwe, making wind at the same time as his enemy, and was unhurt. He bit and bit at the Dzimwe till he killed him. Then Kalikalanje came down from the tree and got medicine and his three dead dogs were brought to life again, and he was not molested further.

NOTE. This story in only an incomplete form is given by Hind in his *First Yao Reader* and I have therefore thought it worth while repeating it *in extenso*. Miss Werner<sup>1</sup> has referred to Dzimwe but seems very doubtful of the meaning of the word. It occurs only in the story given above, common to both Wayao and Anyanja, and simply refers to a fabulous personality, one of whose attributes was the ability to change into various forms. Scott in his dictionary,<sup>2</sup> mentions a Chinyanja word, *Dzimwe*, an elephant, so called because of its large belly filled with masses of unchewed food.

#### NALUMBALAPA, THE NIGHT-JAR

One day when the night-jar was strolling along, he met some guinea-fowls and approaching their leader, he said, "I envy you when I see you going along accompanied by many of your people. I should be very glad if you would help me by giving me medicine to make me also a chief among others." So the guinea-fowl said, "That is all right, but you must come at the proper time when I am at home." In the evening, the night-jar went to the guinea-fowl and the guinea-fowl gave him some medicine and told him, "Take this medicine. You must then get some animals' dung and mix the medicine with a basketful of it. Choose a nice site and sprinkle it all over with this. Then build your own hut there. The rules about this medicine are as follows: If any people come to stay with you and do any damage to your crops, don't abuse them; speak gently." "All right," said the night-jar, and went away to follow out the instructions. When this was all done, one evening some one came and clapping hands at the door, called to the owner. The night-jar went outside and found a man with his wife and children. They had come to settle down with him. (He was going to be a chief among men!) So he told them to come in. After a few minutes, others came, and then all night others arrived until the house was full and others camped outside. Within two days, there was a big village. Then the night-jar went back and reported to the guinea-fowl. The guinea-fowl again bade him keep to the rules. Then the people made a big garden for the night-jar and planted cassava and many other things and they were all quite happy. One day, all the people came together and said they were going to make a bigger garden for their chief, the night-jar. The children went too, and played in one of the cassava gardens. One of them dug up some roots and chewed them and the night-jar passing and noticing this, was very cross and began abusing the children and their

<sup>1</sup> British Central Africa, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 139.



mothers. When they heard the abuse, everybody stopped hoeing, put their hoes on their shoulders and with their wives and children went away, till no one was left in the village, except the night-jar and his wife. "I don't know what I am going to do. I must run to the guinea-fowl and see if he can put this affair right," said he. He reported to the guinea-fowl all that had happened. Then the guinea-fowl said, "You have broken the rules. It is too late; it is finished and I cannot give you medicine to call them back. It is your own fault." The night-jar said, "I think you can help me. Give me medicine to make me invisible. If you do not, the people may come back and kill me." "For that I will give you medicine," said the guinea-fowl. "Now, after you and your wife rub yourselves with the medicine, as you sit together a man can walk past you and not see you." So they got the medicine and went home and used it. And that is why you cannot see the night-jar now as he sits on the road when you pass.

#### THE STORY OF THE HORNBILL (LIPOMOMBO)

Once upon a time, there was a man named Lipomombo. He lived in a village but would not conform to the customs of the people. This the people did not like. Especially did they take exception to his refusal to attend the last rites for the dead. Once again he was asked to pay homage to the dead and accompany the funeral procession of a fellow villager to the grave, but he refused as usual. Soon after, his own child died, but no one came to offer help in preparing the body or in carrying it to the burial ground. Not knowing what to do, he tied the body up and put it upon his head and so left the house to search for the burial place. "*Ku malembe kwa?* Where are the graves?" he asked the first man he met. "I don't know," was the reply. He wandered on, putting the same question "*Ku malembe kwa, kwa, kwa?*" to everyone he met but no one apparently knew. So he wandered on until the body became rotten and ran down his nose and dripped off the end. He has been wandering ever since with the last piece stuck on his nose, always searching for the graveyard and asking "*Ku malembe kwa, kwa, kwa?*" and all his descendants do the same.

Moral: Conform to the customs of your race. (Note the beak of the Hornbill and its call.)

#### THE STORY OF THE YOUNG MAN TESTING THE ADVICE GIVEN TO HIM BY HIS FATHER

There was once an old man and he was dying, so he called his son to him and said, "I am dying, but before I go, there are three things I wish you to beware of doing: Firstly, do not tell your wife your private affairs; secondly, do not make friends with a policeman; thirdly, do not borrow money from a poor man but from a rich man." Having uttered these warnings, the old man died. No sooner was the burial over than the son thought over his father's words and deciding to try and see whether there was wisdom in them, he went along to a poor man he knew and borrowed sixpence and to a rich man and bor-



rowed a sovereign and thence home. Saying nothing about the money, he left his house the following morning and bought a goat. Waiting in the bush till dark, he killed it and then bound up the carcass in some grass and carried it to his hut. Arrived there, he excitedly told his wife he had killed a man and wanted to bury the corpse which he had brought with him, under the floor of the hut. So the woman brought a hoe and together they dug a hole in the middle of the floor and having deposited the body in it, the earth was filled in and the woman replastered the floor with mud, and made her cooking fire over the spot. "Now," said the young man to himself, "my father told me not to tell my wife any of my private affairs and not to borrow money from a poor man. Both these I have done. One thing remains; I must find a policeman to make friends with." Going out, he met two policemen, so he said to one of them, "I should like to be friends with you, come to my house"; and the policeman agreed and went with the man to his house and a fowl was killed for them to eat. He introduced the policeman to his wife as his friend and she started cooking porridge. When it was ready, she brought it outside to the two men who were sitting on the veranda of the house with water to wash their hands and they commenced eating. Then the man called his wife back, saying the porridge was not well cooked — "It is only fit for dogs!" — and struck his wife a blow. The woman immediately appealed to the policeman to protect her, saying her husband would kill her as he had killed a man, a short time before. So the policeman arrested the man and took him away to the magistrate. The magistrate sent the police back with the man to the village to find the body of the murdered man. Its resting place was pointed out by the woman and after digging, they found the body tied up in the grass. All said, "It is just as the woman stated!" and they began striking the man and made him carry the body back to the magistrate. On the way, they met the poor man, who on seeing his debtor cried out, "Where are you going, where is my sixpence?" "I am going to the magistrate. I am supposed to have murdered a man," he replied. "Where is my sixpence? You will get hanged and I shall be the loser!" yelled the poor man. "Wait a bit, I may not be killed," said the man, "I may be able to pay you back presently." "No you won't, you will be hanged," was the reply and the poor man hit him as he passed. Later, the party met the rich man and the accused called to him, "I am in trouble and don't know when I may be able to repay you your loan"; but the rich man answered, saying, "Never mind about that now. I am sorry you are in trouble." When they came before the magistrate and the man put down his load, it was opened and the body of the goat disclosed. Then the magistrate asked the man what it was all about. So the man related his story, telling the magistrate how he had wanted to test his father's advice, and how it had all proved to be good advice.

Note: The story as given here is doubtless an adaptation of an older story to present day conditions. I have not been able to get any more original form.

## ABOUT THE GREEDY MAN (JUA MLUME JUAKUSUSUKWA)

Once upon a time, there was a man and he went and set a trap and caught an *mbendu* (genet cat). So he brought it back to his home and singed the fur off and partly roasted it, and then hung it up from the roof inside his hut without telling his wife to cook it. It was in the summer time. One day his wife said, "I am tired of gathering herbs to cook for your relish. What about the animal hanging up there? Shall I not cook it?" The husband replied that not for anything would he have it cooked. "I am going to keep it till we get our new crops in," he said. So the woman said nothing and time passed and the little animal got as dry as a bone. One day when the man and the woman had gone to hoe in their garden, the *mbendu* came to life again and jumping down, found the basket where the woman kept her clothes and beads; opening it, he took them out and dressed up in them. Thus arrayed he went out of the hut and came to the place where some women were pounding grain; so he began to sing and danced to them. His song was:

"*Achambumba'wo kutuwa'ko misi jose leche leche, mbwi! jukutu! jukutu!*"

"The women (who were) pounding there pounding sticks all they have left!"

and he told the women to sing the chorus "*Nanchalamanda!*" (*Mbwi* is the word used to indicate the sound and action of a short hop on both feet like a bird or some steps in a dance. *Jukutu* similarly has reference to the movements of the buttocks in dancing. *Nanchalamanda* means "very dry," referring to the *mbendu* and the treatment he had suffered.) So they all danced together, but when he judged the people would be going back to the house, he escaped and ran back to the house and putting away the clothes and beads in the basket, he went back to his position hanging from the roof. This went on for several days and many of the boys and girls in the village used to go to the pounding place to see *mbendu* dance. One day the child of the man who had caught the *mbendu* recognized the cloth he was wearing as belonging to his mother and noticed him go back to their house. So he went and told his mother and father who, when they looked into the basket, noticed that the things inside had been disarranged and that the cloth was dirty. So they said they must find out what was going on, and next day, pretending to go to their garden, they hid themselves. Presently *mbendu* came down, put on the cloth and beads and went out of the house to dance as usual. When the man and his wife appeared, he ran away to the house, threw off the cloth and hung himself up to the roof, but he had not quite shrivelled up dry again when they came in and discovered him. When *mbendu* saw that he was found out, he jumped down and ran away, this time quite free into the fields, so the woman reviled her husband for saving up the animal in greedy fashion so long.

Note: When telling these and other stories, there is a regular formula with which the narrator prefaces his discourse. The story-teller begins:



"Lokote      lokote      kaselo      to!"  
 "Picking up      picking up a little basket full!"

to which the listeners exclaim

"Lakataa!"  
 "Overflows!"

At the completion of each sentence in the story, one of his listeners will exclaim, "Go!" When he has finished his story, he says,

"Ajokole      katolo      katakununga      pamtwe      pakomere,      umbo      chiponji!"  
 "Take off the fire, the little mouse lest it be singed, by the head it is very hard, the hair (is) in a lump!"

During the intervals of a long story, one of the listeners may break in and sing some little song, such as the song of the *mbendu* in the story of the greedy man, thus giving the story-teller a rest.

**The house and household utensils.** The Yao house does not differ greatly from the Nyanja habitation which I have already described elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The accompanying figure (Pl. XIV, fig. 15) gives the circular plan of a hut with a veranda partly open and partly enclosed to form a room. The central pole of the hut is indicated, the hearth (H), the position of the sleeping mats (M), and the place where the water pots are kept (P). The bed may be a bamboo platform supported by forked sticks a foot above the ground (*usangwali*), or a dais of mud, over which is spread the sleeping-mat, *ugono*. (Pl. XIV, fig. 14.) Seats, *chitengu*, are made of logs of wood with conveniently placed branches acting as legs. I have seen a symmetrically carved log with shaped legs all in one piece, which suggested by its form and by the presence of a button on the midline of the under surface that it was made in the imitation of an animal. Plank seats with peg legs are now sometimes seen. Wooden pegs are driven into the wall and serve to hang odd articles upon.

The hearth is simply a shallow depression in the mud floor, around which are placed three large stones to support the cooking pots. Sometimes a canopy is built over the hearth, consisting of four upright poles supporting a platform made of reeds and grass, upon which millet and other seed grains are often stored. From this platform *ligulu* (*tsanja*, Chin.), the gourd containing the supply of salt is often hung. The seed grain tied up in little bundles is suspended from the *ligulu* where it becomes very dry and smoked, without any ill effect to the next year's crop. (Pl. XIV, fig. 16.) Four pronged branches of trees are often stuck in the ground with a string tied around the prongs, and used as holders for gourds, salt bottles, etc.; this device is called *lipanda* (*phanda*, Chin.). (Pl. XIV, fig. 10.) The smaller utensils include the porridge stirring stick *mtiko* (Yao and Chin.) (Pl. XIV, fig. 12), several wooden spoons *chikowi* (*chipanda* or *namalawa*, Chin.), (Pl. XIV, figs. 11, 13), a number of gourds of various shapes and sizes used as ladles and drinking vessels,

<sup>1</sup> 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 326-328.



and the baskets and pots. A wooden dish *mbisi* may be seen occasionally, but of late years, this has been generally replaced by enameled articles.

Around the entire hut, or simply enclosing a yard behind it, there is often a fence about five feet high. In the enclosure thus formed, many household duties are performed, such as the pounding and sifting of grain. The grain store *ngokwe* often stands in this yard with the pigeon-loft and possibly a hen-house or goat kraal; these are sometimes found in the open space at the front of the house. If a grain store is built within the hut itself, it is then known as *mbungu*. Near the pigeon-loft will be seen a pole with prongs supporting an old pot with water for the pigeons to drink. In a tree in the bush nearby, there may stand a beehive, consisting of a bark cylinder. Similar cylinders are sometimes used as pigeon-houses.

The large pots for brewing beer are usually set in the yard or on the back veranda, together with a basket of split bamboo for carrying fowls, *chiteletele* (Yao and Chin.).

*Gourds.* Gourds are grown in the village for use as vessels of various kinds. Different shapes serve different purposes; names are given them according to use rather than shape, though these more or less coincide. Ladles for water or beer, *msomalo* or *mgao* (*nsomero* or *chiko*, Chin.) are usually long-handled gourds (Pl. XIV, figs. 7, 8, 9). Drinking vessels for beer, etc. *chipanda* and a specially large one, *mtumba* are usually of the shape illustrated in Plate XIV, fig. 1; sometimes they are like fig. 5, but this shape is more commonly used for water. *Lipache*, the type illustrated by fig. 2, is also used for drinking or for holding gruel. Oil flasks, *chisasi* (*tsupa*, Chin.), are usually of the double-bellied type (figs. 4 and 6). Salt bottles, *chitumba* (*chiguru*, Chin.), are similar to oil flasks. Rattles, *sanje*, used at dances etc., are also made from gourds, often from those with tuberosities (fig 3). Other uses for gourds include pipes, snuff-boxes, enema funnels, and resonators for musical instruments.

*Pottery.* The art of pot-making appears to have been known to the Yao for a very considerable period. There is no history relating to its introduction among them. The art is in the hands of the Yao women. As among all Nyasaland tribes, a particular kind of clay is used and no admixture with any binding substance is made. The pots are simply moulded by hand from base to brim and, without the aid of any wheel or other device, wonderful symmetry is attained.

After drying, the pots are fired by being set on their bases on the ground and a wood fire is made round and above them. They are then sprinkled with an infusion of the *nywenywe* or *ntumbi* tree, a head of millet being used for the purpose, after which the pots are set upon a fire and millet husks are thrown into them and allowed so to be incinerated. These customs, a kind of christening of the pots, "insure their turning out well."

No glaze of any kind is used, but they are sometimes colored red by boiling with a pigment called *ngama*, prepared from a red sediment found in sluggish streams. The preparation of *ngama* is in the hands of men and women who make a trade of it, such as a man called

Njusi near Zomba. Sometimes pots are also rubbed all over the outside or in patterns with *munyu*, a natural graphite.

Patterns of a simple character, often of the herring bone order, are commonly graved about the neck of the pots with the aid of a stick of bamboo. There is considerable variety in the size and shape of the pots made. As with gourds, the pot takes its name from the use to which it is put and not from the shape or size. All pots have rounded bottoms; none have a flattened base or standard.

The following varieties of pots may be mentioned:

1. *Litereko*, large pots for beer-making. These are usually roughly made and seldom have any decoration on them; they stand about two feet high and are wide-mouthed (Pl. XV, figs. 1, 4).

2. *Luulo* (*ntsuko*, Chin.): water-pots. These are usually well moulded and well finished pots, full bellied with broad base and a certain amount of neck. They are practically always decorated and often colored. They are about twelve inches high and twelve inches across the broadest diameter (Pl. XV, figs. 8, 9, 10).

3. *Chiulugo* (*nthalo*, Chin.): cooking pots used for cooking the flour porridge, *ugali*. These are wide, open-mouthed pots six to ten inches high, with belly and more or less straight sides (Pl. XV, figs. 5, 6, 7). This name also applies to the cooking vessel for medicinal concoctions.

4. *Chijungu* (*mpika*, Chin.): smaller pots of the same type as 3, used for cooking beans, fish, green stuff, and the relish *mboga* (*ndiwo*, Chin.) (Pl. XV, fig. 3).

5. *Mtala* (*nkate*, Chin.): the bath water pot. The smallest pot used for heating water to bathe the husband after sexual intercourse bears the same name. It is found among both the Anyanja and the Wayao (Pl. XV, fig. 2).

6. *Mbale* (Yao and Chin.): the plate, a shallow, wide-open vessel.

*Baskets.* The basket work of the Yao is all of one type and is done by the men. All baskets are made of plaited strips of bamboo, the free edges of the strips being bound between thicker pieces of the same wood forming the rim, the binding being done with the stem of a creeper. They are made in various shapes and sizes. Some are rendered waterproof and used as beer mugs. The following types of basket are in use:

1. *Chiselo* (*lichero*, Chin.): a circular, open basket, shallow and wide, six to ten inches in diameter; it is used as a food dish or to measure flour, etc. *Chitunga* (*nsengwa*, Chin.), a rather larger one of the same shape, often decorated with beads is used to carry flour, while a still larger basket called *chipeta* is commonly used by the women for winnowing out the chaff from the partly pounded maize (Pl. XVI, figs. 11, 15).

2. *Lukalala* and *chitunda* (in Chin., both are called *ntanga*): deep baskets usually about as deep as they are broad; the bottom is approximately square, but the rim is circular. *Chitundu* is about six inches high and six inches in diameter; *lukalala* is about a foot in all dimensions. These large baskets are used for carrying any food-stuffs in bulk, e.g. grain and pumpkins (Pl. XVI, fig. 16).



3. *Mtungwi*: this large double basket one half of which fits over the other like a cover, is now very common among the Yao; it was copied from the Swahili *lijamanda*. The body is made in the same way as the other baskets, but each half has a broad rim of wood which is always cut profusely into patterns (Pl. XVI, fig. 13, and Pl. XVII).

4. *Chinumbi*: the beer mug, a small hemispherical basket rendered waterproof by smearing with a sticky substance prepared from the pounded stem of the *mposa* tree or from the root of the *nguna* plant mixed with charcoal (Pl. XVI, fig. 12).

5. *Lisungulo* (*kape*, Chin.): the beer strainer made in the shape of *chitunga*, but the strips of bamboo forming the warp and the weft are of different thicknesses, so that spaces are left for the fluid to run through (Pl. XVI, fig. 14).

*Mats*. In years gone by the Yao made a rough kind of plaited matting of split reeds called *chipondo*; it is not seen today. Another type of mat seldom used today is the *lichika* (*chika*, Chin.), made of a number of reeds of equal length bound together by several rows of interlacing string (Pl. XVI, fig. 7). Reeds are also used to make the *ugono* (*mpasa*, Chin.) (Pl. XVI, fig. 10). When dry they are split and fastened out with the smooth surfaces all on one side. A number of reeds so flattened lying side by side are then sewed together with native string, and form a clean, smooth mat for sitting or sleeping.

Mats made of plaited strips of sun-dried palm leaf are now in common use, the art of making them, I believe, having been introduced from the coast. Large mats of this kind called *liambi* are used in the chief's courtyard (Pl. XVI, fig. 9). Smaller ones called *mkeka*, or by the old people *ndanga*, made from the leaf of the wild date palm, are used for sleeping (Pl. XVI, fig. 6). Since the advent of the European, mat making has become an important industry, and *liambi* and *mkeka* are to be found in every European house.

A still finer kind of mat, circular in plan and stained in patterns, has lately been introduced by the Swahili. Red and black dyes are generally used; the red is either *ngama*,<sup>1</sup> or a stain called *mchesulo* prepared from the bark of a tree called *mseche*; the black dye is made from the root of a vine, *likwanya* (*chiteze*, Chin.), the itch bean.

The matting made of these strips of palm leaf is in the form of a ribbon from three to six inches wide, according to the fineness of the strips. The ribbon of matting is sewed into the form of a cylinder by plaiting the edges of the ribbon together in a large spiral. This cylinder of matting is then cut down one side and laid flat, and the cut edges finished off with a plaited mat border (Pl. XVI, fig. 8). It will be seen that, owing to the way they are made, these mats are never quite rectangular. The ribbon of matting used for the circular mats is narrower still and sewed round and round in a flat spiral fashion.

*Cloth*. The Yao in years gone by made a woven cloth, but the art has long since died out, and I have never seen a piece of native-made cloth. I imagine, inasmuch as bark-cloth is still worn by the poorer people, that the native-made woven cloth was only worn by the few, probably the chiefs. The older cloth was undoubtedly bark-cloth, worn, as I

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 341.



have said, to this day, and also appearing as the proper dress in all ceremonies. Clothing nowadays, among the majority, consists of calico of various kinds brought in by traders and further referred to under *Dress*.

Bark-cloth, *liwondo* (*chiwondo*, Chin.) is made by the men. A piece of bark about two feet by one is cut from the living tree; the outside portions are removed and the whole piece, after being well scraped, is soaked in water. When partly softened, it is removed and hammered out with a wooden mallet; the process is repeated till the piece of bark is soft enough to enable it to be wrung in the hands, thus further loosening the fibres. The soaking, hammering, wringing, and pulling are continued till a piece of cloth three by five feet is obtained. This is sun-dried and yields a soft, pliable, and warm material. Several pieces may be sewed together to make a large sheet. Bark-cloth is sometimes stained black by soaking it in a kind of thick mud found on the plains. The mallet consists of a piece of hard wood with serrations on its face, held in a split stick handle; it is called *mkomero*. A log of wood with a flattened surface, called *mkongwa*, plays the part of the anvil, the man who is using the mallet usually sitting on one end of the log.

**Skins.** The Yao are unacquainted with the art of tanning. Skins are prepared only by drying, and then softened by hammering with stones. They are not employed as articles of clothing but the larger ones are used to sit upon, the skins of the leopard and the lion being reserved for chiefs. Others are used to make bags to carry flour, for powder pouches, and to cover guns. The blacksmith's bellows are made of goat's skin.

**String,** *lukonji* (*chingwe*, Chin.): Two kinds of string are made, one from flax, the other from the inner part of the bark of the baobab tree. Fishing nets are made from the former, game nets from the latter.

**Metals and metal working.** The only metal ever obtained from the ore by the Wayao was iron, and it is probable that they learned this from the Anguru and Anyanja. The industry is now nearly dead since the introduction of trade articles. A few blacksmiths still ply their trade, but their work is restricted to the manufacture of knives, spear-heads, and razors. Hoes are no longer made. The hoe blade supplied by traders is in the form of the old native-made article, which had in turn displaced the older hoeing-stick. The blacksmith deals with his mass of metal by hammering it with stones. He provides himself with bellows, a small iron hammer, and a rudimentary kind of tongs. He is called *wachipala*.

**Stone.** The only important uses for stones among the Yao are for supporting the cooking pots on the fire, for heating water in some medicinal preparations, and for grinding millet. For this last purpose, a large, flat stone, inclined at an angle, is set up in some convenient spot, often on the veranda, and the grain is ground by means of a smaller stone held in the hands.

**The flour pestle and mortar.** Maize flour is prepared by pounding the grain in a big wooden mortar, by means of a wooden pestle, consisting of a pole some five feet long and four inches in diameter with round ends. The mortar consists of a tree trunk about

two feet high and fifteen inches in diameter, hollowed out from above for about two-thirds of its length. Many are made with a kind of base or stand, and some have roughly carved bosses on the outside; these are called "the breasts," doubtless emblematical of women, a large part of whose life is spent in preparing flour (Pl. XV, fig. 15).

**The fire-stick.** Matches are becoming more widespread year by year and soon the knowledge of how to make fire with a fire drill will be lost. The method employed among the Yao is as follows: a flat surface is cut on a piece of partly rotted wood. In the middle of this a small depression is made, and on one side of the piece of wood a groove is cut leading from the flat cut surface. The piece of wood is held firmly on the ground by one person with a piece of old scorched cloth or some charred sticks at the base of the groove. A second person, by rolling a stick of hard wood rapidly between his hands with the point directed against the depression on the flat surface in which a little sand has been placed, drills a hole into it. The heat developed is sufficient to cause the powdered rotten wood to start smouldering. This is then turned out on the cloth, which is gently waved in the air till it catches fire (Pl. XV, fig. 16).

**Boats.** With the exception of a small coracle-like vessel, *likungwa*, made of rough bark and used for crossing streams, the Yao have no boats. The dug-out canoes which they use at the present day are made for them by the Anyanja. In addition to the bark boat, they use a kind of raft made from the pith tree, *bungwa*.

**Tobacco.** The use of tobacco in some form is universal among the tribes of Nyasaland and the Yao are no exception. The method of use varies among the different peoples; smoking, chewing, and snuffing are all practiced, but while the Anyanja is essentially a pipe-smoker, the Yao takes snuff, although I think only lately he has also taken up smoking and chewing. A short time ago, a Yao who chewed would have been laughed at. The Anyanja do not chew but take snuff to a certain extent; the Angoni who do not smoke or chew are inveterate snuff-takers; the Atumbuka, Atonga, Asenga, and Ankonde are pipe-smokers and in lesser degree snuff-takers.

Tobacco is called *sona* (*fodia*, Chin.). It is prepared by sun-curing the leaf, which is then rolled up into a twist and allowed to dry further. The common tobacco pipe consists of a clay bowl, often ornamented, and a reed stem; it was formerly called *chilongo*, but is now known as *kalio* (Pl. XV, fig. 11). For hemp, *chamba*, the Yao use a water pipe called *ndundu* (*ngunda*, Chin.); this consists of a bamboo water container from which projects a reed stem surmounted by a clay bowl (Pl. XV, fig. 13). The word *ndundu* is also used for a tobacco pipe.

When tobacco is chewed, a little lime paste *swakala* made from snail shells is put in the mouth "to bring out the flavor," a small clay jar being used to carry the *swakala*.

Both the Wayao and the Anyanja prepare snuff by grinding the broken-up tobacco leaves with a stone in a potsherd; the powder is then turned out into another sherd and warmed over a fire. A few drops of a preparation called *magadi* is added for flavor. *Magadi* is



made by boiling down the solution obtained by straining a decoction of water and the ashes of banana leaves; it contains, of course, some of the inorganic salts from the banana leaves. Without this addition, snuff is said to lack its proper aroma. The Angoni do not warm their snuff, but add a *magadi* made in a similar way from cow dung.

**Food stuffs.** According to the general supposition, the native lives on a very monotonous diet, with a great excess of carbohydrates to the exclusion of proteids and fats. While it is certainly true that he does not consider that he has been fed without his "whack" of flour (maize, millet, rice or cassava), still he feels that his meal is a poor one if it does not also include some secondary dish, such as beans, fish, or green vegetables cooked like spinach.

The grains chiefly grown and used by the Yao are maize, millet, and a certain amount of rice.

Millet (sorghum): *Mapemba*, a tall variety, eight feet high, which is harvested late; *Mapemba ga mnunji*, a hairy variety; *Lisembeleka*, a short kind, five feet high, which matures early; *Mbalwe*, characterized by the fact that the ripe grains will fall when the plant is shaken, and by a rather bitter taste; *Nandonji*, a variety six feet high which ripens quickly; *Kapile*, a shorter variety with a bitter taste but, according to the natives, a pleasant smell. (It makes good beer.)

Eleusins: *Liwanje*, about four feet high with very small grains; *Chindumba*, used for making a very strong beer; *Msundi*, a variety eight feet high. Cyprus grasses: *Usanje*; there are two varieties, *Kaumbata*, which curls up and is used for making strong beer, and another kind which is not curly.

Maizes: A number of varieties of the species *Zea mays* are grown by the Yao: *Chisowa*, a black-grained variety; *Namgalale*, red maize; *Liwanje*, the seeds of which are large, white, and dented; *Nsachinya*, with grains flattened on the free surface; *Kanjelenjele*, a dwarf maize about four feet high.

Rice (*Oryza sativa*): *Mpunga* (generic name *Likoti*), a large-grained variety; *Singano*, with very long grains; *Lingwindimba*, red rice; *Mbungala*, characterized by the strong, not unpleasant odor it gives out when being cooked.

Cassava: *Chinangwa* is grown everywhere, but the Yao do not prepare flour from it, preferring to eat it raw at odd times. There are several varieties; *Chingangwa cha chiswera*, white cassava; *Chinangwa cha mbwani*, a brown variety; *Liwaga*, a bitter species (*Manihot utilissima*) which produces a very large root; *Chilasi* and *Kamanye*, varieties of *Manihot aipi*, the former characterized by its long, tapering leaves, while the latter is a dwarf variety with a big root.

Beans: there are a number of species of beans grown: *Mberemende* (*Cajanus indicus*), *ngunde* (*Vigna catiang*), *mbweso* (*Phaseolus mungo*), *mbwanda*, (*Phaseolus* sp.), *ntambahodo*, (*Phaseolus* sp.), *ngondomalui*, and a ground bean *njama* (*Voamdzia subterranea*).



Peas, *sawawa* (*Pisum sativum*), are grown in abundance. There are two other varieties; *mtesa* (groundnuts), and *chimbuwira*.

Sweet potatoes: *mbatata* (*Ipomeae sativa*), of which the natives are very fond; they distinguish a red and a white variety, *mbatata syanjejeu* and *mbatata syasiswera*.

The tuber-like root of a bush called *nyumbu* is also eaten, likewise the young underground shoots of a palm tree. The leaves of the sweet potato and the leaves of many wild growing plants are collected by the women and cooked like spinach; the flowers of pumpkins are used in a similar way. Of fruits eaten, the banana, *ligombo*, takes first place. A very large number of species of *Eumusa* are grown, including *makumbuka*, *mbingo*, *sukali*, *nasiri sungusye*, *kabutu* a dwarf banana, *lisigwa* a wild banana, and *mlanya*, the plantain. The paw-paw is found all over the district. There are several varieties of pumpkin, *lyungu*, including *mbonda*, *chindondoli*, and a very large species called *mtwe wa ngwena*, "the crocodile's head." Varieties of cucumbers include *lingaka* and *kalitungule*.

A large number of wild fruits are eaten, among them figs, *lukuju* (*Ficus*), *lisuku* (*Upaca*), *chitili* and *liungo*, the fruits of two species of *Landolphia*, *matonga* or Kaffir oranges (a species of *Strychnos*), *chikundu*, the fruits of *Hyphaene* (palms), *makwakwa* (*Myrianthus*) a wild tree belonging to the mulberry family, and others, *ndawa*, *makangandembo*, *ndondo-woko*, *chingulungulu*, *chindogolya*, *malembe*, *likwenda*, etc. The seeds from the heads of bulrushes (*Typha*) are mashed up and eaten.

All fish are eaten except the *nyanga*, which always causes urticaria.

The flesh of all the antelopes, of oxen, sheep and goats is eaten greedily; only bushbuck is avoided by some people as it is said to cause a skin eruption. Elephant is shunned by many on account of its rough skin, also rhinoceros because of the ulcers which it often has on its body, and hippopotamus on account of the marks on its back which are thought to be akin to leprosy. People eating the flesh of these animals are supposed often to sicken with leprosy, the pachydermatous skin, the ulceration or anaesthetic depigmented patches of that disease being reproduced, as the case may be. Few will eat pig or warthog on account of the digging habits of these animals. It is thought they may sometimes grub up bodies from graves. These flesh taboos may be due to Mohammedan influence. The lion, hyaena, and fox no one would touch, as they are supposed to be connected with *usawi*,<sup>1</sup> but the heart of the lion might be eaten to acquire courage. Few will touch leopard flesh, but Kasongo's descendants do so. All will eat of the flesh of the serval cat but very few of the common wild cat. The rock rabbit, *ngangawira* (*mbira*, Chin.), is refused by most Yao as it is a "beast without shame," having no tail to hide what should in decency be hid. Very few will partake of the baboon, but monkey is acceptable to many. A few reject porcupine, supposing they will break out in spots, while the zebra may cause stripes, and none will touch the skunk. No one eats *sunje*, a mouse that is believed to die if it crosses a path. All kinds of rats are eaten, but the shrew-rat and cane-rat only by boys. Snakes

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 295.

no one will touch. With the exception of carrion birds such as the crow and the hawk, most birds are considered fit to eat. The hornbill is not eaten, as it is supposed to carry part of a corpse on its nose.<sup>1</sup> Fowls form a regular article of diet, but some taboos in this connection are mentioned elsewhere.

Eggs are eaten only by children and old people; that is, by those outside the child propagating age. Milk is never consumed in any form. They say, "What a disgusting habit, to suck the juice of an animal while it is still alive!"

Pregnant women will not eat certain things lest the child be born with some deformity, such as the snout of a pig, or the white stripes of a zebra.

**Art and decoration.** Sculpture can hardly be said to be an art known to the Yao. The only piece of stone work I have ever seen was a granite boulder, on the surface of which cup-holes had been made for the game of *Bau* (Pl. IV, fig. 4).

Of late years, individuals here and there have begun carving wooden figures of men and animals. The Yao, of course, make no idols. It is uncertain exactly how long it is since any of these people started producing wooden figures. I should think that this art has sprung up within the past twelve or thirteen years, that is to say, since there has been a market for them among European residents. In the first place only natives and some of the common animals, the eland and leopard, were represented; since then, many animals and Europeans have been copied. The native is extraordinarily clever in reproducing characteristic features in dress, etc., so that a Portuguese is easily distinguished from an Englishman. The little models in ivory of animals and native household objects, made by the Swahili people on Lake Nyasa, have never been copied by the Yao. Neither do they make clay images of men and cattle as do the Zulu-descended Angoni and cattle-keeping Wankonde. No native would allow any wooden figure to remain in his house for fear of ill luck; the women especially would look askance at them, fearing some misfortune in their next pregnancy. Little wooden figures of birds, however, are sometimes seen affixed to the point of the hut roof.

The making of carved figures, then, is of recent introduction, or rather is a recent event in the evolution of the Yao, as they were not taught but self-inspired in the work.

The ability to make representations of objects by drawing appears in the same way to originate spontaneously here and there as a sport. Natives with a talent for drawing are found among all the tribes, and among the Yao, it is said, there have always been some who have been able to draw. Naturally enough, their reproductions are made on the walls of their houses, and their subjects are generally animals of the forest, sometimes men and houses, or some other object of particular interest<sup>2</sup> (Pl. VIII, fig. 1). I also give sketches of some other drawings I have noted (Pl. XVIII); the line figure of a man at Makanjila's

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Werner, 'A Native Painting from Nyasaland,' (Jour. Afric. Soc., London 1909, vol. 8, no. 30, p. 190-192).



(fig. 14), and an antelope from Mposa's in Zomba district (fig. 11), also two birds at Pikani's which I should think represent a fowl and a crow (figs. 12, 13). It is interesting to compare these attempts which show a natural feeling for shape, with others, the work of an Angoni youth in touch with a European mission station, who depicts the missionary, his donkey, his dog, and a chair but with little or no sense of form. Note the dots above the animals' backs which represent their feet seen from the other side (Pl. XVIII, figs. 15-18).

The models of animals and other objects made in relief on the ground at *Lupanda*, and of animals in grass and bamboo at *Chiputu*, are referred to under *Initiation Ceremonies*.

Decoration is limited to the making of patterns of geometric design on many household articles. The graving of pots is mentioned under *Pottery*: gourd vessels sometimes have lines and triangles cut on the surface; ivory knife handles may have concentric circles graven on them, the same being true of ivory nose-rings and necklaces. Spear handles and walking sticks, snuff-boxes, pipes, the head-rest and the necks of musical instruments too, are commonly engraved with designs. The wooden rim of the *mtungwi* basket is always so treated. A series of these designs from baskets is reproduced (Pl. XVII). Occasionally geometric patterns are painted on the walls of huts. The best example I have seen is shown in the photograph which represents a Mohammedan mosque in South Nyasa district. This, I think, gives the key to the origin of these geometric patterns, namely, Swahili influence among the Yao (Pl. IV, fig. 1).

**Personal ornamentation.** The skin color admired most among the Yao is a rich brown and is likened to the color of the milliped, *lijongolo*. A very black skin is not liked and a man is said to be "as black as a crow." Very light colored skins are equally distasteful to some and considered to resemble the color of a roasted crab. The hair should be jet black. Young men anoint their heads with a decoction of *namalenga* pods in boiling oil to make the hair black and lustrous. When the hair is turning white, a substance made of the charred roots of a plant called *chisinje* is put on to make it black.

Natives recognize that some among them have red hairs on their heads or in their beards, and such a man is called *matwana*, *matwana* being the name of a caterpillar which lives on the *mtwana* tree and is covered with long red hairs.

The old men used to wear wigs, *chisindi*, made of knotted string blackened and oiled to look like hair; the women wore one called *chikwao*. These were used to disguise greyness or baldness.

The women sometimes let the hair grow long and then thread beads on wisps of it. This fashion is called *chitunga*. The large red bead, *chitalaka*, is now used for the purpose. This fashion was adopted by the old women and those in charge of the *Chiputu* ceremony. Strings of beads threaded on the hair falling down round the head are called *kilombola* or *malombola* (plur.). Women sometimes thread beads on the crest of hair called *nchacha*. Ordinarily the hair is periodically shaved or sometimes cut with a knife, but the process is painful and therefore unpopular.



Shaving is a rite practiced in mourning.<sup>1</sup> Some old men and women, especially medicine men, make a practice of never cutting the hair and never washing it (Pl. VII, fig. 3). One occasionally sees lunatics with very long hair in the villages.

The Yao do not follow the Angoni practice of tying up into tags the hair which has been allowed to grow long with palm leaf string, but they sometimes tie up a single wisp and make it up with medicine; this is called *luchombi* or *njombi* (plur.).

The scalp may be shaved in various fashions. Among men, it is quite common to trim the hair on the forehead, *ku-sijilila*; they must not, however, trim the hair behind (Pl. XVIII, fig. 2). Women, on the contrary, trim both in front and back; a man doing so would be laughed at. A woman for the ceremony of *Litiwo* shaves the front hair a little higher still, but she must be careful not to do so at other times, otherwise she would make herself a laughing stock (Pl. XVIII, fig. 10). The hair is sometimes shaved on either side of the midline in front, in imitation of temporal baldness; both baldness and this method of shaving are called *masweswe* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 4). Or again, among old Yao men the crown is shaved; this and natural baldness are called *lulasi* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 5). It is a fashion much affected by old men and great annoyance is caused them by any young upstart who does the same. Other methods include for men *mpita*, "a rat's path," an antero-posterior median line shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 9); *ingolongondinje*, two shaved lines made from back to front on either side of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 3); for men and women, *ligundaliwile*, "the garden is (dead) overgrown", one lateral half of the head shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 7); for men, *nchacha* a crest of hair left along the mid-line, both sides of the head being shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 8); *mvesi* (*chilemba cha mvesi*), "the moon," a crescent shaped area shaved on one or both sides of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 6).

The eyebrows and eyelashes are always left to grow normally among the Yao.

The Yao man used to take great pride in his beard; it was the object of a good deal of washing and combing. It grew to considerable length and was not cut or trimmed, but the hair growing down low over the throat was shaved, as was also the hair immediately below the mouth on the under lip and the moustache, as it was thought to get in the way when drinking. The whiskers were allowed to grow like the beard.

Hair on the chin or upper lip of a woman is rarely seen and on account of its rarity is much prized. Such hairs have a monetary value for making medicines, a single hair being sold for eight yards of calico or two shillings. Body hair is considered to be a sign of strength; on the chest, it is known as *changalama* (*ku-changalama*, to be strong). Body hair including hair on the back is by no means as rare as has been supposed. Sir H. H. Johnston says that he has never seen it,<sup>2</sup> a statement which shows lack of observation. The hair on the forearms and thighs is called *cheuje* or *chembembe*; Hetherwick translates this word,<sup>3</sup> I think wrongly, as hair on the body. Body hair is never removed in any way. A man named Katumbisi ("the little vulture") of Ulumba had a very large amount of body hair; he was likened to a baboon and was a source of much interest to the children who saw him.

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 111.

The hair of the axilla is always removed in men and women, usually by shaving but sometimes in the case of women it is dealt with as in the case of the pubic hair. A man with unshaven axillae would be laughed at and referred to as "a man carrying a fowl in his armpit." The axillary hairs are called *mandenga ga mungwapa* (*ngwapa*, the armpit).

The pubic hair, *mandenga*, is removed by both men and women; in men by shaving, in women sometimes by shaving, but preferably by plucking out after the application of a medicine called *mesamandenga* (*ku-mesa*, to pluck a fowl), which renders the operation easy. It is prepared from the juice which exudes from the bruised bark of the *mesa-mandenga* tree. There is a woman at Malemya's who has never grown any axillary or pubic hair; she is called "the rogue elephant"; a rogue elephant has no tusks. It may be noted in passing that the woman has borne children.

A few men have the hair round the anus shaved. Such a service can only be asked of a man's closest intimate, such as a brother-in-law.

I have dealt with tattooing among the Yao in an article, as yet unpublished, on tattooing among the natives of Nyasaland.

The teeth among the Yao proper are never mutilated in any way, though the Aman-goche go in for small file marks at the cutting edges of the incisors.

The old Yao women, of whom some may still be seen, used to pierce the upper lip and wear a circular disc of wood often two inches in diameter in the hole; this is called *lupelele* (Pl. VII, fig. 4). The disc was often made of lead and sometimes of ivory. The lead might be hollowed out on the upper surface; it was then called *lupelele lua utuli*. The disc caused a considerable projection of the upper lip which was much admired. A man, on the other hand, with protruding lips would be nicknamed "the warthog," *namanyindu*, and considered ill favored.

This *lupelele* fashion has gone out and of later years the *chipini* or disc worn in the left ala of the nose has become more and more fashionable (Pl. II, fig. 2). Originally the *chipini* consisted of a small disc of lead not larger than a three-penny piece, which lay on the outer surface of the ala, held in place by a stem, *luchinji*, which pierced the ala and passed into the nostril. Now the fashion is to wear a very large disc, often an inch in diameter, which itself occupies a hole in the substance of the ala of the nose; it may be flat-topped and called *chipini cha utenga* ("mushroom"), or the upper surface may often be concave, in which case it is called *chipini cha utuli* (*lituli*, a grain mortar). These disks are made of lead and are sometimes called *lidini*, a recent word and doubtless a corruption of "lead." Others are made of ivory, which may bear some geometric pattern on the exposed surface. A *chipini* used to cost a fowl.

Among Yao men and women, the lobule of the ear is often pierced but nothing is worn in the hole except possibly a stalk of grass.

Combs for use and for ornament are worn in the hair by both men and women. The ordinary comb without decoration is called *likwembeya*; it is made of a number of pieces



of bamboo fastened together at one end on the flat side by binding with string, the free ends being sharpened to form the teeth of the comb. If the fastened end is ornamented with beads sewed on in patterns, the comb is called *lisamulo* (*ku-samula*, to comb). *Lisamulo lia chinyambata* from *ku-nyambata*, to be sticky, is the name of a small comb worn purely for ornament. On either side of the base of this comb, pieces of wood variously shaped are glued with the sticky juice from the root of the *chinyambata* tree. In this way, a sort of inlay is produced. Pieces of tin cans are sometimes substituted for wood. Women occasionally wear in their hair the small *chisondo* knife used for tattooing and shaving.

The native takes readily to perfumes of European introduction, but previously he was not an entire stranger to the use of such essences. *Mboka*, the bulbous root of a kind of grass which grows near water, contains some aromatic principle which has a pleasant odor. The stem is bent around and fixed into the bulb; this is then covered with beads and slung around the neck. *Mkungusa*, the Mlanje cedar, is also used, as well as the fruit of a shrub called *chiungwa*. These substances are scraped into the castor oil used for anointing, and give it a pleasant odor.

No pigments are used on the body. As a sign of great rejoicing, the head and face and perhaps the whole body are covered with ashes, but the natives do not even paint the face with flour on ceremonial occasions.

Bands of beadwork are worn around the head, either as a simple band or a band finished off with a bunch in one spot, or with a tassel. Finger rings are worn made of ivory, eland hoof and horn, lead, and iron wire. There is also a great variety of bracelets and anklets, a list of which is given below.

*Chigombe*: made of plaited grass, worn chiefly by little girls and women who cannot afford more expensive bracelets. As many as half a dozen may be worn on the wrist.

*Likangala* (pl. *makangala*): single circles of solid brass, one half to three quarters of an inch in diameter, worn by women usually as anklets, one or two on each limb. They may still be seen on some of the old women, but as they cause much discomfort, they have gone out of fashion. A man used to be very proud to see his wife adorned with so much wealth and she was content to be so hobbled by her vanity. The hammering up and pulling open of the *likangala* circle in order to remove it cost a fowl.

*Chikungu*: a brass bracelet of small calibre; *ikungu* (pl.) signifies a spiral cylinder made from the same thick brass wire covering the entire forearm.

*Likwinjili*: like *chikungu* of thin brass or iron wire, worn on arms and ankles.

*Ching'anda*: a bracelet of fine brass wire wound round a circular core. All the brass comes from the coast.

*Likosa*: a large ivory bracelet worn by men and women.

*Ukanga*: ("stiff tail hairs of an animal"), the bracelet made of the tail hairs of the elephant or the gnu.

*Licheka*: the bracelet made from elephant hoof.



*Chipiligo*: (*ku-piliga*, to roll round), a bracelet made of beads wound on a bark-cloth core.

*Chipa*: the same, but the beads cover a double core so that the bracelet is wider.

*Msaku*: a circular hollow cylinder of beadwork which lies flat as a bracelet.

Necklaces are much prized by the women. All the children, too, if possible, are provided with some kind or another, even though it be only a piece of string. They are generally made of beads; charms and their ornamental imitations are also worn as necklaces. Some names refer to the pattern of the beadwork, others refer to the length or fashion of the necklace.

*Chikupa* is a necklace which hangs down in front to the level of the breasts; it does not go under the arms, as Hetherwick states.<sup>1</sup> It consists of three, four, or five strings of beads in rows, arranged in a pattern.

*Anguyeje*: hangs down as far as the ankles. The word *Anguyeje* means "chase me!"

*Chinganga* is made of a single string of beads, but hangs as low as *chikupa*. *Chikupa* is of more than one string and various colored beads enter into its composition, often in *litawala* pattern.

*Chipote*: consists of a single string of beads of one color tied tightly round the neck without tassel or bunch.

*Chikansauka* is worn like *chinganga*, but beads of more than one color are used.

*Chitemangu* resembles *chikupa*, only more strings of beads are used.

*Mapunda*: a solid cord of bark cloth covered with beads of one color, either dark blue or white, worn round the neck crossing on the chest and under the armpits; the cords are as thick as the finger. These are worn especially by girls after *Chiputu*.

*Chimwembe*: a cord of beads as in *mapunda*, but worn round the neck only. The necklace consists of perhaps six strings of beads, the first of which is worn close to the neck, while each succeeding string hangs lower and more loosely.

*Chigoti* or *chikolija*: made of three plaited strands of beads, generally white.

*Nkokoliko*: a necklace with a tassel, usually consisting of two large red beads.

*Mlalu* ("a striped snake"): made of four strings of beads, each row being of one color.

*Mchila wekoswe* ("the rat's tail"): like *mlalu* consisting of two, three or four strings of beads.

*Chuma cha msaku* (*msaku*, "bag"): a hollow cylinder of bead work usually of blue and white, worn as a necklace. *Chuma* is the Chiyao word for beads; in Chinyanja, it means wealth.

*Litawala* is a word referring to the pattern of the beadwork, so called from the resemblance to the eyes of the cane-rat; in *litawala*, white beads are arranged in rosettes round a series of larger black beads in a band.

Most women and many children wear beads round the waist. They are supposed to be very attractive to men. The prostitute wears more than anyone else, for the same reason

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 117.

that she is tattooed more profusely on the buttocks and legs. The circlet of beads was formerly made like *mapunda* with a bark-cloth core, called *mtumbo* or *mbule* (*ku-wula*, to slip off), referring to the *mbule* being slipped off over the legs. The fashion now is to wear single strings of beads; each string is of one color but all the strings are different and perhaps number a dozen or more.

*Lipamba*: a bead belt three-inches wide, worn by Yao women near Lake Nyasa. A bead apron, *lisejere*, is also worn by them but not near Zomba (Pl. VI, fig. 2).

A woman removes her beads when she is "unclean," that is: (a) during the menstrual period, (b) during the period of mourning for a near relative when coitus is forbidden, (c) before the birth of a child and afterwards until such time as she may resume intercourse with her husband.

A large variety of beads has long been used by the Yao. There are some rarely seen now which were much prized in years gone by, while others are of quite recent introduction. There is no evidence that they themselves made beads and there are few which are probably not of European manufacture.

**Clothing.** The Yao used bark-cloth before the introduction of woven materials. The older people may still be seen in it and it is used in most of the ceremonies. At one time, they also used to weave a cloth called *likamambo* from a native cotton plant. This has been given up since the introduction of imported materials.

For the method of wearing cloth, see Pl. II, fig. 2. The very poorest people wear only a strip of calico round the pudenda, held in position by a string round the waist hanging long behind and in front; this is called *methethe*. Yao women, when menstruating, wear under this a little piece of cloth called *likumbi*; it is only worn at this time and not always as in certain other tribes.

**Warfare.** Fighting has naturally played a large part in the life of the Yao as among other African tribes, but at no time were these people a trained fighting race. Warfare was of a desultory character consisting mostly of raids by one feudal chief upon another. A party of men belonging to a chief at enmity with another, meeting some of his followers would challenge them, "*Alumbe*, who are you for?" The name of the rival chief in answer was the sign for battle to begin. A fake answer would never be given to gain an advantage. When about to throw a spear, the thrower calls to his adversary.

The Yao have possessed guns for a long time. Going out to fight, the Yao used to leap from one foot to the other, and spin their guns around in their hands. They made their own stocks for the rifles. They also used to make a small, cast-iron cannon about three feet long, called *kambula*, "a little nose." It was carried in the arms and was touched off by a torch. Drums called *sonjo* were taken into battle. There is an old war drum at Malemya's village, taken in 1895 by the old Malemya from a Mang'anja chief called Mkulumbo who lived near Lake Chiuta. Since then, this drum has always gone into battle with Malemya. Around it his men would dance and anyone who had killed a man in battle would run up to it and spit upon it in salutation.



Both before and after the introduction of guns, the Yao used spears, *lipanga*, and bows, *ukunje*. The spear is a five foot long throwing spear with metal head and wooden shaft. No shield was used. Bows and arrows are made from the wood of the *teza* or *pimbinyolo* tree. The string is made of tendon. A double-bellied bow called *ukunje wa mbama* was sometimes used, but, I believe, originally came from the Anyanja. The arrows, *mpamba*, have a metal arrow-head, and were often poisoned with *kombe*.

**Hunting.** The same weapons are used in hunting: the gun, the spear, and the bow and arrow. Smaller bows and arrows made with bamboo or reed shaft are also employed for shooting birds; one of the arrows has a blunt wooden head and serves to stun the bird.

From the Anyanja, the Yao learned the use of a harpoon for spearing the hippopotamus. The harpoon is a heavy spear-head of iron about eighteen inches long, attached to a rope and float. From the Anyanja, also, was learned the use of the falling block with spear for killing hippo.

Elephants are caught in staked pits, and the larger antelopes are similarly trapped in pits with the sides sloping inwards towards the bottom, so that as the animal falls lower and lower with expiration, it is eventually suffocated.

Small buck are driven by dogs into nets set for long distances in the forest, and then speared or shot. Traps are also set for these smaller antelope and for many other small animals, rodents, etc. Birds are shot or trapped. Bird-lime is also employed. It is prepared from the juices of a number of trees by pounding the vegetable matter in water; the sticky mass so made is applied to sticks or poles. The sticks are placed near drinking places so that the birds alighting to take water become entangled. The poles are affixed to trees so that they appear to be the topmost boughs; this the native does, recognising the common habit of birds to sit on the very top of trees. The strength of the bird-lime is made according to the size of the bird he wishes to catch.

**Fishing.** I am not sure how far the Yao is a natural fisherman. Not long ago he used only a many-pronged spear to catch his fish. Since then, he has acquired from the Anyanja the knowledge of making fish-traps and nets, and of using the fish poison. When the Yao came to live and intermarry among the Anyanja, there was one practice of the latter which they would not adopt and which caused a good deal of ill-feeling. A Mang'anja man coming home after fishing always used to prepare the fish and, leaving some ready to cook, he cooked others for his wife, bringing her water at the same time to wash her hands. After eating her own fish, she cooked the rest for her husband. A Yao would never cook for his wife.

**Traps.** The following is a list of some of the traps I have found in use among the Yao. The sketches will serve to explain their mechanism better than a lengthy description. Some are very ingeniously made, and most recall similar traps made in other parts of the world.

1. *Lukonji lua litawala*, a trap for the cane-rat (Pl. XIX, fig. 1).

2. *Lukonji lua mbindi*, a trap for sharp-toothed gnawing animals, so called from



*mbindi*, a joint (of bamboo) which slides down the string next to the noose so that the captured animal cannot bite or gnaw through the string (Pl. IV, fig. 3; Pl. XIX, fig. 2).

3. *Lukonji lua malende* or *chitawa*, a trap for water-rats (Pl. XX, fig. 7).

4. *Lukonji lua ngwale*, a trap for the partridge (Pl. XX, fig. 3).

5. *Chijumba cha ijuni*, "the house for birds," also used to trap small animals (Pl. XX, fig. 2).

6. *Lukonji lua lukosi*, a trap for the neck (of guinea fowl) (Pl. XX, fig. 4).

7. *Lukonji lua chiliwata*, a trap for the tread (of the guineafowl); *ku-liwata*: to put the foot down, to tread. The string square is about  $8 \times 4$  inches (Pl. XXI, fig. 8).

8. *Liwano*, a trap made of split bamboo. A bird going to pick up the grain is caught by the head when the trap is released by the string which the trapper pulls (Pl. XXI, fig. 3).

9. *Luau lua ijuni* or *nyau*, a bird-trap made of netting on a hinged frame-work, operated by a string (Pl. XXI, fig. 4).

10. *Liliwa*, a falling stone trap for mice. Rats are said to pull off the trap with their tails and are never caught (Pl. XXI, fig. 1).

10a. The same trap set for catching birds (Pl. XXI, fig. 2).

11. *Maleleya*: (*lelele* = hanging loose), a noose for small birds, set on trees (Pl. XX, fig. 1).

12. Fowl thieves use a very simple contrivance consisting of two grains of maize threaded on one end of a piece of string some six inches long, at the other end of which is attached a leaf folded up into the form of a cone. The fowl, enticed by the maize, swallows the two grains and the attached string, so that the cone is drawn over its head; it is then helpless and is easily picked up by the thief, who has only to pull on the string to remove the leaf.

13. *Chiqwenembe*, a hollow cylinder of wood with noose activated by a wooden spring, for catching rats (Pl. XXI, fig. 5).

14. *Chipoto*, a similar trap made of bark, for mice.

15. *Lilesa*: a plaited bamboo cone into which a rat forces its head to get at the bait, but finds, when it tries to withdraw, that it is caught by sharpened pieces of bamboo projecting backwards into the cone (Pl. XX, fig. 6).

16. *Mkungwi*, a fish-trap of the same design, from the Anyanja (Pl. XX, fig. 5).

17. *Msipu*, a fish-trap on the lobster-pot principle, often set in gaps in a fence built across a stream, copied from the Anyanja trap called *mono* (Pl. XXI, fig. 7).

18. *Njisi*, also I think from the Anyanja, consists of a long basket-work, extinguisher-like arrangement which is clapped down over a swarm of small fish; the hand is introduced through an aperture in one side and the fish removed (Pl. XXI, fig. 6).

**Amusements.** Among the natives of east central Africa, the chief form of amusement, apart from dancing, might be said to be sitting and chatting; it is interesting to note that there is a word to express "sitting up all night talking." Often the younger members of the community will gather about one of the older men and listen to his stories of travel or fighting in the old days, and some men gain quite a reputation as raconteurs. Or again riddle asking is indulged in to pass the time. Women and girls do not assist at these sittings.

Among the Yao youth, wrestling, *ku-lingana* (from *ku-linga*, to try), is practiced with a fixed grip and no leg-work; the victor always accentuates his victory by hitting the man who is down, and pummelling his face with his fist or a stone.

A ball game, played originally with a ball of native rubber from which it derives its name, *mpila*, is a great favorite among boys. A dozen or more are divided into sides but all mixed up together. The ball is then thrown into the air to a member of the same side, any of the opposite side jumping into the air to try and catch it, accompanied by the clapping of hands to time.

"Hide-and-seek," *chijuwajuwa*, and "touch," *chao* or *chaolele* (*chipiasi*, Chin.), are played by boys.

*Chinusya*: toward the end of the ball game, when it is decided to finish, each boy as he catches the ball puts it to his nose to smell (*ku-nusya*, to smell). He is then "out." At the end of a game of "touch" played in the water, when one touches another, he jumps out of the water, puts his cloth up to his nose "to smell," and is then "out." His cloth may be thrown to him to "smell" while still in the water, after which he gets out without hurry. The object is not to be the last "in." I am unable to explain this custom.

Knuckle-bones is played by girls, *mdodo*, from "*do!*" the exclamation made when catching anything.

*Mchombwa*: the Board and Counter game is played in nearly every Yao village. Dr. Sanderson<sup>1</sup> has given a very complete account of a number of the games played by the several tribes in Nyasaland and I need add nothing to his explanation of the methods of playing.

Similar games are widespread throughout Africa and are well known on the West Coast under the name *mancala*. The several games are played, either simply with holes in the ground and small stones, or with a board and a kind of seed procured from Zanzibar. The board is called *mchombwa* and the pebbles or seeds or other convenient "counters" *njombwa*. Dr. Sanderson uses this word as the name of one of the games. The Angoni call the counters *mambe*. The holes in the board or in the ground (Pl. XXII, fig. 11) are called *iputa* (sing. *chiputa*) from *ku-puta*, to strike, beat, or put down with a thud, to "plank down," and refers to the way the counters are "planked down" in the holes on the board when playing. The large container at the end of the board is simply to hold the counters out of play and is called *nyumba*, "the house," or *lisimbo*, "the hole." The counters are

<sup>1</sup> Meridith G. Sanderson, 'Native games of Central Africa,' (Journ. Anth. Inst., 1913, vol. 43, p. 726-736).



called *komo*; *makomo* or *namkomo*, the words given by Dr. Sanderson, are not known to the Yao in this district. There is a simple game played among the Anyanja children and therefore called *chiana* (childish or for children), but the common game played is more difficult as shown by Dr. Sanderson. *Mchombwa* is being partly displaced by a Swahili variety called *bau*, or often by the Yao, *ubau* (Pl. IV, fig. 4). I may here also point out that the words *msuwa* and *nsolo*, which Dr. Sanderson uses for the Manyanja and Angoni varieties of the game, are often replaced by *mfuwa* and *tsoro*.

Yao children play at keeping house in little grass structures, made near the village or in the fields, while their parents work. Children who can only toddle may be seen practicing dancing the steps of their elders. The boys play with miniature bows and arrows made of a kind of grass, *sewe*, and make a toy dart-tube, *uti* (Pl. XXII, fig. 5). Little dug-out canoes eighteen inches long are made for them to sail in pools.

Among the lads in a village, games of fighting are much indulged in; two sides are opposed and their weapons are of various kinds. Sometimes each is armed with a length of bamboo, into the hollow end of which sand and pebbles are put, representing powder and shot. This end of the bamboo is then rapidly swung in the direction of the "enemy" and will discharge the sand and pebbles into the face of the opponent. This is called *uti ja msanga* ("gun for sand"). The boys are sometimes armed with maize cobs for throwing at each other.

*Chinene* is another form of fighting. Armed with a collection of small stones, each flicks his stone at the enemy with very good aim, using the fore-finger of the right hand to propel the stone, the index of the left hand acting as trigger and the left thumb as the spring. The name comes from *ne!* the sound of the whizzing stone as it goes through the air.

In a pool opposing sides fight with rudimentary syringes made of bamboo, driving streams of water into each other's faces. This is called *ipierere*, from the sound of the stream of water, or *uti ja mesi* ("gun for water"). In the water they also play *chitwinyichisya*, (*ku-twinyichisya*, to press down). Boys are ranged on two sides; each tries to "collar" one of the opposing side and put him down into the water, holding him down between his legs. An old water trick is for a boy to go down to the bottom and there squat with his face turned upwards, the mouth stretched wide open by the fingers; viewed from the surface the face looked flat and very grotesque. There is also diving for cassava, *chitiwilila* (*ku-tiwilila*, to dive for).

A kind of skipping, called *chiwewe*, from *we! we!* the sound of the rope as it goes round in the air, is a great favorite. A man with a heavy rope about fifteen feet long, with a bundle of grass at the free end enclosing a lump of heavy wood or stone, swings it round and round his head. The faster it goes, the higher it will fly out, while the boys in turn run in and jump over it. Sometimes a boy is caught by the rope and gets a nasty blow, occasionally resulting in a broken limb.



Taking advantage of the natural inquisitiveness of youth, a favorite trick for making money is for a man to appear in a village making pretence of having a peep-show, something contained in a covered basket or in a cloth. On payment of some small amount, the youth is allowed to peep in, maybe only to see a dead mouse; finding he had been "done," he of course bursts out laughing and, anxious that all his companions should also be "done," he does not "give it away" and so the peep-show man makes quite a good living.

Yao girls play with dolls of two kinds, *lilele*, made from little gourd-like fruits called *litonga*, and others called *mwanache*, "a child," made from maize cobs. These dolls they carry about on their backs as mothers do their children. *Lilele* is made of three of these little spherical fruits glued together with beeswax; on the one which represents the head, seed, red and blue, of the *ulangaiye* tree are cemented in rows to represent hair, and often beads, as in the *nchacha* method of hair-dressing. One sees similar dolls made for the children of other tribes. Thus, among Mombera's Angoni, a doll called *mwana*, "a child," is made in a dumb-bell form of two small spherical gourds joined by a bundle of sticks bound together with string and wax; on the head-piece string is cemented to represent hair. Their children also play with little clay images of cattle and men, a custom they have preserved from their old Zulu ancestors but foreign to the Yao. The Ankonde children have carved wooden dolls not seen in any other tribe. *Mwanache* is made from a maize-cob by shredding the papery coverings of the cob; on these shreds are threaded white and red varieties of maize to represent beads, or the shreds are plaited into a number of tags to represent hair.

Latterly, the children have taken to making hoops and show considerable skill in driving them with a piece of bent reed (Pl. XXII, fig. 8), while the older boys make two-wheeled representations of bicycles with a very clever imitation of all the parts of the machine.

The whipping-top, *nangulya* or *nangwape* (*nguli*, Chin.), is found among the boys' toys. It is made of a conical piece of wood with a flat top and no metal peg. It is started spinning by pulling off the string wound round the top. The whip consists of a piece of string fastened to the end of a stick. Sometimes tops of large size are used, and two boys whip them from opposite sides (Pl. XXII, fig. 6).

A game called *chiputa* is played by youths; it takes its name from *ku-puta*, to strike, and refers to the action of striking with a finger the hand in which a bean is guessed to be. A spiral is drawn with the finger in the sand with a central point to represent a village, and a tail-piece prolonged on one side to a second point which represents a slave-market on the coast. Along the line, a number of other points are demarcated to represent sleeping places *en route*. At the village, two white beans are put to represent the two players and with each is a smaller brown bean to represent his slave. At the slave-market are placed a variety of beans to represent trade-goods, calico, beads, etc. Each of the two players in turn shakes a single bean in his closed hands and then closes the hands, separating them at the

same time so that the bean is contained in one hand; the other player has to guess in which the bean lies and this he does by striking with the finger the hand in which he imagines the bean to be. If the striker guesses correctly, he moves his man and his slave to the first sleeping-place. It is then his turn to hide the bean. So it goes on till one or the other arrives at the slave-market. Here he barter his slave for trade-goods and returns in the same way; whoever gets home first wins, and the loser is said "to have died on the road," a not uncommon event in the old days. It is interesting to note that cheating is sometimes attempted by palming beans between the fingers, so that in the hand guessed, the bean is palmed between the fingers, and, in the other hand, a bean is released from between the fingers into the palm.

*Njengo* (*nsikwa*, Chin.): a kind of ninepins, which takes its name from the object which is thrown to knock down the ninepins. The game is played by youths and men, equal numbers sitting in two parallel rows fronting each other on the ground, the two rows composed of a dozen or more persons, a few yards apart. Each person has set up in front of him on the ground a maize cob from which the grain has been stripped, or each may have a number of them, perhaps six. In the former case, the cobs are perhaps two feet apart, in the latter only a few inches. Each player is provided with several *njengo*, from six to twenty-four in number. The *njengo* is a piece from the side of a gourd, slightly concavo-convex and circular in plan, with the edge often cut into serrations. A piece of reed is fixed through a hole in the centre, projecting an inch or an inch and a half from the convex surface, thus forming a kind of teetotum, two or three inches in diameter (Pl. XXII, fig. 9). It is held between the thumb and second finger by the foot-piece; by a sharp movement of the fingers, it can be spun out of the hand and, at the same time, jerked forward by another sharp movement at the wrist. At a given signal, the players on both sides start launching forth their little tops which spin away towards the maize cobs of the opposing side, the object being to knock them down. When there are many on a side, each with a number of cobs, many fall with the first onslaught, but as fewer and fewer remain, it becomes more difficult, and players try to show their skill by aiming at the cobs farthest away from them, along the opposite line. The game goes on till only one cob is left standing; then, if a player of the opposite side knocks it down, he puts one of his own up again, and the side which had the one remaining puts one up, and so the game may go on. When they are tired of playing, they say, "*Kwende tunusye*," "We must finish the game," literally "Come on, we must smell."<sup>1</sup> A knife is then stuck in the ground on either side, the blade pointing to the opposite side, and each man, when he has hit the knife of the opposing side with his *njengo*, is considered to have shown his skill, and goes off. The last man remaining is laughed at as being a fool at the game. If a headman is playing, he makes sure of having his try first, so that he will not be left in to the last. The game has a great fascination for the natives and it is said of Malemya, the uncle of the present chief (1913), that he was

<sup>1</sup> Vide supra, p. 357.



so enthusiastic a player that if anyone wanted to make a joke at his expense, he would snap his fingers, imitating the action of throwing the *njengo*.

*Chipalapaso*: a Mang'anja game now played by the Yao which takes its name from *kupalapasa*, to scratch as a fowl does looking for food. The words used in the game are all Chinyanja. A number of beans, perhaps twenty, are put down in a row at intervals on the ground. One player manipulates the beans, while the other has his back turned so that he cannot see. The first player calls, "*Chipalapaso chipalapaso!*" the second answers, "*Mwana kkanga* (child of a guinea-fowl)." The first then says "*Nanga apa!* (What about here?)" pointing to the first bean; the second player answers "*Tolani!* (Pick it up!)." At the second round, the first player having picked up the first bean, points to the place where it was and repeats his cry, but at the words, "*Nanga apa,*" the second player has to say, "*Palibe!* (There is none)." Then he comes to the second bean and says, "*Nanga apa*" and the second player, knowing that he has come to the second bean, answers, "*Tolani!*" When three, four, or five beans have been picked up, the first player asks three, four, or five times, "*Nanga apa?*" and the second player to each question should answer, "*Palibe!*" and then, when the first player points to a bean and not to a blank, the second player should know that he has come to a bean and answer, "*Tolani!*" instead of "*Palibe!*" When played quickly, it is not altogether easy to answer correctly, as the end of the line of beans is approached.

*Chiputa cha mnyala* (to strike with the hand) is played with four pebbles or beans. Starting with two in each hand, the fists are closed and then making similar movements of throwing from each hand, two are thrown from one hand, or one from each as the case may be, as a sleight-of-hand. One of the two thrown on the ground is then taken up in each hand, and the guesser has to say in which the three are. This he indicates by striking the hand with one of his fingers. This game has many variations.

*Chitatatata*: a game of jumping from a big rock over a fire. Before jumping, the boys sing, "*Chitatatata chitatatata eeh!*"

*Chindonandona* (*ku-tona*, to pinch): each of a number of boys loosely pinches hold of the skin of the back of the hand of his neighbor, one hand above the other. They then sing:

"*Chindonandona chindonandona, asikitule!*"

"Pinch                      Pinch,        cut asunder!"

At the word *asikitule*, everyone should break away while digging his nails into the hand beneath his. Some one of them is sure to have had his attention distracted and forget to pinch hard, while he himself receives a pinch hard enough to make him jump.

Running races, each boy hums a note: — "um . . . m," each one in a different key. Anyone changing his note is disqualified.

*Ipowo*: a number of stems of a reedlike grass with long joints, or small millet stalks are bound together by their upper ends. The free ends are heated in a fire, then banged down



on a stone. They explode with a noise like the sound of a gun. The boys send them off, one after the other, imitating fighting, or sometimes bang them down on some one's head. They go off, making the sound *ipowo!*

Small boys or girls among themselves play a clapping game called *pyajila*. One sings:

"*Pyajila pyajila, pyajila pyajila, pyajila pyajila, juanyere manyi'jo pa mlango pa' mao!*

"Sweep sweep sweep sweep sweep sweep the one who has passed excrement the at the door at his mother's,

*Nagombe, kamo, kawili!*" etc.,

let him clap once, twice!" etc.

They all clap together at the word "once," "twice," and so on. No one knows how many times they are going to be called on to clap, and some one is sure to clap when no word is given and so is caught and made fun of, as the one who has misbehaved.

*Likwata* (*ku-kwata*, to clap): simple clapping when pleased with anything is commonly indulged in, mostly by women and girls.

Little girls play at making little pots. This is called *gumbaiwiga*, (*ku-gumba chiwiga*, to model a pot). They also play at pounding grain, called *chindichi*, "learning to keep time," the word itself being an imitation of the sounds. Five or six pound in one mortar; in between strokes, they throw the wooden pestles up in the air, catching them again to time.

"*Jutapikule katuli jo! ajo msawi jo akuloga!*"

"The one who upsets little mortar the! that one witch is bewitching!"

This is the song of a game played by little girls. One sits in the middle with a *singwa* on her head, to represent a grain mortar, while the others form a ring round her holding hands. As they sing, the circle at one point swings in, and one of the girls passes in front of the one sitting down, her back to her all the time, the hands passing over her head. This they do one after the other very quickly and anyone who touches the girl in the middle, "who knocks down the mortar," takes the place of the girl in the middle.

"*Āsonowangu Asonowangu njakati mbo!*"

"Our wives, our wives, cutting off (interjection)!"

is the song of a game played by a lot of boys together or a lot of girls together; they do not join with one another. Two opposing groups are formed of equal numbers. Each is led by one of the older children and behind him is the rest of the group, each holding on to the cloth of the one in front. The followers of each leader represent his wives. The two parties then sing and maneuver for the leader to get at the tail of the other group and "collar" a wife or two from his opponent. It becomes very exciting. As they go faster and faster, some of the tail may get swung off and captured by the other side before they can again join their own.

Trapping and catching of animals is pursued with great glee by small boys. They make many of the traps, particularly the two kinds of *liliwa*, *chipoto*, *chijumba*, *chitawa*, *liwano*, and *nyau*. *Lilesa* is set in rat runs and the rats are driven into them (Pl. XX, fig. 6). Digging-out rats is a favorite amusement for the boys and brings meat to the pot. May is the best month for this sport. They are adepts at recognizing burrows which have rats inside. Digging is commenced at one entry to the rat-warren, the escape holes being closed with tufts of grass. As they get nearer the rat chambers, they smell the earth and so know when they are quite close to the rats. A bunch of grass is then put in this hole, lighted, and kept aglow by blowing on it. One of the rats will try to bolt and is knocked on the head. His head is then squashed to kill him effectually, and the skin of the tail of the first rat is always pulled off for luck, "so that they may catch many." They will try to guess how many there are going to be, "ten and ten and five and two!" Each rat when caught is buried under some earth, so that the hawks will not swoop down and carry it off. When they have finished one warren, one of the party is appointed to carry all the rats. He ties a string round his waist, and the rats are slipped underneath it and so secured. They then go on to another; the carrier will bear the whole catch for the day and may, before they have finished, have several strings of rats round his body, one above the other.

Digging-out crabs, *ku-kopa ngala*, is another favorite amusement for children; (*ku-kopa* is to dig up anything like mud which makes a squelching sound). Crabs are never eaten with flour, but always with *masete*, the grain husks, "crabs and brown-bread!"

Youths and girls fish with a rod, line, wire hook, and worm, *ku-loposya somba*, to pull up fish. They also catch fish, using the fish poison, *mtutu*. Birds are killed with a bow and a blunt-pointed wooden arrow.

A small boy, seeing a girl or a younger boy with a cob of maize and wanting it himself, will say, "Let me make a path to the coast!" He will then remove, say a couple of rows of maize grains for himself, much to the interest of the owner; or "Let me make *ilemba*" (*ilemba* is a shaved band on the scalp), or "Let me make the crab's eyes!" when two solitary grains are left, surrounded by a simple ring of other grains, as the girl's portion.

Children are taught a little saying about their fingers which reminds one of the "This little pig went to market" of one's infancy. Starting with the little finger, they say:

"Akaka                      kangateka                      kangateka!"  
 "This little one (is) the one which cannot draw water!"

Pointing to the ring finger,

"Kankulugwe                      njunyundo!"  
 "This little one's brother (is) the one that picks the nose!"

To the middle finger,

"Njunyundo                      mmala                      wandu!"  
 "(The brother of) the one that picks the nose (is) the one who finishes men!"

To the index

“*Lukongolo lwa ng’ombe lwa kwendela mwilambo!*”

“ (This one is) the leg of an ox which walks on the plain!”

To the thumb:

“*Chamsano*”

“The fifth”

*Cat's Cradles* are known as *chitagau*, “the spider's web” (Pl. XXIII). The position of the string on the hands is as in Position I of Miss Haddon's book and this is followed by Opening A, given by the same author.<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XXIII, figs. 1, 2.) Three methods of arriving at the same figure, which is called “the net,” are shown here (Pl. XXIII). Variety C is followed by the making of a knot, figured in C 13, known as “the child.” There are probably a number of other forms made by natives, but these, which I saw one of my women patients make, will serve as an example.

**Musical Instruments.** The number of instruments proper to the Yao appears to be small, indeed probably only two in number, the *mangolongondo* and the *chityatya*, with perhaps the three holed flute, *chitoliro*.

The former is constructed on the principle of a xylophone; it consists of two trunks of banana trees laid on the ground and held in position by stakes. They are not quite parallel but approach each other somewhat at one end, being from one to two feet apart; on these rest cross-wise a number of pieces of wood of varying thickness and length, kept in position by pegs driven into the banana trunks on each side of each billet. These are struck with sticks by a single player, or by two persons sitting on opposite sides of the instrument. Another variety is found in which the pieces of wood, which may have holes bored in them to effect differences in sound, are arranged over a hole scooped in the ground (Pl. V, fig. 1).

The *chityatya* consists of a piece of plank hollowed out to form a resonator on which are fixed a number of keys of bamboo or metal of different lengths. These are arranged across a bridge, and the free ends are set in vibration by twanging with the fingers.

The instrument now most commonly seen is the *sesse* which was introduced, I think, from the coast about 1890 to 1900. It is a type of guitar.

An instrument played by women — and this again is of recent introduction among the Yao — is the *mkangala*, which consists simply of a stick of wood about a yard long to which is affixed a single string. One end is held between the teeth, the other in the hand; it is twanged by being struck with the thumb and finger of the other hand close to the mouth, which is opened to different degrees, and gives a variety of notes resembling those of a jews' harp.

The *ching'wenyeng'wenye* and drums are referred to under *Dancing*.

<sup>1</sup> Kathleen Haddon, *Cat's cradles from many lands*, New York, 1901.



Women stick on a small spit a pretty green and white beetle, one of the *Cetoniidae*. The free end of the spit is then held between the teeth. At different positions on the stick, the buzzing of the impaled insect gives rise to different notes. The beetle is named *ching-wanguwangu* or *chiwauwau* (*nangalire*, Chin.). The wing-covers of another beetle, *mateche-teche*, a *Lamellicorn*, are used by women for the making of a musical instrument. The wing-covers of some twenty of these insects are threaded on a string arranged round the shoulders and feet of the player as she sits on the ground. The string on each side, as it passes from the shoulder to the foot of the same side, is plucked by the fingers of the opposite hand, different notes being obtained by different degrees of tension put on the string by pressure with the feet. The wing-covers give a buzzing quality to the notes which all natives like.

Mention should also be made of the horn, *lipenga*, commonly made of a long piece of reed or bamboo with a trumpet-shaped end, made out of a portion of a gourd. Antelope horns are also used. The horn is blown on journeys.

**Dancing.** Dancing among the Yao, as among many other peoples, is the outcome of the pleasure experienced in rhythmical movements. The first accompaniment was probably the clapping of hands to mark time, followed by some exclamatory sounds more or less prolonged and occurring at regular intervals. Later, there was probably some refrain and, later still, drums were added to mark time, and songs formed an additional accompaniment. I believe that, here, dancing has always been an expression of pleasure and happiness and has been secondarily introduced at many ceremonies. In the majority of cases, such ceremonies were occasions of joy, the only exception being at funerals, but there I think their introduction was rather as a means of passing the time and avoiding silent brooding than as any real part of the rite.

The names given to various dances indicate their time or rhythm, and are, therefore, comparable to our own words, waltz, two-step, etc. There may be a number of airs for each time, and many sets of words to each air. The time may be given by clapping only, or by the addition of drums. Anyone acquainted with these dances, hearing drumming in the distance, can at once recognize the dance that is going on.

The drums which are used at dances (Pl. XXII), are made of a hollowed-out log of wood with a skin tambour stretched over the mouth of the drum and fixed by wooden pegs. On the tambour is smeared a layer of beeswax. The tambour is tightened by warming over a fire, so that the correct note is obtained; a fire is always kept burning close to the spot where drums are being played.

*Likuti*: a drum shaped somewhat like a native flour mortar, three to six feet high with the tambour one to two feet in diameter. The drum usually lies on the ground, the player sitting on the barrel of the drum, or he may have it suspended from him by a cord, the body of the drum dragging on the ground between his legs. It is played with both hands and gives a deep, resonant note, “*ti, ti, ti!*” (Pl. XXII, figs. 12, 15).

*Ntyatiya*: like *likuti*, but played in a different way, giving the sound “*tya tya tya!*”

*Mchoso*: the same as *likuti*, but with a higher pitched note. This can be produced by heating the *likuti* drum over a fire.

*Chichoma* or *lingaka*: a small drum eight to ten inches high, held in the hands by strings on either side, in the same way as a concertina, and pressed against the chest while being played with the fingers. It may be alternately pressed firmly and lightly against the chest, giving variety in timbre. The base which rests against the body is cut down into a kind of foot-piece (Pl. XXII, fig. 13).

*Chinganga*: a small drum eight to ten inches high, rather goblet-shaped with stem and base, the circumference about equal to the height. It is beaten with two sticks, “*nganganga nganga!*” (Pl. XXII, fig. 17).

*Chiminingo*: the same drum played with two sticks, “*mini, mini, mini!*”

*Ndimbe*: a small three legged drum about the same size as *chinganga*. It can be carried in one hand and played with the other. It is used with one stick or more, in place of *chinganga* and *chiminingo* (Pl. XXII, fig. 16).

*Msiwu*: an old drum not now used. It varied in size from one to four feet long, was suspended from the neck, and played at both ends (Pl. XXII, fig. 14).

It is very difficult to give any idea of the time and different sounds the drums give. People learn them by repeating the sounds the drums make thus: *Ndē dīn dē ntēpētē ndē dīn dē mīnī mīnī ntīyā ntīyā*, etc. Several drums, often six or more, are played together, each contributing its element of sound. They are often played very fast, but the time kept is most exact.

Dances are ordinarily performed by everyone in a village, but there is always a leader. Or again, there are trained bands of dancers who earn their living by attending ceremonies or any festive occasion. In a few cases, the dances are only danced by professional dancers. A short account is given below of many of the Yao dances.

*Likwata*: (*ku-kwata*, to clap the hands). No drums are employed, but the time is kept by clapping. In some villages, drums have lately been introduced. It is a common dance in a village on any moonlight night, just for amusement. Women and girls take part. Standing in a circle, they sing and clap, while any who wish, go into the circle, perhaps a dozen at a time, and dance their shuffling steps. A song which is included under *likwata*, is a representation of the dung-beetles (scarab) rolling the little balls of dung to their nesting places. The women shuffle backwards or forwards, like the beetles, one pushing and one going backwards pulling. As they dance, they sing:

“*Litono, tuti tuti!*”

“ (oh little) dung-beetle, push push! ”

Refrain:

“*Likututa manyi!*”

“ It is rolling dung! ”



*Chindimba*: the *chindimba* songs are the favorites among all the older people. They have been in late years partly replaced by others, but, at the present time, there is a tendency to return to them; they are staid in tone and the dance is sedate. *Chindimba* is always played at mournings. While the whole company sits around in a circle with the drums at one side, a couple of people do the dancing in the middle. The drums used are a *chinganga*, two *ichoma*, and a *likuti*. With the commencement of drumming, a man well known for his songs steps out into the middle and begins singing; he is followed by another man or maybe a woman who sings a second part; the two singers are generally people who have found that they sing well together. Two such people will be welcomed, and they may sing many songs, while any young upstarts who do not sing well together, will be given to understand that their performance does not meet with approval. People have their favorite songs, and there may be much heart-burning if an old man finds some one else singing a song that he considers especially his own. As they sing, they dance their peculiar shuffling steps. (The words of some of these songs are given later.)

*Salapa*: an Anguru dance sometimes danced by the Yao. It resembles *chindimba* in that all sit singing and clapping while, one at a time, men dance in the open space to time given by bamboo sticks knocked together. The songs are all hunting songs.

It is impossible to describe the steps used in all the dances; for each dance, they differ, of course, and except by a cinematograph film, they cannot be reproduced. The movements of the feet are ordinary stepping motions or patting of the ground with the feet, the actual excursions being very small, so that in most cases it is impossible to devise any means of making out the steps. To enable them to perform these steps, they commonly dance with the knees bent, the buttocks protruded behind, and the back arched. In some cases, this attitude is extreme.

There is a larger series of dances which, to the uninitiated spectator, appear to resemble each other very closely. The general plan of the dance is as follows. The drums are placed in the middle; around them in a circle are the dancers and outside these, the onlookers. The circle may be thirty or forty strong, composed of men only or of men and women as the case may be. Commonly, the ring of dancers is divided into two halves, each half being headed by a leader who sings the song, all joining in the refrain, while the onlookers do the clapping. When the drums begin, they all walk round in a circle, but at a given signal, one of the drums gives out a new time, and the whole circle starts dancing with short, shuffling movements already described, usually progressing in the circle, sometimes going backwards, sometimes facing the drums or turning right around in the line.

*Mkomaula* is a dance of, I believe, recent introduction which has replaced to some extent *chindimba*, much to the disgust of the older people who dislike the innovation. They shake their heads and say, "*Chilambo chimasile!*" "The world is finished." The drums used are *likuti*, *ntiyatiya*, *mchoso*, and *chinganga*. It is danced by men and youths only.

*Njeula* or, as it was known some years ago, *mgumbuli*, is danced like *mkomaula*, but the



steps are accompanied by movements of the shoulders which form the feature of the dance. Performers may go into the middle and do *ku-punila* (see *mkonde*).

*Mlawanda* resembled *njeula*; it is an old dance not seen now.

*Chibonde* is a dance for youths, the characteristic feature being that, at intervals, they squat down on their heels and spin round very fast, with frog-like movements (Pl. III, fig. 1).

*Mkonde* is a favorite dance for men and women; drums, *likuti*, *ntiyatiya*, *mchoso*, *chiminingo*, and several *lingaka*. The dancers commence by going round in a circle, and then, facing the drums, they all continue their steps without moving from their places, while a few go out into the circle and dance in the open space about the drums. Two men go out from one side and are met by two women from the other side. Men love to carry their knives in their hands on these occasions, properly the large knife with an ivory handle called *msinjo*; a man would go miles to borrow such a knife from a friend, for the dance. The women often carry rattles in their hands. After dancing in the middle for a time, they will severally withdraw to the circle, to be followed by others. A man dancing out into the middle, may go up to any woman in the circle or among the onlookers, and by touching her on the shoulder with his knife, invite her to come out and dance. In the middle of the ring, he may embrace her, after which each retires to his place. To make this embrace is called *ku-punila*; the man folds the woman to his breast. It is very gently done with a certain air of gallantry, and there was formerly no objectionable element in it. A man does not extend this embrace to his wife or to any near relatives. *Ku-punila* occurs in other dances: *chibonde*, *chilewe*, *mlenjesa*, *njeula*, *mbasula*, *masambala*, *chibilo*, *lichipi*, and *liyaya*, and in *sekwe*.

*Chilewe*: the drums used are *chiminingo* and *mchoso*. It is danced by young men and women; as in other dances, a ring is formed, the men on one side, the women on the other. The song is usually started by two men on one side and answered by two women on the opposite side. When the song is well under way, the drums are signalled and all start dancing in a circle. Movement in all dances is counter-clockwise. After circling round, the dancers come to a stand-still, while men and women go out into the middle and dance a kind of quick heel-and-toe step, followed by *ku-punila*.

In the intervals of dancing, the girls and boys often play at *sekwe*. They may stand or sit in a ring. One of the boys standing in the middle sings, "*Sekwe sekwe, sekwe sewke, sekwe!*" with an accompaniment of clapping by the ring of youths, but no drums. He then goes up to any girl sitting in the ring and asks her whom she wants; she names some one who is then called out, and the girl and boy dance up and down together, embrace (*ku-punila*), and return to their places. Another girl is then asked. Sometimes the girls will take up the song, and ask the boys to choose. It is like a kind of "kiss in the ring."

There is another kind of dance for boys and girls. They are arranged in rows opposite one another, some paces apart. The boys grasp a long pole and bending forward, dance up

to the row of girls, singing, "*Anambereka mbereka!*" refrain, "*Mapereka!*" (*ku-pereka*, to give). Leaving the pole at the girls' feet, they retreat, after which the girls take it up and advance to the boys in the same way.

*Chibiro* is danced rather like *mkomaula*. A group of men dancers go round in a circle, and within this circle may be a line of women dancing to the same time but with rather different steps than the men. This I have seen danced by a trained band of dancers, but onlookers join in. A man may lead a woman into the middle and embrace her. There is a tendency among these trained dancers to forsake the old time stately embrace for something which is not so unobjectionable.

*Lichipi* is a new dance, but one that is well-liked. The drums are as in *mkomaula*. Men, women, and young people dance in a circle followed by entry into the middle, and *ku-punila*.

*Mbasula* is danced by men on one side and women on the other side of a circle, to drums *mchoso*, *ndimbe* and *mangaka*. Any of them may dance out into the middle after going round in a circle.

*Liyaya* is an old dance for the older men and women. Like *mbasula*, the steps are slower and are characterized by side-to-side movements.

*Mtukunya*: drums, *likuti*, *chinganga*, and a *mchoso* drum called *mbitiku*, because it is so played as to give the sound "*mbitĩkũ!*" It is danced by men in a crowd. While the feet do little, shuffling steps, the buttocks are jerked out backwards and forwards.

*Chandamali*: a dance of recent introduction resembles *utuli*.<sup>1</sup>

There are three dances which are danced by special dancers.

*Mlenjesa*: the same as the *mtseche* of the Anyanja,<sup>2</sup> generally danced by four men who wear a kind of kilt made of strips of palm-leaf, and rattles, *masewe*, on their legs. They may also wear the *liungu*, a headdress made of the tail-feathers, *unga*, of the *chiunga* bird: it is like a broad hat-brim without a crown, the feathers projecting radially. The *mbande*, a piece of a shell which comes from the Zanzibar coast is also often worn (Pl. III, fig. 2). The drums which give the time are *chiminingo*, played very rapidly indeed. The steps are incredibly fast, with greater excursions than in the other dances, and usually end up with a jump into the air and a pose with grimacing. A circle is formed round them by the young people who, in the intervals, walk round singing and clapping. The dancers may call out any girl for the embrace.

*Msanja*: danced by two or three pairs of men who wear the palm-leaf kilt, *matambwa*, and a broad, bark-cloth belt called *chamba*. When the drums start, these dancers walk round the circle of onlookers, and get the song going, and the clapping to time; then with a signal to the drummers, they start dancing alternately an extremely rapid dance with rattles in the hands, *msanja*, and a kind of *dance-du-ventre*, *chamba*. The drums employed are *mchoso*, *ntiyatiya*, and *chiminingo*. The rapid dancing is too exhausting to last more than a few seconds. This is always danced at *Lupanda*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stannus, "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

*Ching'wenyeng'wenye*: A soloist dances about, playing a single-string viol with a bow as he sings. His songs are all about people, village episodes full of personalities and many witticisms. Kondoni of Malemya's was a well known performer (Pl. I).

**Songs.** The following are some of the *Chindimba* songs:

## 1

- 1st voice. *Kutumbila asyene nyumba achalendo agone kwapi?*  
To be angry the owner of the house strangers they sleep where?
- 2d voice. *Kutumbila asyene nyumba Che Nkoleka tinjiwa.*  
To be angry the owner of the house (Mr.) Nkoleka I shall die.
- 1st voice. *Kumbusya unami walakwe,*  
To ask me to answer lies you.
- 2d voice. *Kumbusya unami Che Mwenye,*  
To ask me to answer lies master,
- 1st voice. *Alamu tinyaule iyoyo,*  
Brother-in-law I will go thus,
- 2d voice. *Alamu tinyaule iyoyo.*
- 1st voice. *Awala wanache apite mchikwawa.*  
There (go) the children they go on all fours.
- 2d voice. *Oh lelo'jo tinjiwa.*  
Oh today I shall die.
- Chorus. *Kutumbila asyene nyumba!*

The burden of the song is: We see we are not wanted here; better we went away!

## 2

- 1st voice. *Ah lijani'wo kole kole kupoka takapocheje lelo'jo!*  
Ah baboon these jumping jumping to enjoy he is going to enjoy today!
- 2d voice. *Ah lijani'wooo! kupoka takapocheje mwanache!*  
Ah the baboon these to enjoy he is going to enjoy child!
- Chorus. *Kulya mbande sya nyumu!*  
to eat (seed) pods of dryness!

"Seed pods of dryness" is also referred to in a story of the baboon. When he is dozing at night sitting on a tree, he hears a seed-pod in the neighborhood crack, and wishing to mark the spot, so that he may go and eat the seed in the morning, he stretches out one arm in this direction and goes to sleep again, to be awakened by the sound of another cracking pod; whereupon he puts out another limb to mark that spot. Presently, he has all but one limb including his tail set out as sign-posts. Half awake he starts to put out the one remaining limb, and falls off the tree.



## 3

- 1st voice. *Atindili mbatata nganga yelele eja wakalakwe,*  
 potatoes guinea fowl eeh! thank you you,  
 2d voice. *Atindili mbatata akundenda atiyana'wo mwanja.*  
 potatoes they are calling me Atiyana there is going away home;  
 Chorus. *Kwende, akakulile!*  
 Remove the hoe from its handle!

The name of any person may be introduced into these songs, sometimes the name of a member of the village or of some person well known in the district. To introduce a name thus is *ku-lumba*. *Eja!* is an exclamation of thanks; when receiving anything, both hands are held out, and the words *eja, eja, eja!* or *nanga, nanga!* are uttered.

## 4

- 1st voice. *Makolowele 'galile sombe apalapala nganapanda ngwamba.*  
 The millet have eaten locusts yon place did not plant not.  
 2d voice. *'Galile sombe apalapala nganapanda mpunga, atati, ngwamba!*  
 Have eaten locust yon place did not plant rice, father, not!  
 2d voice. *Apalapala nganapanda mpunga, atati, ngwamba!*  
 1st voice. *Apalapala nganapanda mpunga, atati, ngwamba!*  
 Chorus. *Makolowele, galile sombe!*

*Makolowele*: after the first crop of millet has been taken in, the stalks are cut off near the ground and the roots allowed to remain in the soil. Next season, they again sprout and yield a second crop. This second year growth is *makolowele*.

## 5

- 1st voice. *Masimba m'chingwamba chilo chilo chiloo chilo chilo!*  
 Lions in the palm-trees at night, etc.  
 2d voice. *Masimba m'chingwamba, kwimba likwata Atiyana! Tinjiwa chilo chilo etc.*  
 Lions in the palm-trees to sing *likwata Atiyana!* I shall die tonight, tonight, etc.  
 Chorus. *Masimba m'chingwamba!*

*Likwata* is the name of a dance, *Atiyana* is a woman's name. Cf. "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

## 6

- 1st voice. *Ndandee, ndande, ndandee!* Repeat.  
 Teasing, teasing, teasing!  
 2d voice. *Nakolaga chitanda tanda, nandande'ne, ngwaula!*  
 If you have teasing teasing, me tease me, I am going away!  
 Chorus. *Ndendee!*

## 7

- 1st voice. *Wakwambaga'wala* *awano!* *akalakatanda*  
 The one whom we were talking about, here he is! that thing which happened some-  
*mtondowo!*  
 time ago, the day after tomorrow!
- 2d voice. *Atiyana mwanja* *akalakatanda,* *mbite!*  
 (a name) is going that thing which happened some time ago, I am off!
- Chorus. *Kwapa njete wana unami'wala!*  
 You give salt who has lies (lied to) you!

The meaning of this is: "If a man comes along who has done you an ill in the past and is just as likely to do so again, should you be inclined to reward his lies by giving him hospitality? Better to go away and leave him alone."

## 8

- 1st voice (male). *Kapelele'ko* *kwende, akajosyeee!*  
 The little lip ring that, come and wash it! Repeat.
- 2d voice. *Kapelele'ko,* *wanganya,* *kwende akajosye* *lelo!*  
 The little lip ring that, yon folk over there, come and wash them today!
- 1st refrain. *Katakutenda* *msoma!*  
 Lest it turn into bumble-bee honey!
- 1st voice (female). *Ambi* *nde u syoo?*  
 What about beard your? Refrain.
- 2d voice. *Ambi* *nde u syoo atati?*  
 What about beard your father? Refrain.
- 2d refrain. *Sitakutenda* *maleule!*  
 Lest it turn into *maleule!* (part of a maize cob).

## 9

- 1st voice. *Achimkulila* *eeeh! ndando?*  
 Why are you crying eh! the cause?
- 2d voice. *Tingawiche* *kumangwao'ko!*  
 I will take her to her own home there!
- Chorus. *Kumajela* *nguja!*  
 I am going to look for hoes!

This refers to a troublesome wife. "Let her go back to her mother and the husband will go about his own business."

## 10

- 1st voice (woman). *Ukandendaga* *usakaliu ni ngatiji* *chikulupile'cho!*  
 If I were not discouraged then I would have been still trusting! Repeat.
- 2d voice (man). *Ukandendanga* *usakaliu ni ngatiji'ne* *katobwa! katobwa!*  
 If I were not discouraged then I should have been saying beer! beer!  
*Katobwa katobwa katobwa achame!*  
 Beer, beer, beer, dear me!



*CHING' WENYENG' WENYE* DANCER







1



2



3



4

YAO NATIVES







1. SMALL BOYS DANCING *Chibande*



2. PROFESSIONAL DANCERS WITH KILT AND LEG RATTLE



3. A CROWD OF YAOS AT A DANCE



4. POT-MAKING





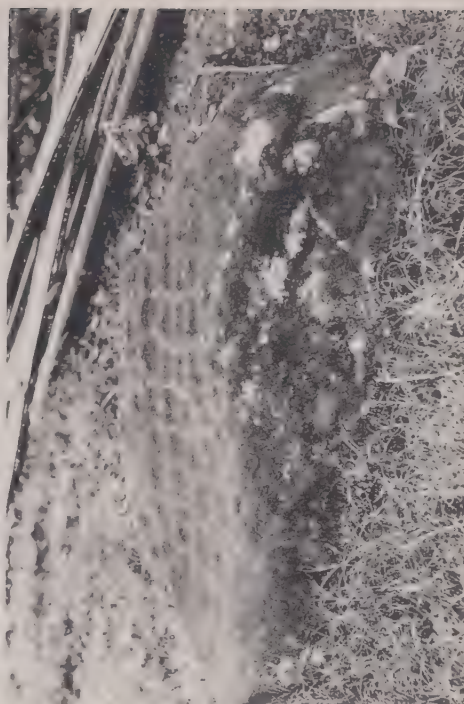
1. A MOHOMMEDAN MOSQUE DECORATED WITH GEOMETRIC  
DESIGNS OF COAST ORIGIN



3. A SPRING AND NOOSE TRAP FOR SMALL ANIMALS



2. A BIT OF YAO LAND



4. GRANITE WORKED WITH CUP-HOLES FOR THE GAME OF *Bau*







1. MUSICAL INSTRUMENT, THE *magolongondo*,  
PLAYED BY YAO YOUTHS



2. A YAO AS A NATIVE  
SERVANT



3. SPECIMEN OF SCARIFICATION  
(YAO WOMAN)



4. A YAO NATIVE







1. A YAO GIRL



2. YAO GIRL WEARING BEAD APRON



3. TWO YAO GIRLS WEARING TRADE CLOTH



4. A YOUNG YAO WOMAN

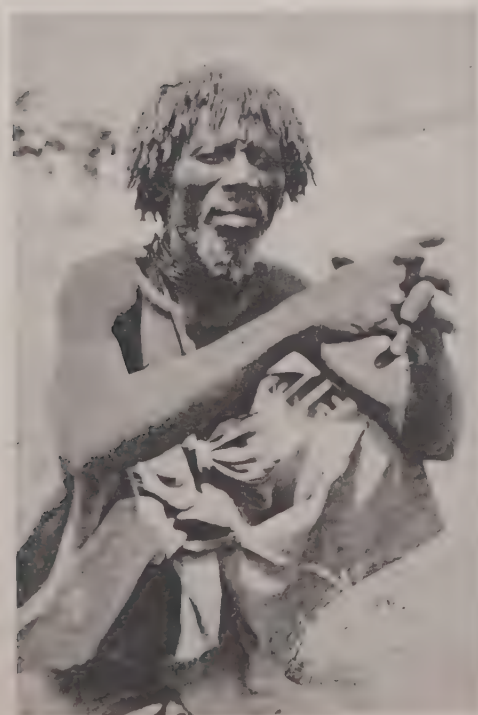




1. YAO MAN WEARING HEADCLOTH  
COAST FASHION



2. THE SAME IN PROFILE



3. AN OLD NATIVE WHO HAS ALLOWED  
HIS HAIR TO GROW LONG



4. AN OLD WOMAN, SHOWING THE *mpelele*  
WORN IN THE UPPER LIP







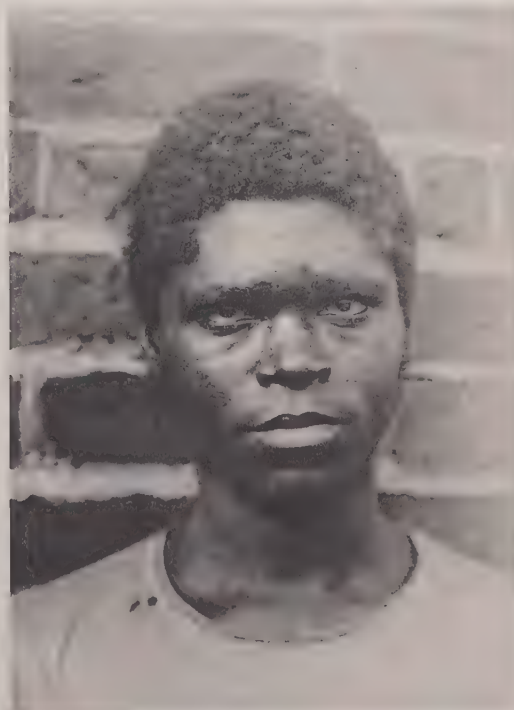
1. NATIVE PAINTING ON THE OUTSIDE OF A HUT WALL



2. A YAO NATIVE



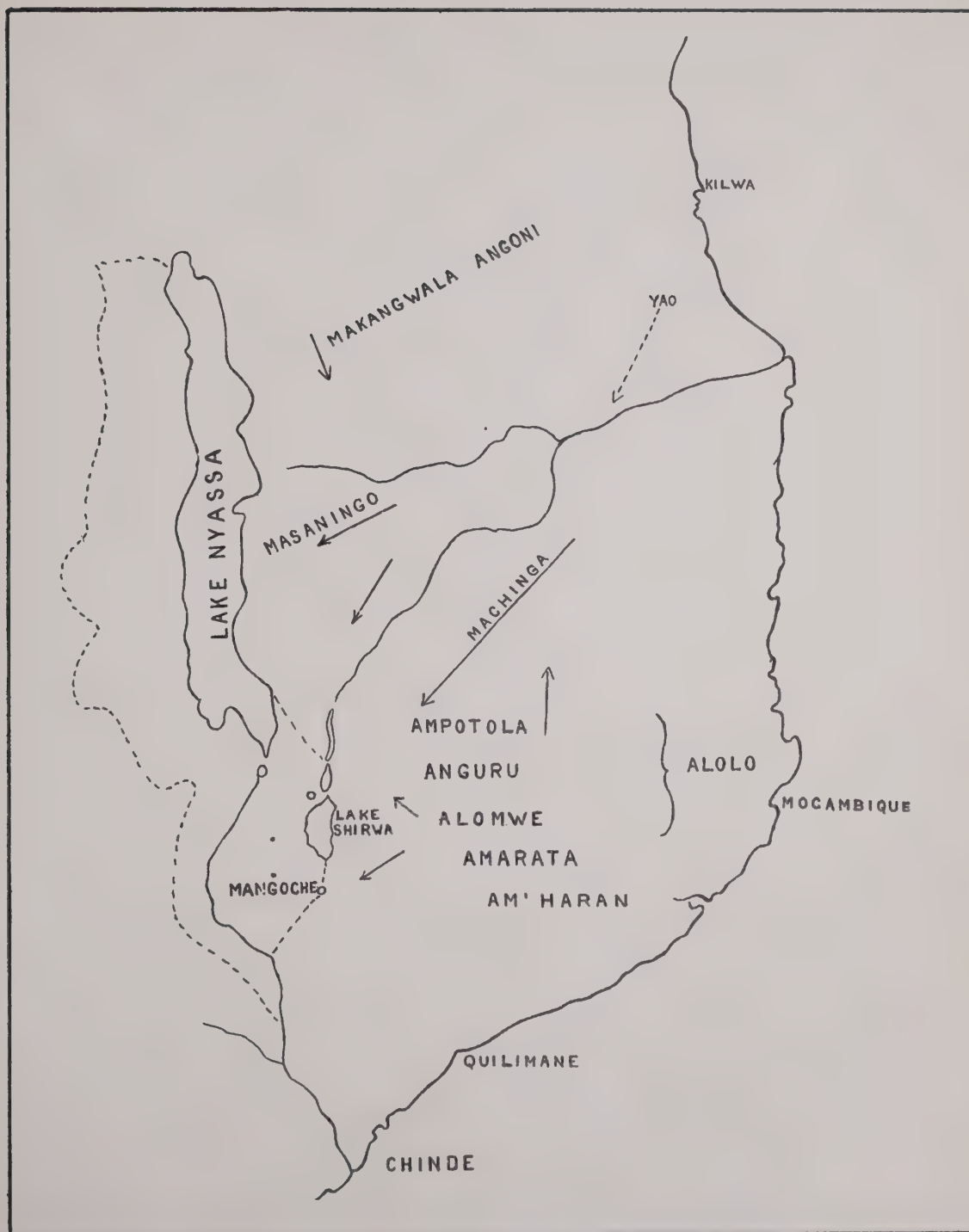
3. MACHINGA YAO YOUTH



4. MASANINGA YAO YOUTH, SHOWING LOW GROWTH OF HAIR ON THE FOREHEAD





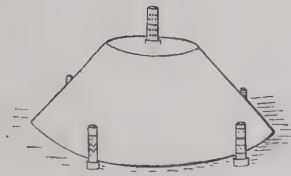


DISTRIBUTION OF THE YAO IN NYASALAND

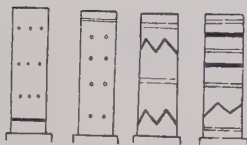




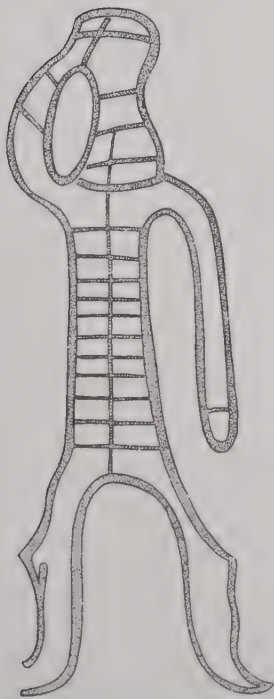
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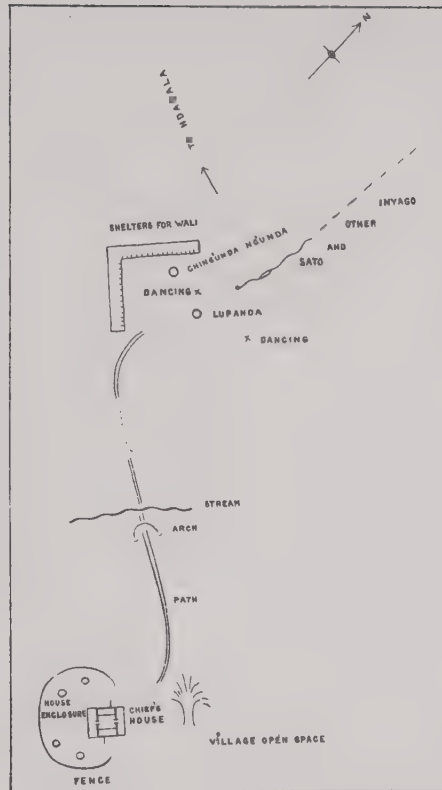
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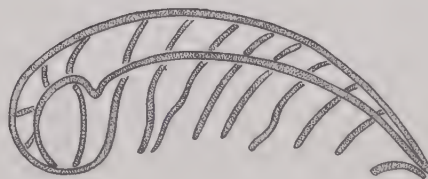
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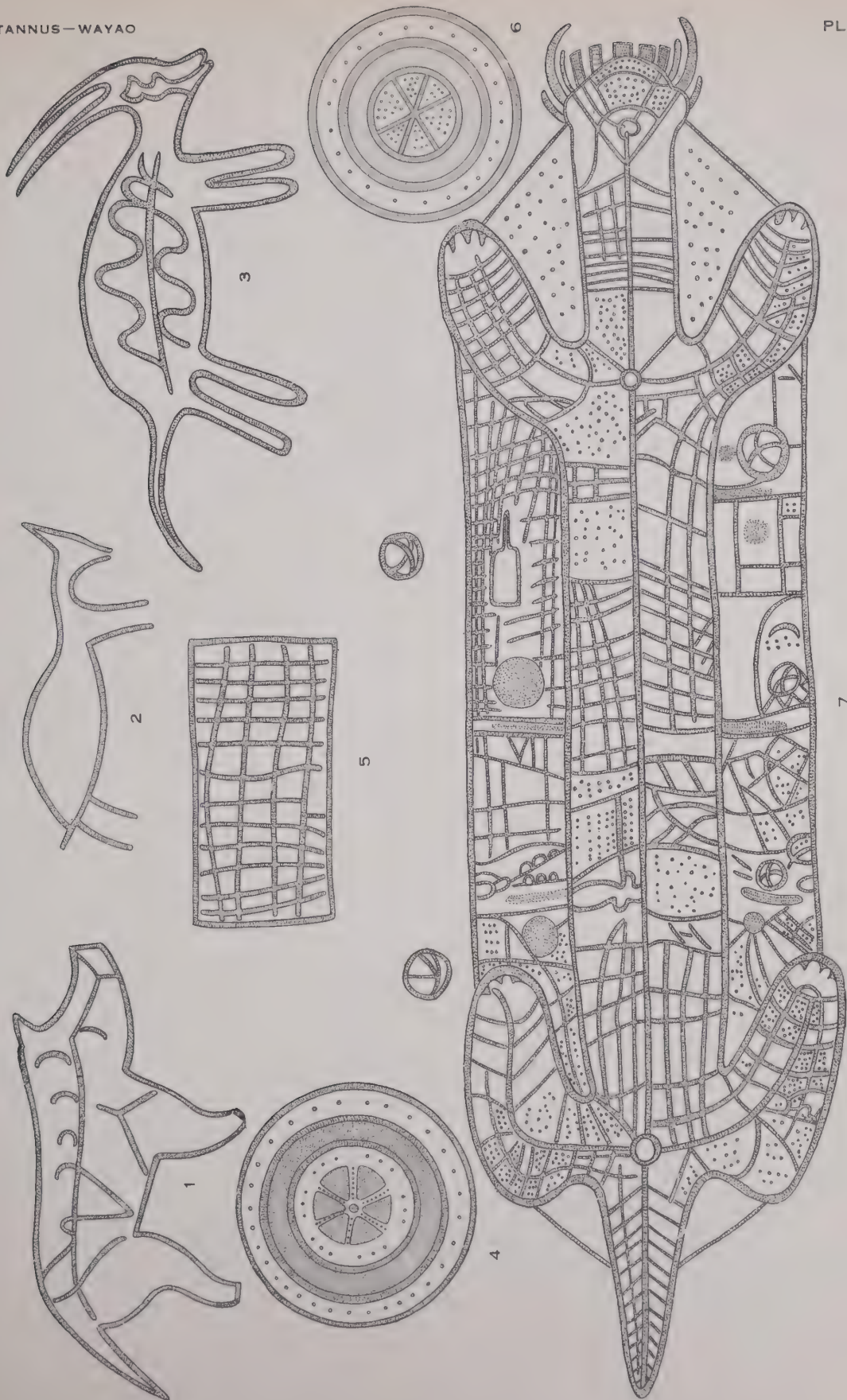
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1-2, *CHING' UNDANG'UNGA*; 3, *LUPANDA* POSTS; 4, SKETCH PLAN OF *LUPANDA*; 5-6, *INYAGO* FIGURES



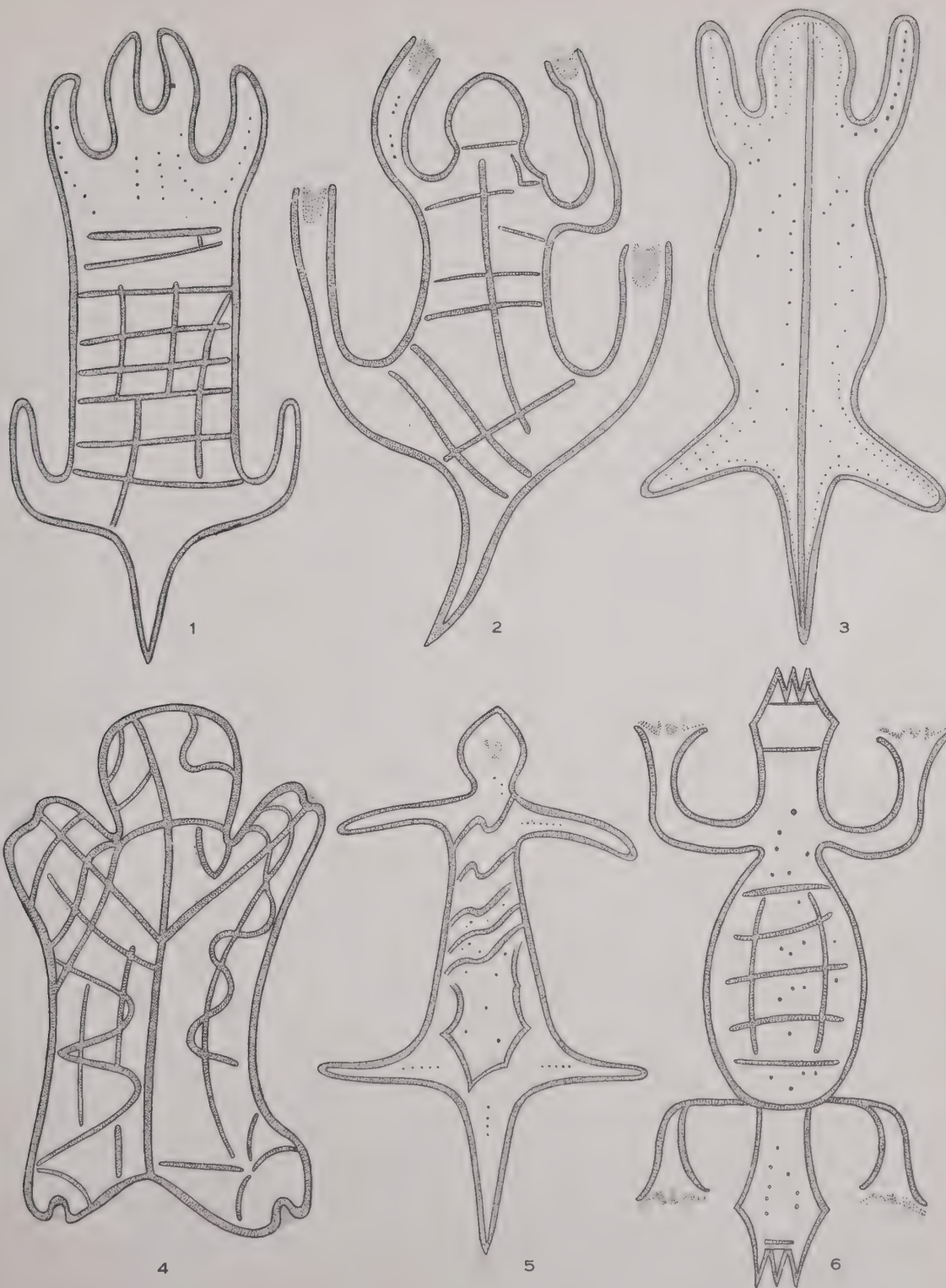


INYAGO FIGURES



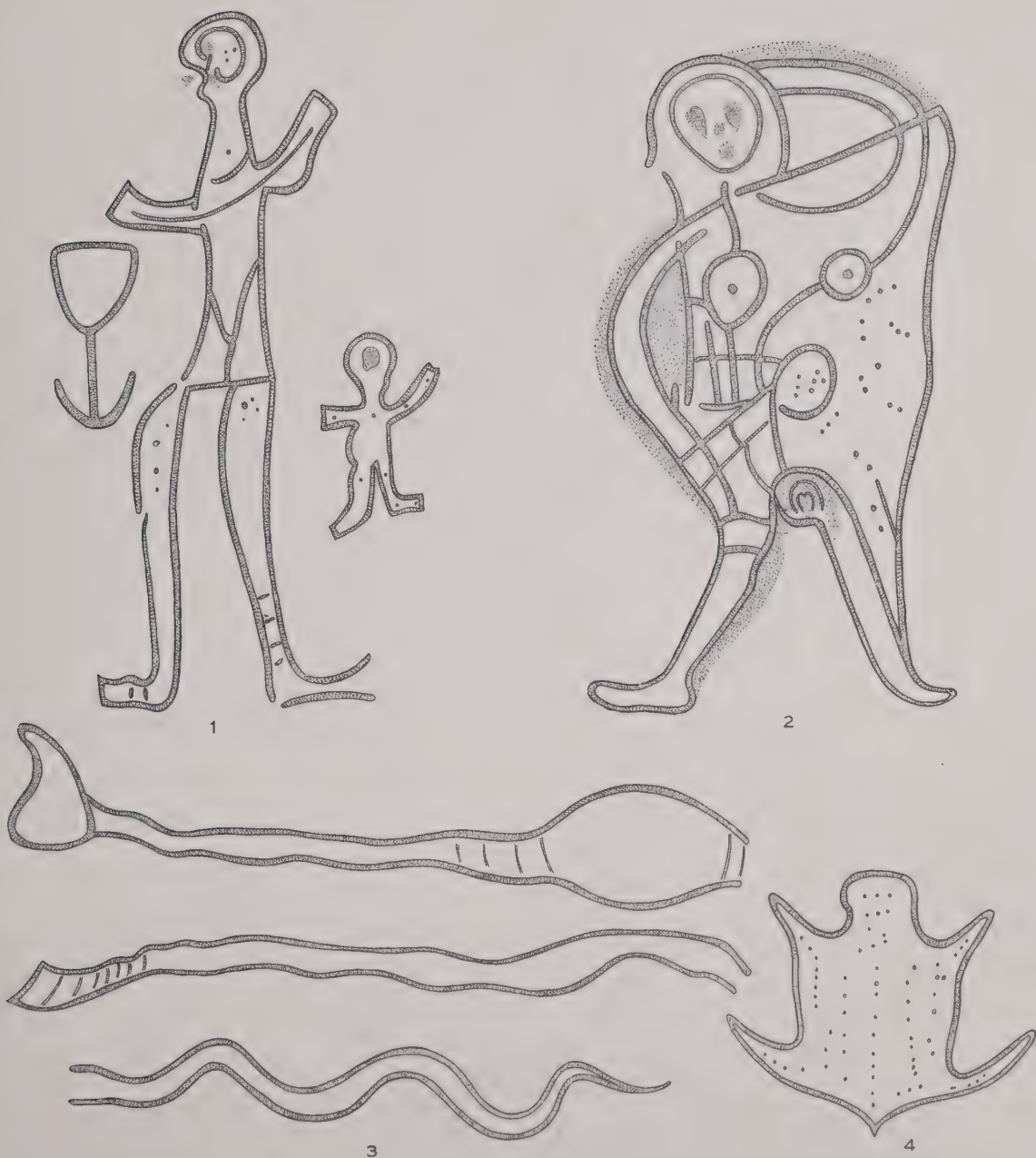






INYAGO FIGURES

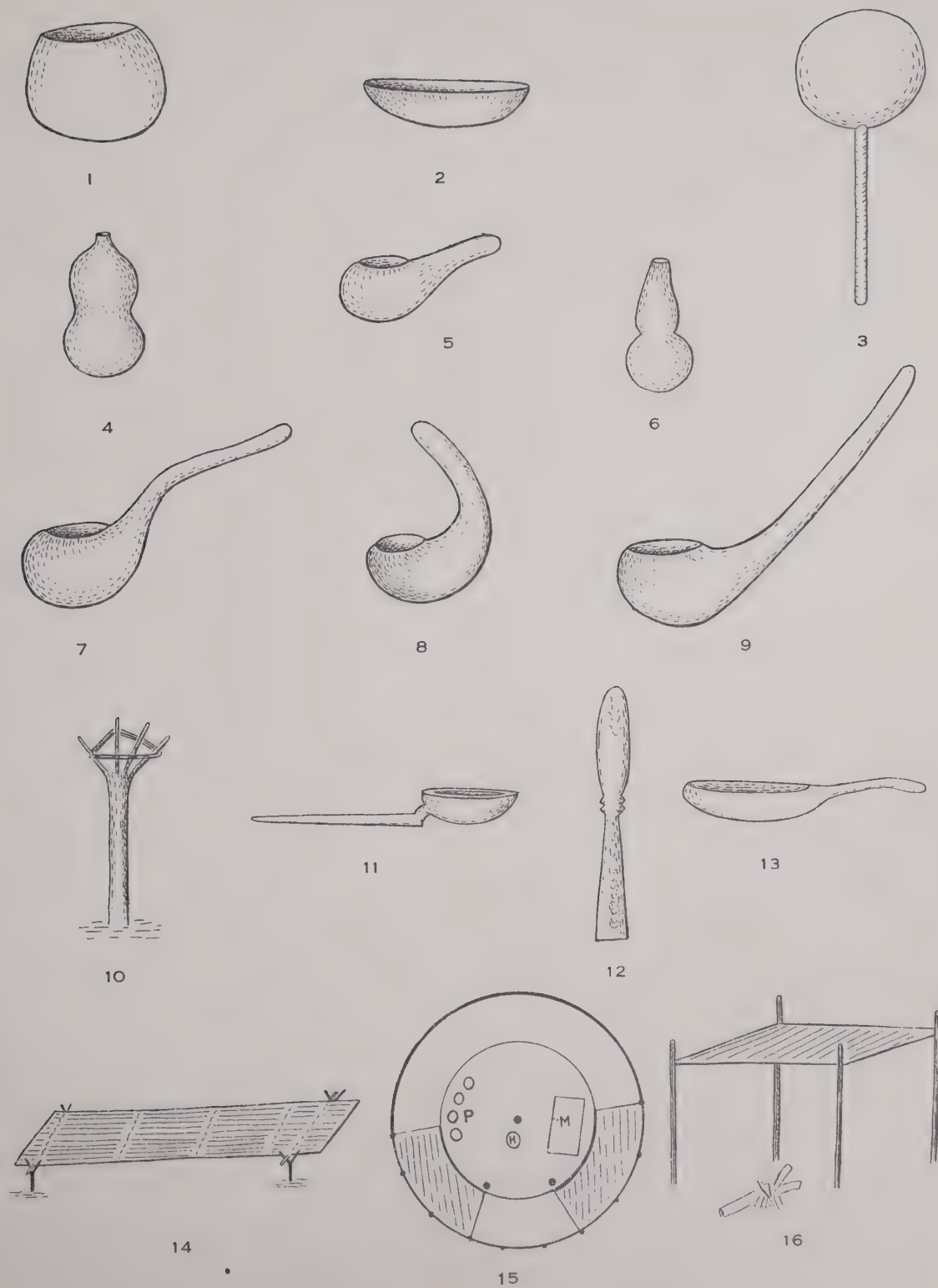




INYAGO FIGURES



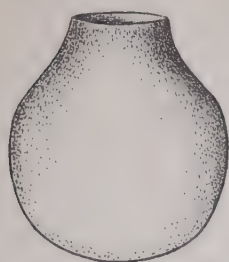




1-9, Gourd vessels; 10-13, Wooden utensils; 14, Bed; 15, Hut plan; 16, Hearth with *ligulu*



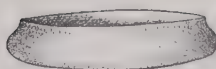




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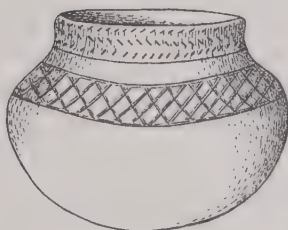
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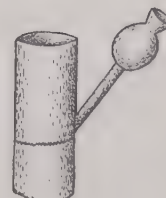
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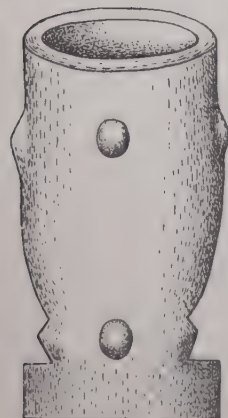
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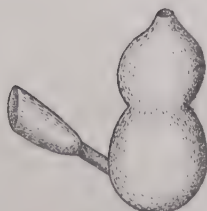
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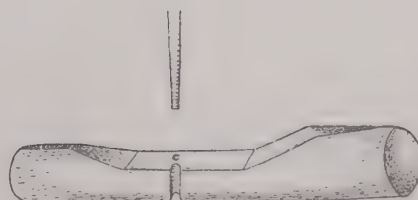
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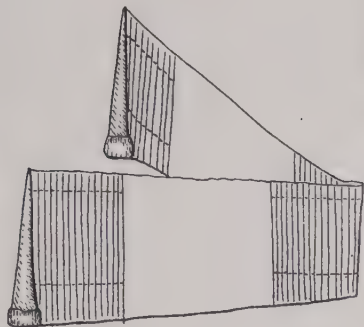
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1-10, POTTERY; 11-14, PIPES; 15, GRAIN MORTAR; 16, FIRE DRILL

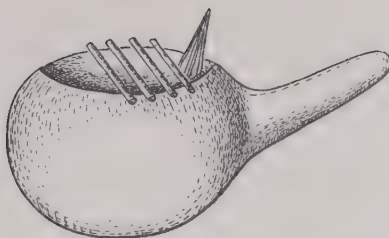




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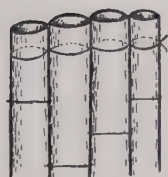
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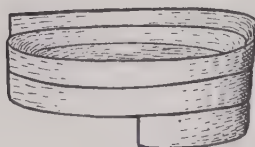
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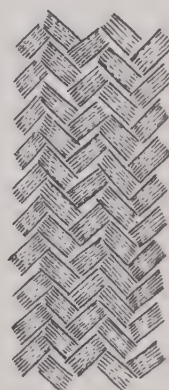
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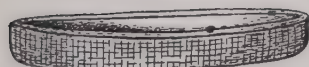
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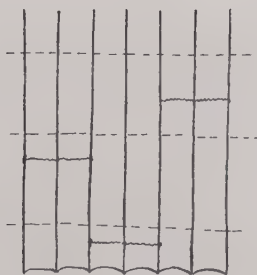
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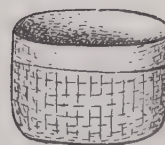
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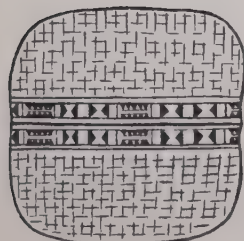
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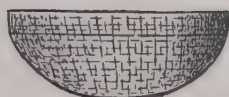
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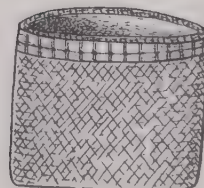
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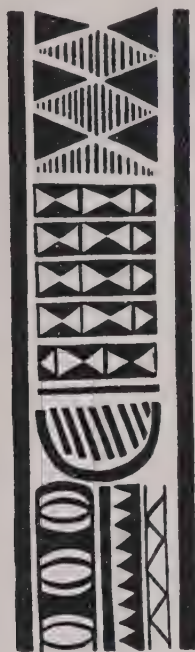


16

1-5, DIVINER'S KIT; 6-10, MATS; 11-16, BASKETS

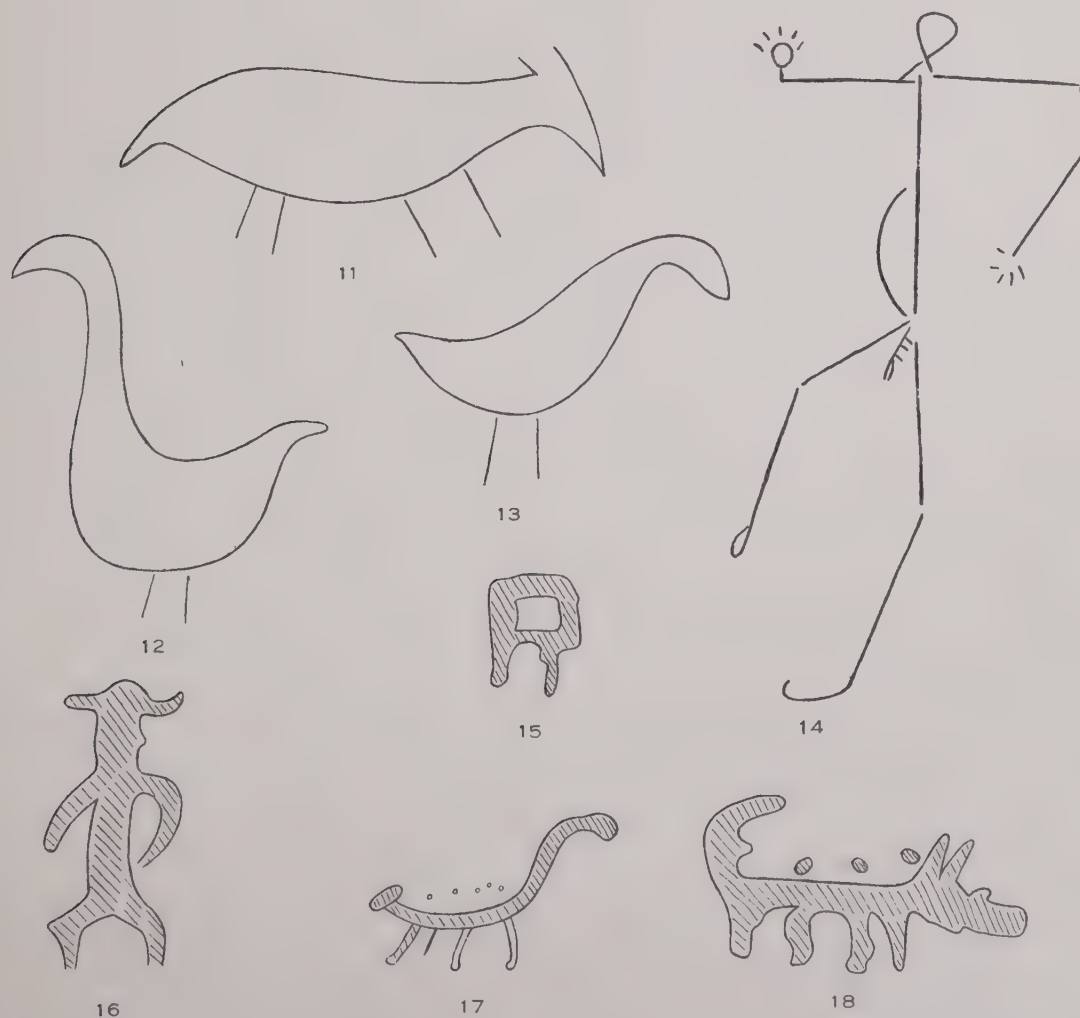
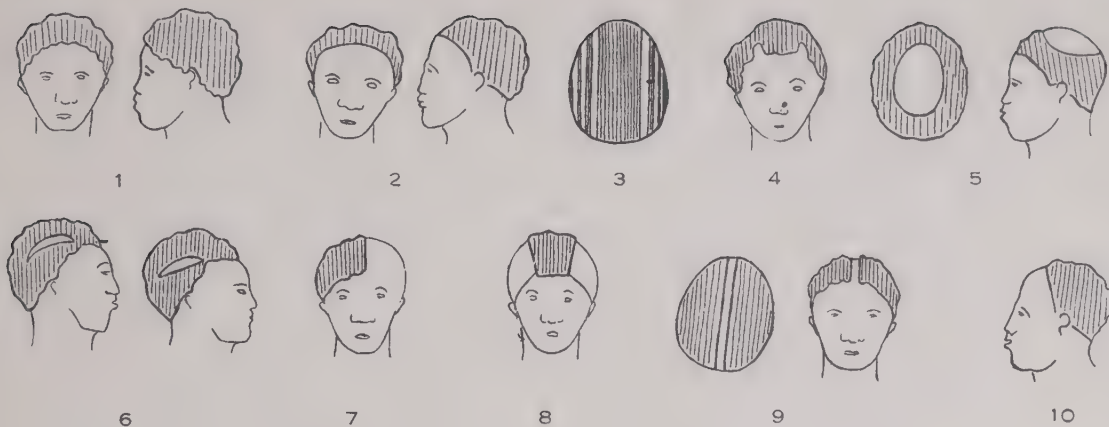




DESIGNS FROM THE RIMS OF THE *mlungwi* BASKETS

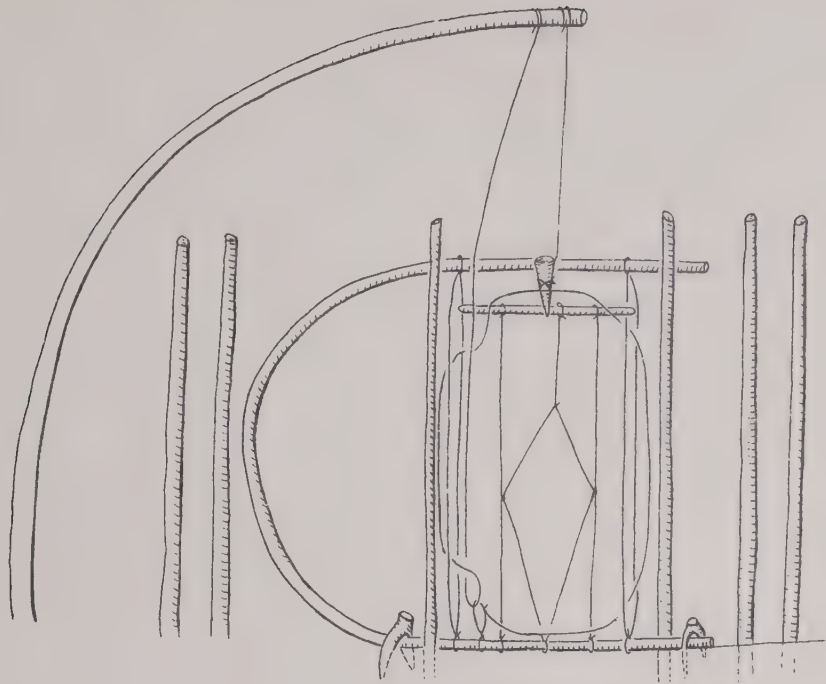




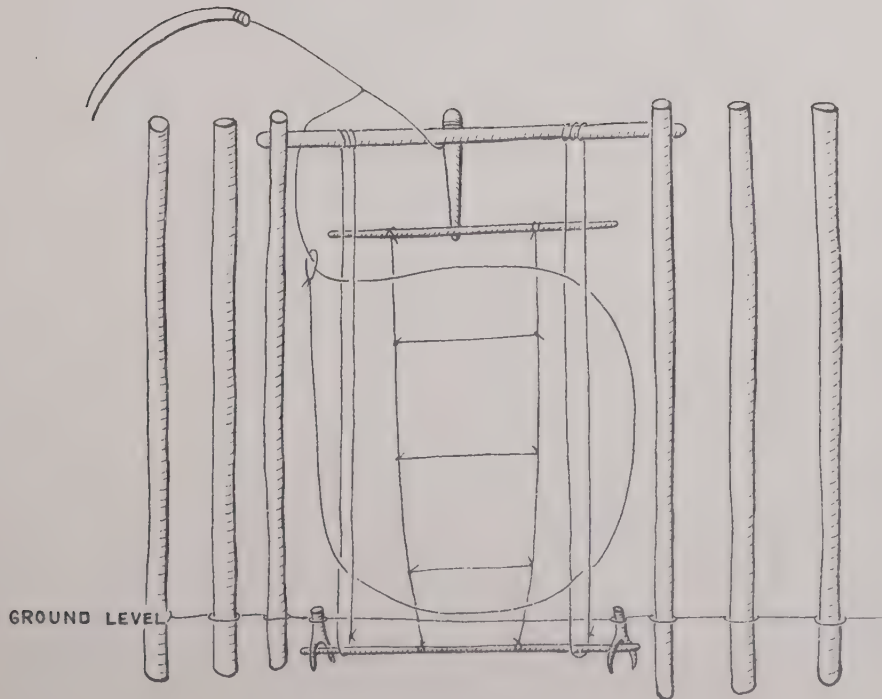


1-10, HAIRDRESSING; 11-18, NATIVE DRAWINGS





1

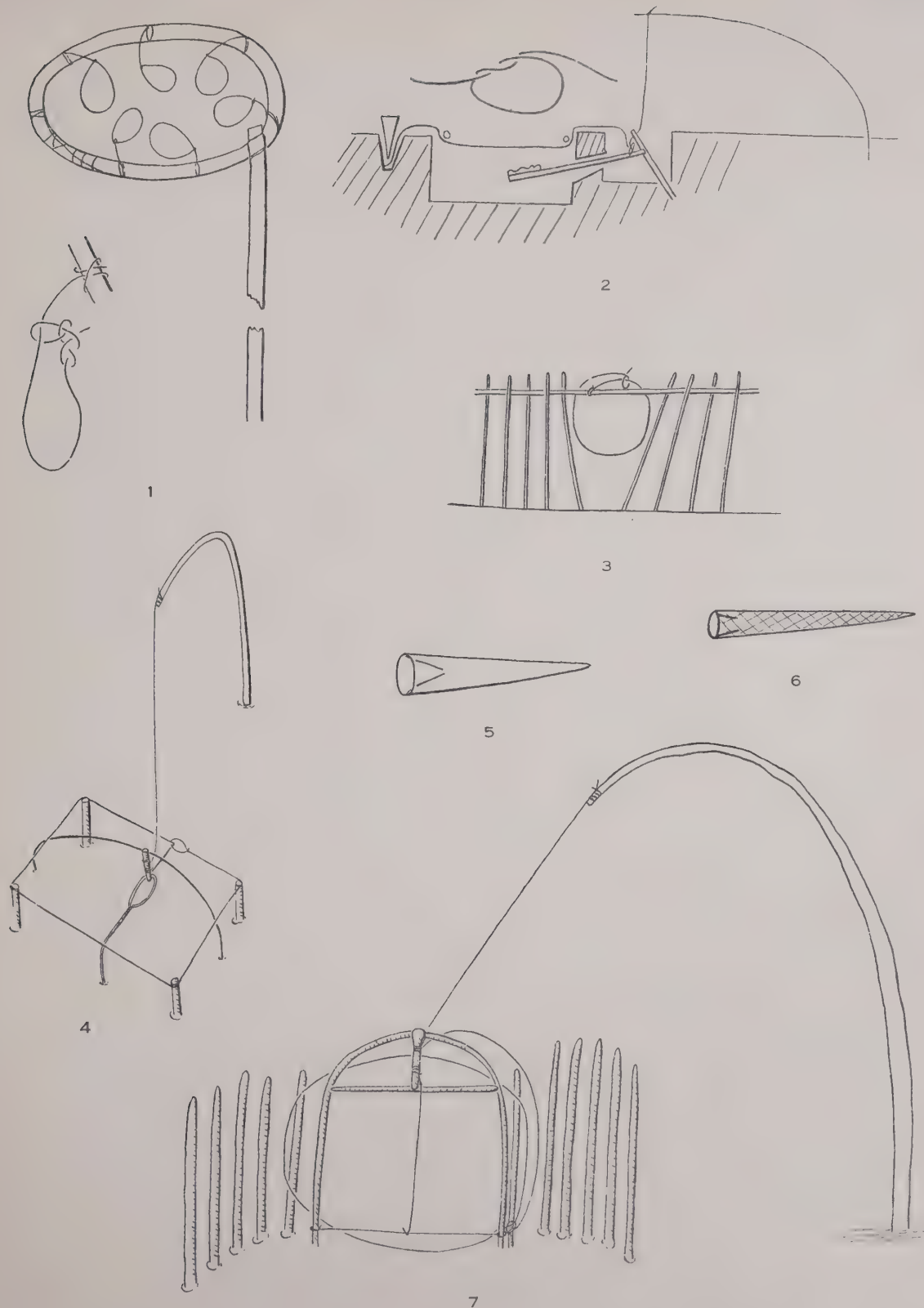


2

1. TRAP FOR THE CANE-RAT; 2. TRAP FOR GNAWING ANIMALS



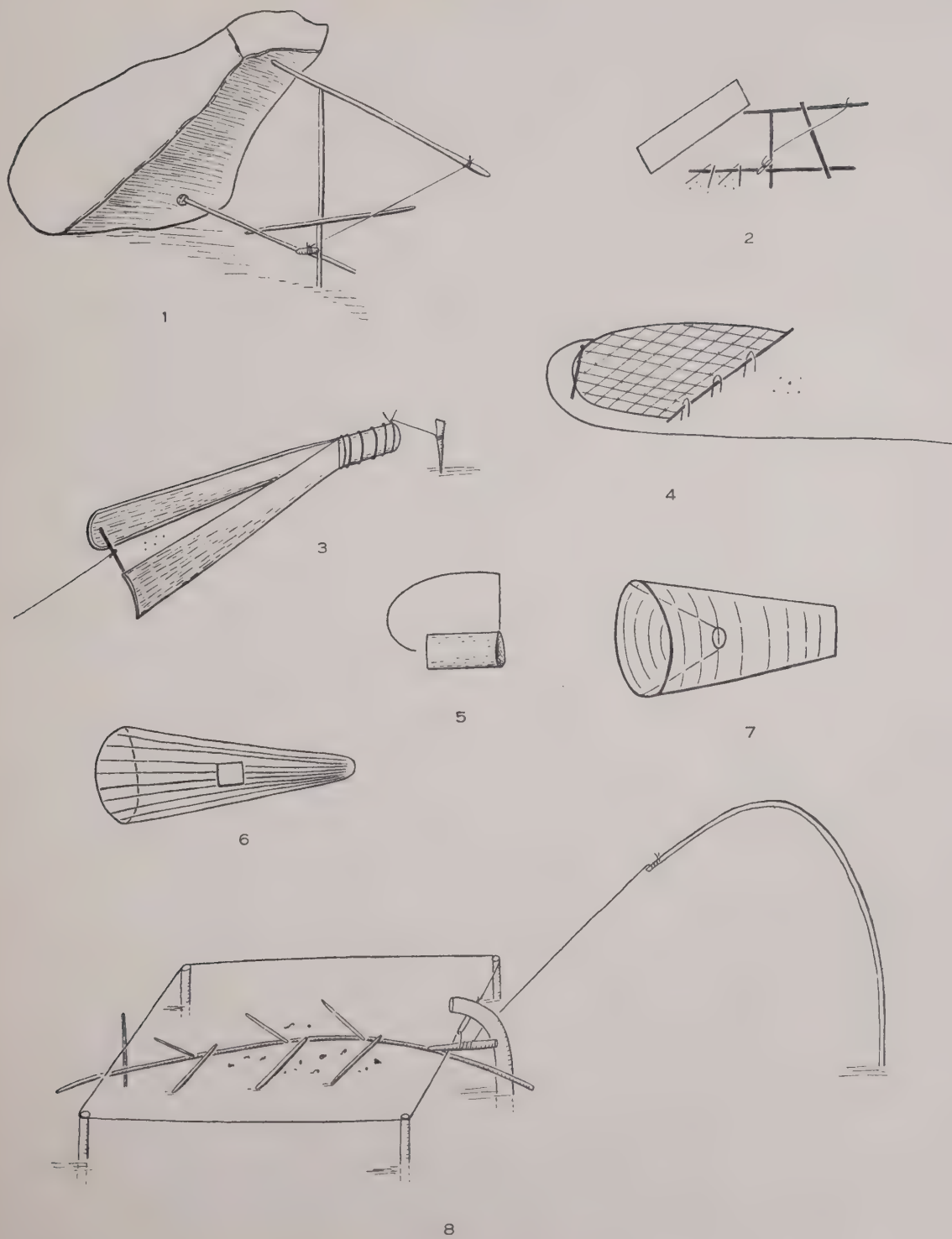




1-3, BIRD TRAPS: 4, TRAP FOR GUINEA FOWL: 5, FISH-TRAP: 6, RAT TRAP: 7, TRAP FOR THE WATER RAT

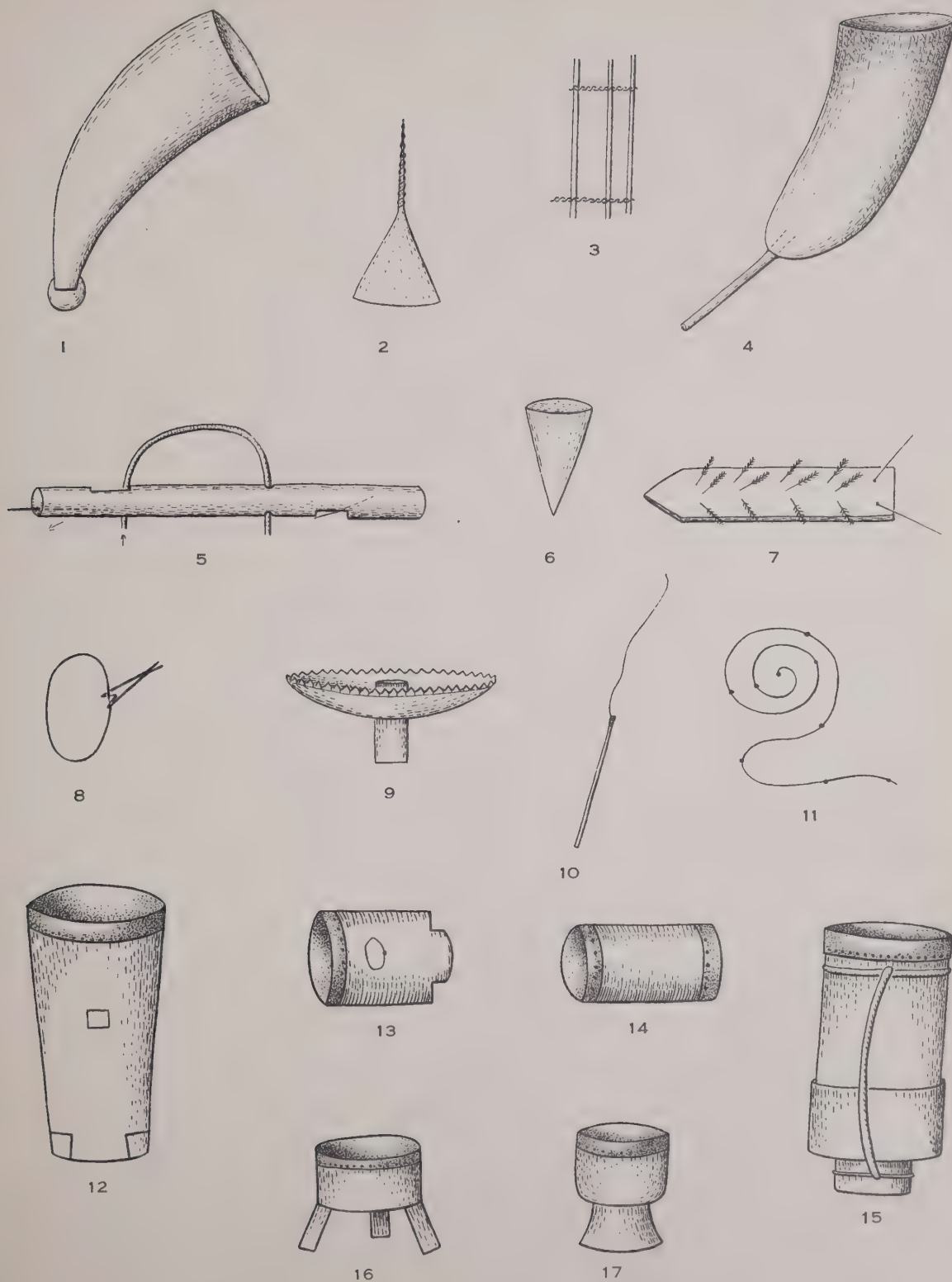






1, 2, 5, TRAPS FOR RATS AND MICE; 3, 4, BIRD TRAPS; 6, 7, FISH TRAPS; 8, TRAP FOR GUINEA FOWL

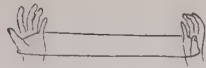




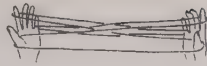
1, CUPPING HORN; 2, SURGICAL KNIFE; 3, SPLINT; 4, ENEMA FUNNEL; 5-11, CHILDREN'S TOYS; 12-17, DRUMS







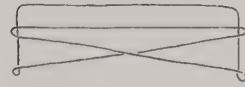
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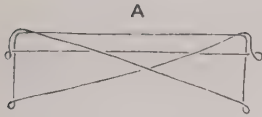
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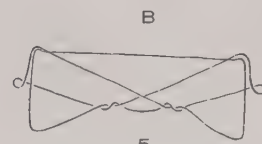
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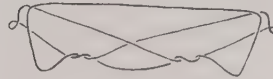
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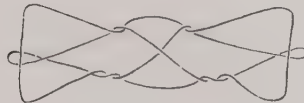
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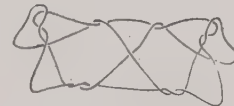
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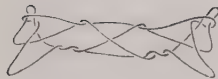
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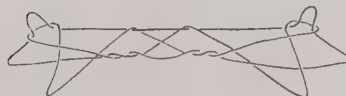
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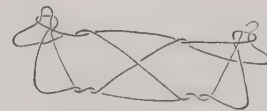
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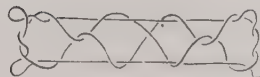
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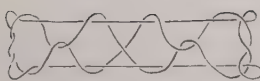
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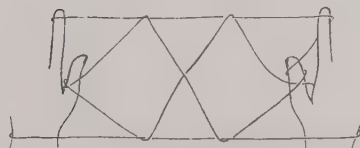
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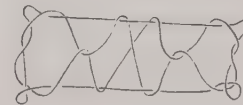
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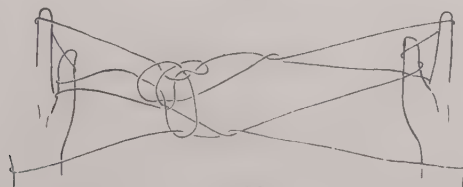
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CAT'S CRADLE





## NOTE ON PREHISTORIC COLLECTIONS FROM NORTHWEST AFRICA IN THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CHARLES PEABODY, PH.D.

Except for the Egyptian field and neighboring regions, Africa is not well represented in the prehistoric collections in America; further, many of the Egyptian series belong — along with those from Palestine and Syria — in a geographical section Mediterranean rather than Continental in character.

In the autumn of 1920 the Peabody Museum of Harvard University acquired by gift, exchange, and purchase three African collections, each of a certain importance, namely: the de Zeltner collection from the Upper Senegal, the Reygasse series from southeastern Algeria, and the Bourlon collection from the northern Sahara.

The first is due to the researches of Franz de Zeltner, long a resident of the district, in prehistoric stations at and near Kayes on the Upper Senegal River. The most striking specimens of the collection, which, despite the absence of pottery, is almost certainly neolithic, are a series of discs<sup>1</sup> in schist, flaked, not polished, four or five inches in diameter; in size, and superficially in appearance, they recall the discs of which seven thousand were found by W. K. Moorehead in the course of the Hopewell excavations in Ohio. Like them, they are of unexplained use and have given rise to many theories. The African discs are certainly, however, not stored (or "Arsenal") material. Made of the same dark schist are numerous rough celts and picks, unpolished; many of them carry a transverse platform or plane opposite to the end destined for service. Further researches as to "Platform" implements will be fruitful.<sup>2</sup> In addition to these, there are in the collection hundreds of flint flakes such as may be found on any work-site; a large proportion bear marks of use as scrapers or knives, with, however, an almost total absence of "Spokeshaves," and of reverse chipping, so common in Egypt.

All are a gift from Franz de Zeltner; he has provided a list of forty or fifty sites, and a detailed map.

The Reygasse series represents a cross-section of the discoveries made by Maurice Reygasse, a member of the French Administration at Tebessa (Constantine).<sup>3</sup> His excavations have added much to our knowledge of African prehistoric archaeology; he has found and determined Mousterian and Solutrian stations of which the latter are represented

<sup>1</sup> F. de Zeltner, 'Les schistes taillés de Nioro,' (*L'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1913, vol. 24, p. 17-23).

<sup>2</sup> Mention should be made of the work in this regard of W. G. Clarke, Honorary Secretary of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Reygasse, 'Études de paléontologie Maghrébine,' (*L'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1916, vol. 27, p. 351-368).

in the collection by eight "Laurel-Leaf" shapes, flaked on both faces; there is also an excellent series of flints of "Aurignacian Technique," almost certainly of Aurignacian date.

With the possible exception of the collections in the American Museum of Natural History in New York, it is believed that these two groups are the only ones of their kind in America.

The third collection is a part of that gathered by M. J. Bourlon<sup>1</sup> from the region of the Sahara south of Morocco and Algeria; epochs from the earliest palaeolithic to the neolithic are represented abundantly. The most striking specimens are trapezoidal flaked axes of red quartzite of Acheulian industry, "Fist-axes" of large size in chalcedony, and tanged quartzite projectile points believed to be Mousterian. There are many neolithic arrow-points of clear flint, and a group of beads in ostrich egg-shell.

It would seem that a valuable field of research is open in these regions of Africa: surface sites, shell-heaps and caves abound, rock-paintings add to the interest, and there is no reason to suppose that results interesting to somatologists may not be forthcoming in greater number from the mountains and plains of the Atlas and the Sahara.

<sup>1</sup> Mobilized, and captain in the French army, he died in the service of his country.





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